

SocialistWorker

www.socialist.ca

\$2 | no. 578 | November 2015



VOTERS TAKE OUT THE TRASH

Finance Minister
Oliver imposed austerity



MP Stephen Woodworth
attacked abortion rights



Immigration Minister
Alexander attacked refugees



Veteran Affairs Minister
Fantino attacked veterans



Aboriginal Affairs Minister
Valcourt ignored women



Arctic Council Minister
Aglukkaq ignored food crisis



Indigenous rights

Page 2

Valerie Lannon, Sandra Fragola and Eric Lescarbeau discuss the ongoing fight for Indigenous rights after Harper

Imperialism

Page 3

Paul Stevenson challenges the notion that Russian intervention will be any better than US intervention in Syria

Islamophobia

Page 5

Valerie Lannon, Chantal Sundaram and Michelle Robidoux explain how the Canadian state uses Islamophobia to divide and conquer, and to scapegoat Quebec

Election results

Page 6-7

Jesse McLaren reviews the paradoxical election results that saw anti-Harper anger monopolized by the Liberals

Civil liberties

Page 8

Sophia Harkat exposes the reality of secret trials in Canada and calls for an end to the deportation of her husband Mohamed Harkat

Remembrance

Page 8

On November 11 wear a white poppy to oppose war and support war resisters and refugees

Trudeau

Page 9

John Bell remembers how Pierre Trudeau used "strategic voting" to gain power and attack workers in the 1970s

Climate justice

Page 11

Carolyn Egan outlines a calendar of climate action to pressure Justin Trudeau



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

Facts & figures

2

Number of weeks after Trudeau's election victory that he faces the first protests

13

Number of years the Canadian state has been persecuting Mohamed Harkat, on trumped up charges through secret trials

100,000

Number of people who protested austerity on October 3 in Quebec, in the midst of the election and ignored by the media in English Canada

1 million

Number of votes the NDP lost by campaigning to the right

4 million

Number of votes the Liberals gained by campaigning to the left

In their own words

"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."

—Pierre Trudeau on using the War Measures Act to suspend civil liberties in Quebec, 1970

"In Kunduz our patients burned in their beds. MSF doctors, nurses, and other staff were killed as they worked. Our colleagues had to operate on each other. One of our doctors died on an improvised operating table—an office desk—while his colleagues tried to save his life."

—Doctors Without Borders describing the impact of the latest US war crime in Afghanistan

"I think too often our tone wasn't sufficiently positive and optimistic. We need a conservatism that is sunnier and more optimistic than what we have sometimes conveyed."

—Former Defence Minister Jason Kenney, after the Conservative's racist, sexist, homophobic and fear-mongering election campaign failed

"The job of the Prime Minister is to get those resources to market"

—Justin Trudeau, reassuring Bay Street he will promote the tar sands

"When you find yourself in a hole like this, the first rule is simple: stop digging. This is literally what we need Prime Minister Trudeau to commit to. Freeze the expansion of the tar sands and commit to a justice-based transition to a clean energy economy. No huge new mines on top of the ones that already scar the landscape, poison the environment and violate Indigenous and treaty rights – it's already big enough. Instead, build a just, clean energy economy that works for people and the planet."

—the call for the Climate Welcome



Liberals and Indigenous rights

by VALERIE LANNON

Indigenous people were part of the jump in voter turnout that drove Harper from office and that defeated his Aboriginal Affairs Minister Bernard Valcourt, who was the face for government indifference to missing and murdered Indigenous women.

Trudeau has made some good promises on Indigenous rights, while also pushing tar sands pipelines that destroy Indigenous territories and violate sovereignty. Mobilizations outside Parliament will be key to both maintaining their promises and challenging their pipelines.

As Grand Chief Sheila North Wilson, of Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak, explained, "I believe that Mr. Harper, when he was prime minister, awoke a sleeping giant in our people, and that giant is awake. The new Liberal majority government under Mr. Trudeau is going to have to deal with a giant in the indigenous people of these lands."

Maintaining Liberal promises

On its website, the Liberals have promised to ensure a nation-to-nation relationship: "We will immediately re-engage in a renewed nation-to-nation process with Indigenous Peoples to make progress on the issues most

important to First Nations, the Métis Nation, and Inuit communities—issues like housing, infrastructure, health and mental health care, community safety and policing, child welfare, and education...we will ensure that the Kelowna Accord—and the spirit of reconciliation that drove it—is embraced, and its objectives implemented in a manner that meets today's challenges."

Among other things, Trudeau promised to implement all recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), to launch an inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women, to protect Indigenous languages, to fund the improvement of education infrastructure and schooling of Indigenous children and youth K-12, to remove the two per cent funding cap for services in First Nations communities, and to create a Federal Reconciliation Framework to help "settle land claims and treaties."

Most of the above appears to be in line with priorities articulated by the Assembly of First Nations (see www.afn.ca "Closing the Gap")—namely strengthening First Nations, families and communities, sharing and equitable funding, upholding rights, respecting the environment, revitalizing

Indigenous languages, and implementing the TRC recommendations.

But we can't take the Liberals at their word. It will require continued mobilization both to hold them to these promises and to shape the way they are implemented to ensure that Indigenous peoples have control over these processes.

For example, will a national inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women be a top-down, state controlled academic exercise that pays lip service to Indigenous concerns—or a grassroots process where families of the victims and Indigenous communities are empowered to challenge the colonization of their territories that leads to violence against women?

Fighting Liberal pipelines

When it comes to tar sands pipelines, Trudeau has pledged to overhaul the pipeline review process to include climate impacts, opposed Northern Gateway pipeline and committed to end fossil fuels subsidies and invest in green infrastructure.

But, as 350.org has pointed out, "These are all amazing things, and campaign promises that Trudeau needs to keep. He also must understand that action on climate change

means freezing expansion in the tar sands and committing to building a justice-based, clean energy economy. After all, it was only a week ago that we learned that the co-chair of Mr. Trudeau's campaign was not only working for TransCanada Pipelines, but offering the company advice on how to quickly, and effectively lobby a Liberal government to get the Energy East pipeline built. That's saying nothing of Trudeau's support for the Keystone XL pipeline, his unclear stance on the Kinder Morgan pipeline, and his, frankly confusing, refusal to commit to ambitious climate targets on the campaign trail."

First Nations across the country are actively opposing pipelines through court cases, on-site land defense, blockades, and demonstrations—actions that Bill C-51, which Trudeau supports, seeks to criminalize.

Pierre Trudeau's 1969 White Paper tried to forcibly assimilate First Nations, sparking the Red Power movement. Now, facing a new wave of Indigenous resistance, his son is trying to appeal to the movement while restraining it. It will take all of us, under the leadership of Indigenous activists, to combat the Liberal oil agenda.

BC Liberals continue Harper's legacy

by ERIC LESCARBEAU

Stephen Harper may be gone but his callous disregard for missing and murdered Indigenous Women lives on through Christy Clark's BC Liberal government.

Since 1969 dozens of women, the majority of them Indigenous, have gone missing or been murdered along the 720km stretch of Highway 16 between Prince George and Prince Rupert in northern BC, known as the Highway of Tears.

This October BC's Privacy Commissioner Elizabeth Denham confirmed that a political staffer in Transportation Minister Todd Stone's office deleted internal records about the Highway of Tears in order to avoid them becoming public. This is a continuation of 10 years of the Liberals refusing to even discuss or acknowledge the issue.

Transit

In 2006 the Highway of Tears Symposium, involving more than 500 people from 91 Indigenous organizations, community groups and trade unions released a report containing 33 recommendations on how to prevent the deaths and disappearances.

The report identified a combination of poverty and lack of transportation infrastructure as the primary factors leading to the murders and disappearances. Many can't afford to buy a car so they hitchhike and become vulnerable to predators. So the first and most important recommendation in the report was for a free shuttle bus transportation system to be established between each town and city located along the entire length of highway 16. The report estimated that just 7 buses would be required.

Nearly 10 years after the symposium's report, the Liberal government has yet to even begin consultations on implementing the report's recommendations and, in true Harper style, they refuse to answer requests for interviews on the subject.

LNG profits

It is no coincidence that this scandal comes at the same time as the Liberals are pushing for an LNG industrial revolution in northern BC. They know that implementing the recommendations of the Highway of Tears Symposium would force them to acknowledge the terrible state of social services and infrastructure in First Nations' and northern BC communities, and expose the lie that LNG development brings prosperity.

The boom and bust model

Campaign for Indigenous children

By Valerie Lannon and Sandra Fragola

Cindy Blackstock of the First Nations Child & Family Caring Society helped to kick off Ryerson University's Social Justice Week on October 5.

She gave the keynote address at an event entitled "Reconciliation: Ready, Set, Go!"

Canadian values?

Blackstock began by pointing out that the most egregious forms of racism in Canada historically have all been "legal"—from the Indian Act, to the Chinese "head tax" onwards.

She emphasized that rather than focus on "Canadian values," we should emphasize "human values," and noted that government racism against Indigenous children (through under-funding of services) "is our Confederate flag, and Parliament has laws that give it life."

She said that racism is most dangerous when it is combined with righteousness, "as with statements like 'No more funding for First Nations, because they won't know what to do with it.' Or the hypocrisy of this government that passed the First Nations Accountability Act, while not itself accountable for the use of its own funds" (presumably referring to Senate expenditures among other things).

Internal government documents show that the Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada ministry had to reallocate funds from infrastructure programs (housing, roads, water systems) in order to cover education and social programs. Blackstock asked, "Why not go to the budget surplus for that?"

Allies

Blackstock described the heroism of Dr. Peter Bryce, a public health official and tuberculosis expert who warned the government of the day that "residential schools were hotbeds for the propagation of this disease (tuberculosis)" and that the disease was preventable with as little as \$15,000 in spending. But the government never released his report and smeared him instead.

Today's allies of Indigenous peoples can take part in the I am a Witness campaign. This campaign supports the complaint made to the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal about inequitable funding for child and family services in First Nation communities.

Visit www.fnwitness.ca for more information

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



Syria: neither Washington nor Moscow

Russia's entry into the war in Syria has been hailed by many anti-imperialists as providing the antidote to US power in the region. It is assumed that Russia has no imperial aspirations of its own and will help bring peace by limiting the free hand of the US.

This conclusion is based almost exclusively on a comparison between the relative size of the US versus the Russian footprint in the Middle East and the most recent military interventions of each state.

US imperialism

It is true that the US global military presence is enormous. They are now engaged in military operations in a staggering 135 states around the world. The invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan were war crimes that exposed the US as brutally aggressive in its plans for global domination. The “war on terror” killed more than 1 million people over the last 14 years.

For some, therefore, it makes sense that any other state that is challenging the US must be seen as an ally against imperialism. The de-

sire to build any alternative to this brutality – even one that relies on military intervention by other states – is genuine and is coming from a desire for peace but it represents a failure of political analysis and requires us to ignore the realities of imperial history.

More bombs – just being dropped from different types of jets – will only expand and deepen the crisis that already exists.

Russian imperialism

The smaller size of the Russian military and its lesser role internationally doesn't change the fundamental dynamic of imperialism, which requires states to intervene militarily to benefit domestic capital. What we are seeing is a Russian state, damaged by sanctions and dropping energy revenue, attempting to reassert itself as a global player.

The relative weakness of the US and its failed imperial plans—both the loss of control in Iraq and the lack of a clear strategy in Syria—has provided the opening for Russia.

The western media, of course,

opposes Russian involvement. It is both sad and ridiculous to watch western military pundits turn themselves in knots as they condemn Russian bombing as destabilizing for Syria but remain steadfast in their support of coalition bombs which have been destabilizing the area for years.

All foreign military interventions are conducted with the interests of the imperial state at heart. In the case of Syria, Russia is attempting to assert some control over a region that the US hoped would be part of its imperial framework. Russia wants Assad to remain in power to weaken the relative position of the US in the global imperial pecking order.

But the Russian bombing – like the coalition bombing – will only exacerbate the brutal conditions that the people of Syria have had to endure. It will strengthen Assad and result in more killing of those who rose up against him in the first place. The underlying tensions that gave rise to the war in Syria will not go away with a new round of bombing.

Arab Spring

Only the return of the Arab revolutions can bring peace to Iraq and Syria.

The Arab spring uprisings provided a brief glimpse of what the region could look like without imperial interference. Millions took to the streets to oust dictators that were in one way or another supported by the major powers. They brought up the possibility of a true regional mobilization against the interests of the imperialists.

No state will support that kind of revolutionary wave. They will always try to crush it. States are not benign entities. They are an expression of the control of domestic ruling class against working people. Any revolution is therefore seen as a threat to their control.

That is why revolutionaries in the west must remain clearly in support of the movements of the masses against their own states and must never side with governments that crush dissent at home and rule with brutality abroad.

US continues war crimes in Afghanistan

A year ago US President Barack Obama announced that “our combat mission in Afghanistan is ending, and the longest war in American history is coming to a responsible conclusion.”

What a shock then for patients and staff at the hospital in Kunduz, Afghanistan, when the US bombed the facility last month—killing 30 people, including 10 patients and 13 members of MSF (Doctors Without Borders).

War crime

As the executive director of the humanitarian aid organization described, “In Kunduz our patients burned in their beds. MSF doctors, nurses, and other staff were killed as they worked. Our colleagues had to operate on each other. One of our doctors died on an improvised operating table—an office desk—while

his colleagues tried to save his life.”

Imperial justifications

The US military's first response was to dismiss it, claiming the attack on Taliban fighters “may have resulted in collateral damage to a nearby medical facility.”

When MSF objected to the allegations, explaining they had sent the US military their precise coordinates days before the attack and also contacted them during the attack, the explanation shifted from mistake to justification—claiming the hospital was a Taliban base.

As the aid organization wrote, “MSF is disgusted by the recent statements coming from some Afghanistan government authorities justifying the attack on its hospital in Kunduz. These statements imply that Afghan and US forces working together decided to raze to the

ground a fully functioning hospital with more than 180 staff and patients inside because they claim that members of the Taliban were present. This amounts to an admission of a war crime. This utterly contradicts the initial attempts of the US government to minimize the attack as ‘collateral damage.’

“There can be no justification for this abhorrent attack on our hospital that resulted in the deaths of MSF staff as they worked and patients as they lay in their beds. MSF reiterates its demand for a full transparent and independent international investigation.”

Instead, NATO have claimed to be carrying out their own investigation, which included sending in a tank to demolish evidence. As MSF wrote, “Their unannounced and forced entry damaged property, destroyed potential evidence and

caused stress and fear.”

Stop the war

This war crime, and its justifications, gives a glimpse into the years of terror unleashed on the people of Afghanistan.

In 2011 NATO launched the war to “liberate women” and instead supported misogynist warlords. NATO occupied the country for 13 years to “bring development” and only brought war crimes and more poverty. Now after claiming to have “ended combat operations” the US has bombed a hospital and then driven over the evidence of the war crime.

It's time for a real end to the war, and reparations for the people of Afghanistan.

Blair ‘apology’ for Iraq War

After years of stubbornly defending the illegal Iraq War, former British Prime Minister Tony Blair finally offered a half-apology.

“I apologize for the fact that the intelligence we received was wrong...I can also apologize, by the way, for mistakes in planning and certainly our mistake in our understanding what would happen once you remove the regime.

While conceding the war was based on faulty intelligence and contributed to the rise of ISIS, Blair did not apologize for the million people killed or the millions more displaced.

Support war resisters

But his half-apology does add more momentum to the ongoing campaign to win refuge for US war resisters. If even Blair can admit mistakes for the Iraq War that led to a million Iraqi deaths and shattered Iraqi society, then ordinary soldiers refusing to follow those mistaken orders should not be punished.

Canada did not join the Iraq War and a majority of people across the country support US Iraq War resisters. But Harper ignored the majority, criminalized war resisters and deported them to jail in the US.

With Harper gone, there is momentum for the Liberals to finally end the discrimination against war resisters and to let them stay.

Stop war

In the CNN interview where Blair “apologized,” he also expressed the frustrations of Western powers over their interventions in the Arab world.

“We have tried intervention and putting down troops, in Iraq. We’ve tried intervention without putting in troops, in Libya. And we’ve tried no intervention at all but demanding regime change in Syria. It’s not clear to me that even if our policy did not work, subsequent policies have worked better.”

None of these have worked because all of them are based on imperial intervention.

After a decade of sanctions that killed a million Iraqis, the Iraq War killed a million more. In response to resistance that prevented the US from advancing into Syria and Iraq, the US armed sectarian death squads, paving the way for ISIS.

Real “regime change” came in the form of the Arab Spring, toppling Western-backed dictators in Egypt and Syria. But the West intervened in Libya to hijack the revolution and support former regime elements, resulting in more civil war.

Then the West repeated the process in Syria, but instead of directly bombing it used Saudi Arabia to arm sectarian groups, contributing to ISIS.

No imperial strategy can bring peace to the region. The only solution is to support popular resistance to repressive regimes, whether they are backed by the West or not, and to stop our own governments from bombing or intervening through arms.

Harper deported war resisters, sent fighter jets and sold weapons to Saudi Arabia. To reverse Harper's militarism we need to demand the Liberals support war resisters, bring all the troops home, and stop arming Saudi Arabia.

Capitalism and oppression

Does capitalism need oppression? Theoretically, at least, it seems like the answer to this question might be no. The driving impetus underlying capitalism as a system is the need to accumulate and to create profits, as in Marx's famous description of the profit motive in Volume 1 of *Capital*: "Accumulate, accumulate! This is Moses and the Prophets!"

Exploitation, by which Marx meant the extraction of surplus value from the worker, is the process by which the system lives or dies. Surplus value, simply put, is the amount of money the capitalist makes after the wages paid to the workers for their labour – the profit margin, which the capitalist must then plough back into production or development of technology and means of production, in order to stay competitive with rival companies.

Oppression - discrimination based on supposed shared characteristics of the oppressed group - may then seem like an add-on, an unnecessary appendage to the real agenda of the capitalist, which is the creation of profit.

In one sense this is an accurate description of how the system might work in an ideal world, one devoid of real living human beings, where profits could be generated by non-differentiated robots who would simply accomplish their tasks, no questions asked.

But of course capitalism is a system created by human beings moving through history. The workers whom capitalism depends on for its profits also have the potential to be the system's downfall, as in Marx's famous phrase where he describes the working class as potentially the gravediggers of capitalism.

Divide and conquer

But this potential threat is not something of which our rulers are unaware. The critical role that oppression plays under capitalism is as a divide and conquer mechanism that makes it difficult for workers to see their common interests, whatever their gender, race, religion, sexual preference, etc.

Of course, many forms of oppression have also been economically important to capitalists at various historical periods. The foundations of North American capitalism were based on two horrific historical episodes: the stealing of land and resources from Indigenous peoples, which continues to this day, and the institution of slavery (initially begun with poor whites and aboriginal people as the plantation slaves) which saw millions of Black Africans taken forcibly from their homes to be sold into slavery in the New World.

The foundations of successful US capitalism were literally built on the backs of African men, women and children and the immense suffering and misery this entailed, as was so convincingly portrayed in Steve McQueen's movie *Twelve Years a Slave*. It was no exaggeration when Marx described the birth pangs of capitalism and colonialism as follows: "capital comes into the world dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt."

Likewise, women's oppression, although it predates capitalism and arose with the division of society into classes many thousands of years ago, plays a critical economic role for the system today. The ideology of sexism explains and justifies women's lower wages, since their primary role is still seen as that of wife and mother, regardless of what the reality may be.

In particular, the role of the atomized nuclear family with mother at the center allows the bosses to absolve themselves of any responsibility for the social conditions in which these families are expected to survive. And as austerity bites with attacks on the necessary supports to families, such as accessible healthcare, decent and affordable daycare, humane elder care – individual family members, and particularly women, are expected to, and often feel humanly obliged to, step in and fill the ever-increasing gap.

Class unity

According to Marx the working class is a class in itself. This means it's in our objective interests as a class of people who have nothing to sell but our ability to labour to band together and organize society differently.

But what needs to happen, Marx says, is that the working class needs to become a class 'for' itself – that is, a class that understands its power and the need to organize collectively to overturn the bloody system that exploits and oppresses us all. This can never happen when we are divided from each other along gender, racial, national, religious lines, or when we allow ourselves to be so divided.

When Russian revolutionary Lenin described revolutions as festivals of the oppressed he was speaking to the reality of the liberating power of struggle. Just as the Russian revolution was ignited by groups of working women demanding bread, so revolutionary situations since Lenin's time have all included powerful currents struggling against various kinds of oppression.

Lenin also argued that the working class movement had to be a tribune of the oppressed. A working class that accepts racist, sexist or homophobic ideas will not be able to achieve its own liberation because it is these poisonous ideas that the ruling class will use to divide and conquer.

Fighting against oppression is something that needs to be taken up by all of us, whether we are talking about women and men fighting and opposing sexism, about Blacks and whites fighting racism in movements such as Black Lives Matter, or Indigenous and non-Indigenous activists uniting to stop pipelines and to save the planet we live on.



Greek workers set to strike

by DAVE SEWELL, ATHENS

Unions in Greece have called a general strike on Thursday 12 November against an attack on pensions.

It is set to be the first general strike in almost a year involving the private sector union federation GSEE as well as the public sector ADEDY.

Port workers have also called a strike on Thursday of this week as part of three days of action against privatisation. Workers and supporters marched through the port town of Piraeus last week.

They aren't the only workers who are angry.

Rank and file teachers went into a meeting between their union and the new minister for education last week.

They stopped the meeting going ahead for several hours as they put their own demands to the minister.

Job cuts have created a severe teacher shortage in schools. Workers are considering strikes to demand more teachers are hired to fill the gaps.

Thousands of workers protested outside the Greek parliament earlier this month as MPs voted for left wing prime minister Alexis Tsipras's new austerity programme.

Supporters of cuts hailed the vote as Tsipras passing his first major test since his re-election in September.

They hope that a left wing government could get away with passing on the cuts demanded by Greece's creditors where right wing govern-

ments failed.

But Tsipras won the vote with just 154 MPs in a parliament of 300, as all opposition parties voted against his proposals.

The opposition from the neoliberal parties was opportunistic, but it shows the weakness of Tsipras's position even before he has started making the cuts.

And the strike calls show that the workers who voted no to austerity in July's referendum aren't ready to say yes to it now.

This is shared from Socialist Worker (UK)

Ankara Bomb Attacks: Blood On Erdoğan's Hands

Over a hundred are dead and scores more seriously injured after a bomb attack on a peace rally in the Turkish capital, Ankara. We offer our condolences to the family, friends and comrades of those killed, and we stand in solidarity with all those demanding justice.

The rally, called by trade unions, was unarmed and peaceful. It sought to end the Turkish state's war against the Kurdish people, which resumed in July when Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's government ended the peace process.

The rally was joined by many from the Kurdish and Alevi communities, along with left organisations, including DSİP, an affiliate of the International Socialist Tendency, one of whose members was wounded in the attack. Not only did Turkish police fail to provide security for the rally, once they arrived at the scene of the blast they attacked and gassed those trying to help the wounded.

It can be no coincidence that the bombs exploded at the site where members of the People's Democratic Party (HDP) were gathering. The HDP has united sections of the left with the Kurdish liberation movement and, in a historic breakthrough in June this year, passed the 10 percent threshold to needed to enter the Turkish parlia-

ment, winning 80 MPs. For this it has incurred the wrath of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP).

In the months leading up to the June general election there were 200 attacks on HDP events and offices, including a bomb attack on a pre-election rally that killed four people. The Turkish police did nothing to challenge this wave of violence or catch the culprits.

Since then, Erdoğan has intensified the climate of repression and intimidation surrounding the HDP. At a speech in August he denounced the HDP as a "terrorist organisation" that he planned to "teach a lesson" to. This same language has been taken up by a range of groups close to the AKP, as well as those linked to the far-right Nationalist Movement Party (MHP).

The Turkish state itself, as well as waging war on the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), has murdered Kurdish civilians. In September police laid siege to the town of Cizre on the Syrian border. Over 20 were killed in the town, including young children. No wonder that the crowds in Ankara, and in cities across Europe, in the aftermath of the bombings chanted "Erdoğan—Killer". We are clear: Erdoğan has blood on his hands.

Western leaders are colluding in the war on the Kurds and the Turkish left.

Turkey remains a member of Nato, whose secretary general simply echoed Turkish government propaganda, describing the bombing as a "terrorist attack".

The European Union, Britain and the US also persecute the PKK, which remains an outlawed organisation. They have stood by as Turkey has massacred Kurds fighting for their freedom.

The HDP has expressed its determination to continue the struggle. Two days of strikes have been called by unions who helped to organise the demonstration. The courage of the movement in the face of the intimidation and violence it has suffered is an inspiration to the left across the globe. We stand together with the solidarity movement unfolding internationally.

- * Solidarity with the HDP; support the strikes
- * Victory to the Kurdish liberation struggle
- * No to the Turkish state's persecution
- * Erdoğan must go
- * Free Öcalan
- * Lift the bans on the PKK

This is shared from the International Socialist Tendency

Quebec not to blame for Islamophobia

Valerie Lannon, Chantal Sundaram and Michelle Robidoux look at Quebec history, the niqab debate, and resistance to austerity and Islamophobia

The Tories tried to win an election based on Islamophobia and many blame the NDP losses on the niqab debate in Quebec. Once again, with the niqab as with First Nations rights and with immigration, the media are portraying Quebec as being more racist than the rest of Canada.

The sad truth is that there is nothing about the bigotry that has been unleashed by the niqab debate that is unique to Quebec, as the poll results from English Canada indicate.

Any attempt to blame Quebec for this deplorable “debate” only takes it to a new low, and provides a fig leaf for the Islamophobia that is born and bred in the “old-stock” vision of Canada promoted by the Tories—and the false claim of concern for women’s rights that too many in English Canada have bought into for years now. The niqab debate has brought this into sharp relief, not just in Quebec.

Quebec history

Islamophobia is by no means a Quebec creation, whether by those who continue to support Quebec’s sovereignty or by federalists within Quebec. But there are unique historical factors that colour the debate in Quebec.

One of these factors dates back to the struggle against the historic predominance of the Catholic church over all aspects of life in Quebec. This predominance flowed from British colonial policies after the Conquest of New France that enhanced the power of the clergy as a way of cementing their loyalty and ensuring social control.

The church used this control to channel desires for national self-determination and defense of the French language and cultural identity into a conservative nationalism. The revolt against both the Catholic church and the birth of a new secular nationalism came together in the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s, a rapid process of modernization and secularization. The State took over the functions of the Church in education, healthcare and social services.

Uprooting the power of the church was not easy. The period known as the Grande Noirceur (great darkness), under Maurice Duplessis’ Union Nationale government, saw a clash between growing urbanization and industrialisation, and the Conservative (Catholic) nationalists’ attempt to maintain the old structures of power. By 1960, at the end of Duplessis’ regime, only 54 per cent of adults 25 years of age had attained a grade 6 education.

Every aspect of society had been shaped by the Church’s dominance. The struggle for women’s equality—from the battle for birth control and abortion to the fight for legal equality—was fierce in this period of the Quiet Revolution. These battles are still fresh in the minds of many who fought hard to break the hold of religion on their lives.

The debate

One can sympathize with the visceral feeling of those who had to battle the church even about



what books you could read. This depth and breadth of religious control did not have a parallel in English Canada, nor is there much awareness outside Quebec of why the Quiet Revolution took place, and the central role of the fight against the Church’s influence.

Understanding how this struggle to uproot the Catholic church from state structures—and to free people from state-imposed religion—informs and shapes the current debate on the niqab is important for several reasons.

First, it helps to clarify the difference between that struggle and the situation today of a vulnerable minority in Quebec—Muslims—being forced by the state not to do something (wear the niqab or hijab). This understanding can show how targeting Muslims under the guise of “secularism” turns on its head the historically progressive nature of the fight for a secular Quebec, the fight to get what was effectively a Catholic state off people’s backs.

To equate that fight to shaming and silencing Muslim women who for whatever reason wear the niqab goes against the crucial freedoms that were won through the struggles of the 1960s and 1970s in Quebec, including the concept of a woman’s right to choose, and the idea of self-determination.

The debate over secularism in Quebec has not escaped the hypocrisy that infects the West. While debate rages over the hijab and niqab, a crucifix hangs in the Quebec National Assembly.

It is clear there needs to be a discussion that the expression of religion by the monolithic oppressive Catholic church in Quebec is not the same thing as the expression of religion exhibited by a member of a targeted oppressed group, i.e. Muslims. It is like saying that the nationalism of an oppressed nation (such as Quebec or a First Nation) is the same as the nationalism of an

oppressing, imperialist power. The historic control used by the Catholic church, on behalf of British imperialism, can never be replicated by the small number of Muslims in this country, particularly the minute number of women who wear the niqab!

The danger to all of us

It needs to be emphasized that Harper’s whipping up of Islamophobia (and “niqab-ophobia”) was done in the election to play on Quebecers’ rejection of religious dominance, to capture votes from the NDP. Outside the election, Harper uses Islamophobia to support western military interventions in the Middle East and huge restrictions on civil liberties at home. Consequently, opposing the wearing of the niqab plays right into Harper’s hands.

And far from just being a “distraction” from the real threats posed by austerity measures and anti-terrorism laws, rejection of the niqab has dangerous consequences for Muslims. Right after the televised leaders’ debate in Quebec that highlighted the niqab, a pregnant Muslim woman in Montreal had her hijab forcibly removed by two teens. This divisiveness, whether based on religious intolerance or “old stock” Canadian nationalism, not only endangers Muslims but seriously weakens the working class in Quebec and English Canada.

Resistance

In spite of poll results and of the role of the Catholic church in Quebec’s history, there is a strong anti-racist sentiment in Quebec. In fact, on October 2, Francoise David, MNA and spokesperson for Quebec Solidaire, introduced a motion condemning Islamophobia, which was unanimously adopted in the Quebec National Assembly.

While the media in English Canada has been eager to focus

attention on the backlash against the niqab in Quebec, little attention has been paid to the fact that this extremely dangerous divide and conquer issue has not succeeded in dividing or deterring a broad-based movement against austerity.

In Montreal on October 3, over 100,000 people from all over Quebec marched in the streets of Montreal chanting, “Les plus pauvres à l’enfer pour l’équilibre budgétaire” (the poorest to hell for a balanced budget).” It was organized by the Front commun (Common Front), an alliance of Quebec’s five major trade union federations.

In defiance of a provincial public-sector wage freeze they are seeking salary hikes of 13.5 per cent over three years, and two of the federations already have strike mandates.

This massive show of public sector resistance came just two days after the second “human chain” of parents who plan to surround public schools across Quebec with their bodies at the beginning of each month to stop the cuts to their kids’ education.

Quebec is struggling with many issues of national identity, ethnicity, and secularism that need to be worked out. But the best arena for this is one of collective resistance to the austerity measures that affect and can potentially unite people across those divides.

Anger and frustration against cuts and austerity can be turned towards scapegoating, and Quebec is no exception to the use of racism and Islamophobia for this purpose. But the people of Quebec are more than capable of deciding their future based not on social or ethnic exclusion but on resistance to austerity and the possibility of a Quebec, and a world, beyond capitalism.

VOTERS REJECT HARPER AND DEMAND CHANGE

Jesse McLaren looks at the election results, campaign lessons, and what this means for the struggle



Tories rejected, in the street and at the ballot box

After nearly a decade in power, Stephen Harper and the Conservative Party of Canada were voted out of office. Harper has been the face of Canadian austerity, racism, war and climate chaos, and has been challenged through multiple movements. The anti-Harper majority has now defeated him at the ballot box and demanded change, and the Liberal surge and NDP collapse both speak to a desire for change.

Harper had a majority in Parliament going into the election, but there was an anti-Harper majority outside Parliament which has mobilized over a series of issues. In 2011 the Occupy movement exposed the system of the 1%. In 2012 the Quebec student strike defeated a tuition hike and toppled the Quebec government. At the end of that year Idle No More emerged to fight for Indigenous sovereignty, and Indigenous communities have led a rising climate justice movement that recently mobilized 25,000 in Quebec and 10,000 in Toronto. There have been campaigns to stop Harper from ending public mail delivery, restore cuts to refugee health, challenge his attacks on civil liberties, and in Quebec a rising struggle against austerity.

While some elections see movements collapse into

electoralism, resistance to Harper and austerity continued throughout the campaign. When he used the refugee crisis to demand war and to criminalize refugees, there were mass rallies across the country to welcome refugees. When he created a campaign of hysteria against women who wear the niqab there was resistance. In the midst of the election campaign Quebec public sector unions organized a series of one-day strikes against austerity, and on October 3 a demonstration of 150,000 people.

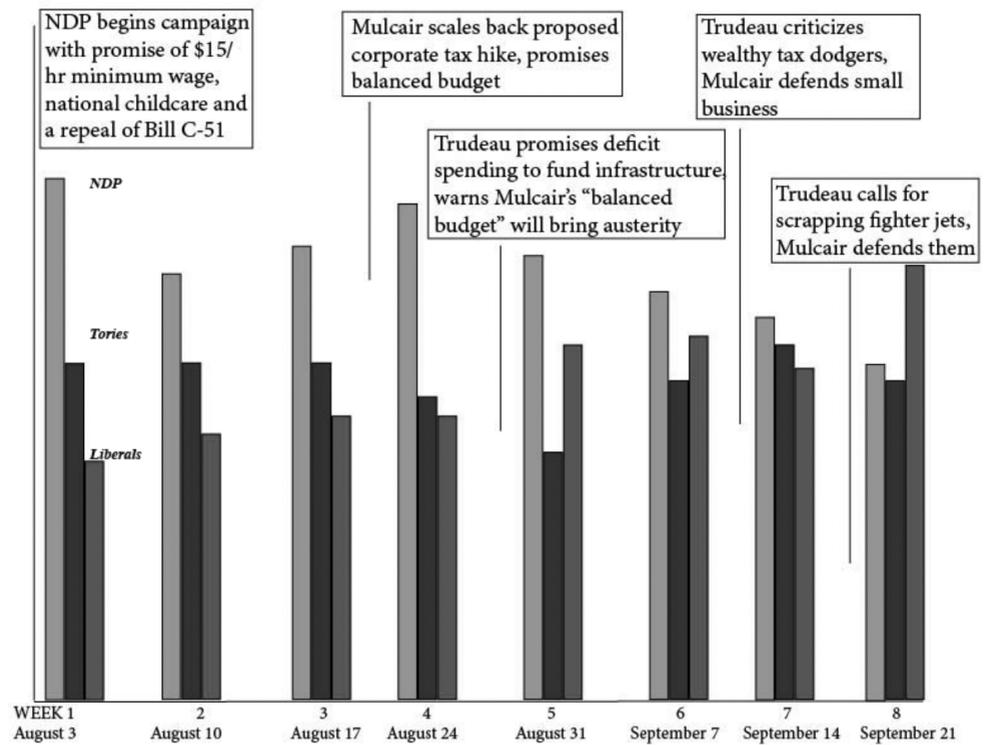
Tories

The Tory vote only dropped 200,000, from 5.8 to 5.6 million, showing that their campaign of fear and hatred succeeded in mobilizing and maintaining their base. But it failed to win anyone over or to win new voters. On the other hand there was a surge in voter turnout against Harper, increasing by 3 million votes. By a margin of 2 to 1, voters rejected the Tories and voted for change.

As well as Harper no longer being PM, and resigning as leader, 67 MPs were voted out, including:
-Finance Minister Joe Oliver, who presided over austerity and attacked climate activists

-Immigration Minister Chris Alexander, the face of the Tories' cruel and unusual treatment of refugees
-former Veteran Affairs Minister, Julian Fantino, who closed veteran centres
-Aboriginal Affairs Minister Bernard Valcourt, who showed contempt for missing and murdered Indigenous women
-Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq, who presided over massive attacks on health while being indifferent to the food crisis in Northern Canada
-and Wlodyslaw Lizon, who first suggested Kenney ban the niqab and that the government criminalize late-term abortions

In 2011 Harper gloated that there would soon be a Tory "hat trick" with the provincial Tories winning after Harper won federally and Ford in Toronto. That Harper had to return to the now disgraced Fords in last-ditch effort to win was a sign that his grip on power was slipping. We can be happy to have driven Tories from all levels of government, but in every case the beneficiaries were not the NDP but the Liberals—and in every case it's because the NDP campaigned to the right rather than mobilizing from the left.



The NDP's strategic failure

In 2011 the NDP became Official Opposition for the first time, based on anger at Harper, disillusionment with the Liberals and inspiration from the Arab Spring, and the occupation of the Wisconsin. While the Orange Wave showed the desire for an alternative, the NDP leadership reacted by taking the party further to the right.

In Ontario there was a workers' right campaign to stop Hudak and growing campaign for \$14 minimum wage and against Line 9. But the NDP campaigned refused to support \$14 minimum wage, promised budget cuts and said nothing about the climate. This allowed the Liberals to tack left, bury their history of austerity and pretend to be an alternative. This then encouraged "strategic voting," which defeated left-wing MPP Jonah Schein where Tories weren't a threat.

Then came the Toronto mayoral race. After a series of protests, deputations and a strike fought back against Ford's agenda, personal scandals removed him from office. Olivia Chow began the campaign in the lead, with the hope of clear alternative, in the context of Kshama Sawant winning in Seattle support \$15 minimum wage. But the campaign began supporting small businesses and balanced budgets, blurring what should have been clear lines between her and John Tory. This allowed Tory to portray himself as an alternative to Ford, and win.

Snatching defeat from the jaws of victory

Thanks to movements outside Parliament against Bill C-51 and for \$15/hr min wage the NDP began the federal election ahead by a wide margin. In the context of Jeremy Corbyn and Bernie Sanders packing stadiums, the NDP could have demanded corporate taxes and climate jobs. They could have become a megaphone for the rising climate justice movement, and exposed the Liberals as the twin party of corporate Canada.

But instead the NDP leadership tried to reassure Bay St it could manage capitalism. First Mulcair turned his back on movements. While the climate justice movement has delayed Harper's tar sands pipeline, Mulcair promised more tar sands. While the anti-war and Palestine solidarity challenged Harper's militarism, Mulcair silenced his own pro-Palestine candidates and defended fighter jets. While Black Lives Matter has challenged police brutality and anti-Black racism, Mulcair promised more police. Then Mulcair chased Tory voters, scaling back corporate tax hikes and promising a balanced budget.

This results were devastating for the NDP. The NDP began in the lead with 40% and ended up in third with 20%, losing Official Opposition status to the Tories. The NDP lost 59 seats, including most of their gains in Quebec, and were driven out of the Maritimes and the GTA. The NDP lost votes

in nearly 300 ridings, including those seats they held onto. While the Tories/Bloc/Green had roughly the same number of votes, the NDP lost a quarter of their votes, dropping a million (from 4.5 million to 3.4 million).

The NDP assumed a static electorate and chased Tory votes, which failed to win over Tories, while also sacrificing NDP and ignoring new voters. The Liberals portrayed themselves as a force for change and monopolized new voters. It's actually the higher voter turnout that cost the NDP in the GTA: Peggy Nash, Andrea Cash and Mike Sullivan only lost about 500 votes each but the Liberals that defeated them gained 8-10,000 new votes.

Niqab debate not to blame

The collapse of the Orange Wave can't be blamed on the niqab debate in Quebec.

Quebec has now had a provincial and federal election in which Islamophobia was a theme, and in both cases the parties pushing it lost. This time it was only after the NDP had blown their lead, by promising a balanced budget, that the niqab debate emerged. And the Liberals had the same position as the NDP and made gains. There was no riding in which NDP/Liberal vote fell, while Tory/BQ (who attacked the niqab) rose. Instead the Liberal vote rose in every riding in Quebec, and every riding across country.

The Liberals and the vote for change

Liberals

This is a contradictory situation. The Liberals are the twin parties of corporate Canada, who made deep cuts to social services in the 1990s. They joined the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and were only stopped from joining the 2003 Iraq war by a mass anti-war movement. They propped up Harper's minority rule from 2006 to 2011, and continued to support his recent majority government. Trudeau even voted for the draconian "anti-terror" law Bill C-51. But that's not there was a surge in the Liberal vote.

When Mulcair lurched to the right, Trudeau campaigned to the left, claiming to be the progressive alternative to Harper. Trudeau rejected a balanced budget and said he would run deficits to pay for infrastructure and create jobs. He criticized spending on fighter jets, promised to tax and rich and warned that the NDP would bring austerity.

Trudeau campaigned for "real change" and that's what people voted for.

The Liberals won 150 seats to get to 184, more than Harper ever had, and they did so by doubling their share of the vote—from 20 to 40 per cent. While their percentage of the vote is no higher than what Harper had, the higher voter turnout meant that the Liberals gained 4 million votes—from 2.8 million to 6.9 million. With the Tories preserving their number of votes, and the NDP losing a million the Liberal surge translates into taking a million from the NDP and the other 3 million from the higher voter turnout.

This was not an endorsement of the Liberals history of complicity with Harper but a vote against Harper. Years of opposition outside Parliament demanded change at the ballot box and voted for the party that people perceived best spoke to that change.

'Strategic voting'

"Strategic voting" also cost the NDP. The "vote together" campaign presented swing ridings to challenge the Conservatives; half were ridings where people were encouraged to vote Liberal, half NDP. If you look at the Liberal

ridings, it went as advertised: Liberal vote went up, NDP vote went down, the Liberals took the seat from Tories. But the same didn't apply to ridings where NDP were endorsed: in those seats they won they were still a net gain for the Liberals and in 3 ridings the NDP failed to beat Tories because Liberal vote didn't transfer.

So "strategic voting" was not a riding-specific tool for the NDP and Liberals to avoid "vote splitting" and cooperate to defeat Harper, equally transferring votes from one party to the other. Instead "strategic voting" fed into the rhetoric that we should vote Liberal to stop Harper, which became a unilateral mechanism of transferring votes NDP to Liberals—allowing the Liberals to rebuild themselves by splitting the NDP vote.

The main victim of strategic voting was not Conservatives but the NDP. The Liberals took 1 million votes and 51 ridings from the NDP—including many MPs who have supported social movements, like Andrew Cash, Peggy Nash and Rathika Sitsabesan. Instead it elected Liberals like former police chief Bill Blair. But the reason why this pull was so strong is because of the NDP strategy, which allowed the Liberals to outflank them to the left.

Contradictions and change

This election had the biggest voter turnout in 20 years. Years of opposition to Harper's agenda mobilized 3 million more people at the polls, who rejected Harper and demanded real change.

It's tragic that the main beneficiaries are the Liberals, who regained the majority they had in the 1990s when cut social services and the backing of corporate elite demanding pipelines and austerity. Like Obama, Canada's 1% are hoping a new face will continue the same policies. But the contradiction between people's expectations and reality can produce change: under Obama we've seen the Occupy movement, Black Lives Matter, the Fight for \$15 and the climate justice movement.

This election was a clear rejection of Harper and demand for real change, which resulted in both the NDP collapse and

On November 11 wear a white poppy instead

Justin Trudeau's first large public event will be Remembrance Day, and the politics that dominate that day match well with Trudeau: paying lip service to ordinary people's experiences while continuing the same ruling class policies.

While the day is marked by red poppies and the glorification of "sacrifice," the real history of the armistice is that of war resisters and revolution. The white poppy campaign helps challenge ongoing militarism and its impact on soldiers and civilians, including refugees.

Remember war and revolution

In 1914 the colonial powers that had divided the world went to war against each other. It could not have been a "war for freedom and democracy" because none existed: in 1914 Canada was in the midst of running its concentration camps—the residential schools—as part of its genocide against First Nations. Homosexuality and abortion were illegal, women were not even considered "persons" under the law, and the vote was denied to indigenous people, immigrants of Asian origin, women, people with disabilities, and men without property.

Any progress we've made has been a result of people fighting for their own liberation, against the Canadian state, not Canada joining an imperial war.

On Remembrance Day we should remember the war resisters and revolutions that ended war. This began just a few months into the war, in Christmas 1914, when soldiers from the British, French and German trenches put down their weapons and fraternized, only returning to combat on threat of court martial.

In 1917 French soldiers mutinied, and Russian soldiers joined the revolution that ended the war on the eastern front. In 1918 people in Quebec resisted conscription, while German soldiers joined the revolution that ended the war on the western front. November 11 was a product of war resisters and revolution.

Red poppies vs white poppies

WWI was supposed to be the "war to end all wars" but the century since then has been an endless series of wars, driven by capitalist states fighting on behalf of their corporations.

Armistice Day was turned from an anniversary of revolution into a state-sponsored glorification of war, and red poppies became the symbol of sacrifice that states still demand. It has erased the history of war resisters and been used to demand that more poor and working class people become cannon fodder for the rich.

In 1933 the white poppy campaign began in Britain, organized by the Cooperative Women's Guild of mothers, sisters, widows and wives of soldiers killed in WWI. It sought to raise awareness of the economic and political factors behind war, and to campaign against war and the arms trade.

In 2011 Quebec's anti-war coalition, *Échec à la guerre*, launched their own white poppy campaign, to challenge Harper's militarism and bring awareness to the civilian victims of war, including refugees.

From Harper to Trudeau

The surge in opposition that drove Harper from office includes opposition to his militarism: his wars in Libya, Syria and Iraq; his arming of Saudi Arabia and unconditional support of Israel; his military spending alongside cuts to veteran services; his cruel and unusual treatment of refugees, and deportation of war resisters.

Trudeau is eager to portray himself as providing the "real change" to Harper that he campaigned on, included promises to end Canadian bombing in Iraq and Syria and to welcome Syrian refugees. He needs to be held to these promises and pushed on others: ending support for Israel and arms for Saudi Arabia, welcoming war resisters and redirecting military spending into social programs.

The Liberals portray themselves as the kinder corporate party, the party that didn't send troops to the Iraq War of 2003. But that was a product of a mass anti-war movement that won over the NDP, divided the Liberals and stopped the government from going to war.

On February 15, 2003 there were anti-war protests in 80 cities across Canada and Quebec, as part of the largest protest in world history. There were 250,000 people marching in Montreal, and the same massive numbers mobilized a month later. In the context of a Quebec provincial election that would have punished the Quebec Liberals if their federal counterparts had joined a deeply unpopular war, Jean Chretien announced just days before the war that Canada would not take part.

On the first Remembrance Day of the new Liberal government, we should remember this anti-war history. The present day Parliamentary configuration is back to what it was in 2003, where the Liberals have a majority, the Tories are the "Opposition" and the NDP are in third place. But outside Parliament the anti-war movement has the potential of mobilizing and impacting Parliament.

On Remembrance Day wear a white poppy to remember the revolutions that ended WWI, the anti-war movement that kept Canada out of the 2003 war, and to help build the ongoing movements to end war and the arms trade, support war resisters and refugees, and fight for world beyond capitalism and war.



Harkat: stop deportation to torture

By Sophie Harkat

After 13 years of pure hell and continued injustice, the struggle continues for security certificate detainee and my husband Mohamed Harkat.

Sixteen months of silence followed the second Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) decision that deemed security certificates "imperfect" and secret hearings "uncomfortable" for the SCC judges, however still constitutional. Mohamed received his deportation papers in the middle of an election campaign.

Because of the severity of allegations against him and according to Amnesty International, he is now at great risk of incommunicado detention, torture or death if returned to Algeria. 'Presumed terrorist' is the most damaging label someone can ever be given.

For years, I had refused to talk about the subject of deportation because I was confident in the justice system, and always believed that justice would eventually prevail. This time, it's serious and very personal. Other than the deportation fight itself, we no longer have legal remedies. The large cloud that's been hanging over Moe's head just got bigger and darker and the situation is real, urgent, disturbing and scary all in one.

We are fortunate that his family, supporters and I are ready to fight so they never take him away. The reality is, I need him here as much as he needs me to fight for him.

Secret trials, a precursor to Bill C-51

Our committee has been warning Canadians that it could eventually happen to them, and then Bill C-51 happened. Don't start crying wolf when they come for you or a loved one. It's already too late.

It all started on Dec. 10, 2002 -- Human Rights Day -- after Mohamed was arrested by dozens of officers and thrown in jail without charge or access to the evidence and his legal team was kept in the dark.

Mohamed spent 43 months in detention without any human contact with his family, except through a thick window, one year in solitary confinement and then was released on bail under the toughest bail conditions in Canadian history. That was the price of his freedom.

For seven and a half years, I became a full-time jailer and prisoner in my home. Moe wore a GPS bracelet around his ankle 24/7 and had to plug himself in a wall to recharge two hours a day. There were two surveillance cameras inside our home and Moe was never to be left alone inside or outside our home.

Mail and phone calls were intercepted; all visitors, including our family members (new born nephew

and 80 year old grand-mother) had to be pre-approved by the CBSA. Mohamed was only allowed three outings per week for four hours, each pre-approved in advance by 48-96 hours.

He was followed by an army of CBSA bulletproof-wearing officers and CBSA vehicles were parked in front of our home. We had no access to technology in our home including cell phones -- only my computer, which was kept under lock and key at all times and the list goes on.

Many times Moe offered to go back to jail because it was too hard on his loved ones. Never!

During those years, we've had to share public washrooms, my gynaecology appointments, trips to the dentist and a change room because he could never be left alone. He was denied attendance at his own 40th birthday party, followed at the grocery, restaurant, public bus, movie, family and friend's homes, at my grandfather's funeral and everywhere we went.

Imagine the constant sound of a walkie talkie following you. Imagine having no more personal space or private life. Imagine your home being raided by 16 CBSA officers and three sniffing dogs a few days before your hearing only to be left without explanation.

For 13 years, we have been dehumanized, humiliated, put into question, even under oath. You testify: you're a liar; You don't testify, you are hiding something. Every word, every movement, every breath, even those loud sighs of my despair when CBSA was breathing down my neck put into question, not just Moe, his family and friends. Every aspect of our private lives exposed and scrutinized by the court and the press. It's our words against theirs, fighting a giant. Judged by so many who do not know us.

Ours was called a marriage of convenience by the court and the media. There is nothing convenient about this struggle. Years of sacrifices, all in the name of freedom and justice. We married for better for worst. A few months short of our 15th wedding anniversary, 13 of those were hard.

We stuck to our vows, and I will continue to be behind him until he clears his name and is safe and free.

The saddest part is that Moe came to Canada for a better life and loves this country. He considers himself Canadian. He knows nothing else and does not want to be anywhere else. His roots and his family are here. He must stay and we are obligated to keep him safe.

Regardless of the last Supreme Court decision in May of 2014, many groups and organizations continue to believe that secret trials are unconstitutional.

How is this justice? Being held without ever being charged? Never

having access to the evidence against you? All original material and evidence for your case destroyed by CSIS?

The informant, who is the main source of the allegations, failed his lie detector test and can never be cross-examined in public or behind closed doors by security-cleared lawyers where no one would see his face or know his name. The Harper government gave the green light to allow the use of evidence that comes or derives from torture.

To put it mildly, a security certificate is like being accused of murder, except you don't know who you killed, when it happened and how you did it and you're asked to defend yourself. How can this be acceptable for anyone? I challenge anyone who would accept that for themselves? Let's trade shoes for one day.

Let's look on the bright side, Moe is still here, the GPS is off, we have more freedom, we have a loving family and supporters, we have a terrific immigration lawyer, and we have each other. The truth is, he cannot get a job because of the allegations on his back or because of the severe bail restrictions that prevents him from working around any type of technology.

We no longer have financial assistance for his case and have to pay for it ourselves. Our long-time, dedicated public counsel is on an extended sick leave. Moe suffers from PTSD and he faces deportation to torture. I don't know about you, but I'm pretty furious, I've had enough.

I fear for the future where we are allowed to arrest and detain more individuals based on allegations, associations and uncontested hearsay. I worry about someone's life being ruined by an informant whose credibility and reliability can never be tested. I worry about a court that continues to base their decision on the lowest standard of proof or on reasonable grounds to believe someone could be a threat. It's happening right here and will continue to happen.

Take action

We don't need your pity; we need you to take action now. Do it for Moe, for me and for others going through the same struggle. Do it in the name of justice. We can make a difference.

Make a much-needed donation to help with our high legal costs and sign our petition. Or you can organize a screening of the award-winning documentary *The Secret Trial Five* and invite us to speak to your group, local, classroom. Contact your MP. Spread the word. Speak up! Public support and pressure is crucial to our fight and to other causes.

Visit justiceforharkat.com

This is shared from rabble.ca

REVIEWS



illustration by Sephiroth via deviantart.com

Does socialism kill ghosts?

BOOK

By Glen Truax

I've been possessed by a fascination with the British writer Susan Hill. She's the author of an ungodly number of ghost stories and darkly dark dark mysteries, including the wildly successful *Woman in Black*, an international bestseller and long-running play in London.

She perfectly captures the elements that make up the traditional English ghost stories, with a moodiness and bleak attitude all her own.

Hill is also a conservative Tory who believes that charity begins at home, loves the Royals, is married to a Shakespeare expert, etc. She also honestly believes that some people are essentially evil, something that socialists would categorically deny (the "evil" accusation is almost medieval, given the accepted "social context" approach to wicked acts or people).

I'm reminded of something that Stephen King once argued, that horror was ultimately conservative. It deals with frightened people banding together to exclude the hated "Other"; basically a mentality that rejects anything foreign or unknown. The fact that this theory was dreamed up by a guy who would normally consider himself "liberal" makes his argument that much more confusing.

Gothic politics

And this where the delineation between the Gothic and the horror story begins. Gothics may focus on the tragedies of the past, but the genre itself is far more progressive, both in

content and creators, than, say, Texas Chainsaw Massacre or Cujo.

Gothic fiction and ghost stories have been largely the province of a great many progressive people, particularly women - Mary Shelley, Angela Carter, Toni Morrison, Isaak Dinesen, Shirley Jackson and many more come immediately to mind. There is something about the claustrophobia of the domestic life that women have historically captured brilliantly.

As a syllabus, the Gothic genre includes a variety of outlets, ranging from Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Edgar Allan Poe, *Dracula* and its various permutations, ghost stories in general (*The Turn of the Screw* and *The Haunting of Hill House* in particular), Ambrose Bierce, Angela Carter, the film version of *The Shining* and so on. What differentiates this pack from its knuckle-dragging cousins in the mainstream horror genre is atmosphere. The idea is to aim at the creeps, a sense of terror and unease, rather than balls to the wall gut punch revulsion. Probably the best descriptor of the Gothic is "a sumptuous aura of eerie decay."

A more appropriate descriptor would be an aura of aristocratic decay. It's been argued that the early Gothics were the result of Protestants' fascination with the decline and degeneration of the Catholic aristocracy, and while we've come a long way, baby, it's not difficult to pick up on subversion in later fiction. From the feminist, dark re-telling of faerie tales in *The Bloody Chamber*, to the attack on Victorian femininity and domesticity in "*The*

Yellow Wallpaper", all the way up to *Rosemary's Baby* and its masterful treatment of pregnancy and the crazed gender roles still propagated in the twentieth century, Gothic rt cleverly skewers and attacks predominant but outdated norms.

But does a socialist emphasis on materialism and a rejection of ignorant "superstition" (including Christianity) require a move away from spooky tales of the past?

One glaring example that the Gothic is not bound by the superstitious is the existence of an entire sub-genre called Southern Gothic. In a nutshell, it is Gothic fiction hailing from that particularly antiquated, backwards part of the Deep South in America. And most importantly, it almost never incorporates the supernatural to create that terrifying, unpleasant atmosphere that is the hallmark of the Gothic canon. Real monsters exist, and they don't need cloven hooves to invoke menace.

While share-cropping effectively replaced outright slavery, and while the KKK did its utmost to maintain a terror state for African Americans, the white gentry has been on a long slow decline, degenerating, mutating into something altogether not wholesome. You don't need ghosts to create a haunting atmosphere. People are troubled and unhinged on the past and the creepier elements of the present without needing face-eating aliens or graveyard ghouls to round things out. It's the atmosphere that matters, and that creates a wide-open playing field for anyone wishing to write dark, possibly subversive fiction.

BOOK

Marxism and women's liberation

Marxism and Women's Liberation
Written by Judith Orr
Reviewed by Faline Bobier

This book is a must read for feminists and socialists, and really for anyone who wants to understand—and more importantly, fight to end—women's oppression.

It is a masterful overview of the gains made by successive waves of the women's movement and also how those gains cannot be taken for granted as the system goes into crisis and triggers a backlash.

Orr's book reminds us of the many heroic struggles, past and present, women have been involved in for our own liberation: the struggle for the vote, the continuing struggle for access to free and legal abortion and reproductive justice, the fight for sexual liberation and against the rigid gender roles imposed on women (and men) inside the family, struggles in the workplace against sexism, lower wages and the ghettoization of women's labour.

At the same time she reasserts the importance of Marxism as a theory which is critical both to understand-

ing the roots of women's oppression and to organizing ourselves to end it. Orr's book grounds an understanding of the origins of women's oppression in the role of the family and the way emerging class society shaped it. She looks to the work of Marx and Engels, particularly Engels' book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, to refute the notion prevalent in much patriarchy theory that all women are oppressed by all men throughout human history, and that this division is fundamental to human nature.

In many pre-class and pre-capitalist societies there is evidence of a much less strictly enforced notion of gender—rather than the rigid binary of "male" and "female." She gives the example of two-spirited people in Indigenous societies. With the institutionalization of the nuclear family and rigid gender roles in the 19th century, women and men were expected to conform to gender norms. This is one of the reasons LGBT people come under such attack since they challenge these norms. This is particularly true for trans people.

Struggle

Capitalism needs the nuclear family as the cheapest way to bring up the next generation of workers, at little expense to the capitalist class—especially in today's recessionary times. This in turn, increases the level of pressure on individual members of the family—and particularly on women—to try and meet all the shortfalls of a system in crisis (crumbling social services, healthcare and elder care, lack of affordable day care, etc.).

It's impossible to understand women's oppression without understanding how integral it is to capitalism, and the most effective way of fighting women's oppression is actually to wage the fight where we are strongest: in the workplace where people of all genders are brought together and have to cooperate together in order to win.

Thus some of the most important gains women have made here in Canada have been won by united working class action—from maternity leave to abortion rights.

LEFT JAB

John Bell

Justin Trudeau's corporatism

The great American architect Frank Lloyd Wright got his start designing homes and public buildings in a Chicago suburb.

I recommend the audio-guided tour of the neighbourhood. Some of the recorded commentary is from Wright himself, including his description of a home he designed in 1939, as a response to the rise of fascism. His idea was to build windows in all the corners, to cast light into the dark places and expose the threat. On tape, Wright almost sighs: "Then I discovered you can have corner windows and fascism too."

Which brings me to Justin Trudeau and the Liberal election victory.

Here is what I have been hearing since the vote: yes, every Liberal government ever elected in Canada has ended up screwing working people. But this Justin fellow seems awfully nice so let's just give him the benefit of the doubt, spot him a couple of years to undo the Harper damage, and hope for the best.

Sunnier conservatism

Justin Trudeau is the corner window of Canadian politics. I'm not saying that Trudeau is a fascist. I don't think Harper was a fascist either. The creeping threat of fascism comes from the ascent of corporate power, a power that can take more or less belligerent forms.

As repellant as Harper was, he was never the main enemy. It was the rule of corporate interests—specifically the oil and gas industry—over our democracy. To think otherwise is to agree with the even more repellant Jason Kenney, that the problem with Harper was one of "tone." "We need a conservatism that is sunnier and more optimistic than we have sometimes conveyed," opined the erstwhile Defence Minister and would-be Grand Inquisitor.

Justin Trudeau is that sunnier and more optimistic conservatism.

For me the most telling moment of the election campaign was the resignation of Trudeau's campaign co-chair, Dan Gagnier. Gagnier has a long history working with and for the oil industry; he was caught advising his petro buddies as to the best ways to influence a new Liberal government.

An investigation by journalist and petroleum industry critic Andrew Nikiforuk, in *The Tye*, documents close connections between Gagnier and Bruce Carson. Carson is the disgraced Harper advisor now on trial for illegal lobbying and influence peddling. Both were vice-chairs of the Energy Policy Institute of Canada (yes people, this is an EPIC scandal). While Carson served as aide and senior advisor to Harper for years, Gagnier was a senior advisor to the Chretien Liberals.

The essence of the incoming Trudeau regime will not differ from the essence of the outgoing Harper gang. And the scandals that will inevitably pull it down will be the same.

Pierre Trudeau

I have lived under Liberal governments most of my life, and it is their treachery that sticks in my mind.

It is well known that Pierre

Trudeau manufactured a terrorist crisis in 1970, imposed martial law in the form of the War Measures Act, and used it to criminalize not only advocates for Quebec nationalism, but trade union activists across the country.

In the 1972 election the Liberals were reduced to a minority government. The NDP, led by David Lewis, won 31 seats, and used their balance of power to prop up the Liberals for two years.

In 1974 they and the Tories forced a new election. The NDP had dreams of taking advantage of a wave of militancy sweeping the country.

In the background was a combative Canadian working class with a magnificent record of striking to win better pay and working conditions. Hard as it may be for today's activists to believe, Canada led western nations in strike days "lost," wildcats were common and solidarity between public and private sectors was the order of the day.

This climaxed in 1972's Common Front strikes in Quebec, which essentially paralyzed the province and saw workers temporarily take over industry, media and entire towns.

In the 1974 election campaign, the Progressive Conservatives, led by Robert Stanfield, campaigned on a plan to impose wage and price controls to break the momentum of the unions. Pierre Trudeau based his whole campaign on opposing wage and price controls. He ridiculed the dour Stanfield and out-flanked the plodding Lewis.

The call went out for strategic voting, and workers abandoned the NDP to support Trudeau as the best bet to stop laws limiting wage increases. Trudeau regained his majority. The NDP lost half its seats. Within a year Trudeau imposed the very wage and price controls he had campaigned against. Legal limits were imposed on public employees and workers in large scale industry.

The Canadian Labour Congress huffed and puffed. It organized a Day of Protest in October 1975, an attempt at a national general strike. Hundreds of thousands of workers walked out.

But Trudeau called the CLC's bluff. There was no strategy or will to sustain the fight, and the protests fizzled. That marked the beginning of the decline in union organization in this country, and with it a decline of working and living standards that continues to this day.

The lesson is this: don't be dazzled by Justin Trudeau's sunny, corner-window style. When push comes to shove on the issues the really matter—climate change, funding public services, restoring civil liberties and scrapping imperialism abroad—he is going to stab us in the back.

Not because he is a bad guy, but because the corporations that control him (and controlled Harper, Chretien, Mulroney and Trudeau, et cetera ad nauseam) require it.

And until we come up with a fight-back organized from the ground up, not from the top down like the CLC's 1975 dog and pony show, they will continue to get away with it.

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



Climate welcome

November 5-8
24 Sussex Drive, Ottawa



Global People's Climate March

Sunday November 29
Cities around the world

International Socialist events

A reading of David Fennario's play, Bolsheviki

November 9th 2015
7:00-9:00pm

Imperial Pub
54 Dundas St E, Toronto, ON M5B 1C7
Contact: atmckechnie@gmail.com



Socialist Worker

IDEAS FOR THE STRUGGLE

Socialist Worker is an anticapitalist paper that seeks to be a resource in the struggle to change the world – from the bottom up.

Not only do we cover the struggles that mainstream media silences, we also want to build links and develop ideas and analysis needed to confront a system in crisis.

Unlike most publications, Socialist Worker is not supported by the 1% – the millionaires and billionaires who fund the corporate media. Instead, we completely rely on donations from our readers and supporters to continue to appear each month.

Socialist Worker and Socialist.ca are produced and distributed entirely by

volunteers and contain no advertising.

If you support an independent anticapitalist alternative to the mainstream media – from the perspective of the exploited and oppressed of this world – please donate today.

Your contribution will make all the difference in helping to expand our coverage and reach.

Donation of \$60 or more: receive a subscription to Socialist Worker

Donation of \$180 or more: receive a subscription to the monthly Socialist Review

Donations of \$360 or more: receive a subscription to International Socialism Journal

Help us raise \$15,000

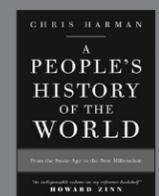
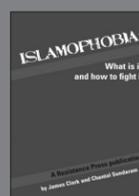
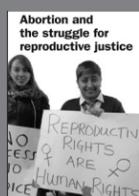
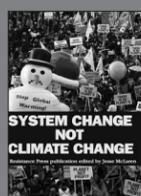
Yes! I would like to make a pledge to the Socialist Worker Fighting Fund

To donate visit
www.socialist.ca/donate or send a cheque to
Socialist Worker Fighting Fund
PO Box 339, Station E, Toronto ON

OPEN SATURDAYS, 12-3pm

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

RESISTANCE PRESS BOOK ROOM ideas for struggle



MARCH OF WOMEN

by CHANTAL SUNDARAM

Despite pouring rain, local supporters of the World March of Women in the Outaouais region came out to a community supper and festive spectacle on October 15 to support the regional lead-up to a Quebec-wide rally on October 17, under the banner “Libérons nos corps, notre Terre et nos territoires!” (“Liberate our bodies, our Earth, our territory!”).

Although the march through the streets of downtown Gatineau was cancelled due to heavy rain, the mood was high in celebrating Quebec’s hosting of the World March of Women in regions across Quebec. Free food and feminist musical performances took place in the main building of the Université du Québec en Outaouais, scene of recent confrontation between police and students, and notably between police and professors defending students’ right to strike.

The World March of Women will culminate in bringing together an anticipated 15,000 people on October 17 in Trois-Rivières. The event’s focus on centres outside of Montreal and Quebec City builds on previous Quebec-wide actions against austerity that have dug deep into Quebec’s regional sentiment for resistance to both oppression and austerity.

And, as the media release for the Trois-Rivières rally says, the event “will demonstrate the strength of women’s mobilization for true equality between men and women, between women themselves, and between peoples.”

It is this call for true equality that will give the lie to those, like the Tories, who claim to speak for women’s rights, all in the name of persecuting Muslim women, and all the while ignoring murdered and missing Indigenous women in this country.

TORONTO DISABILITY PRIDE MARCH



by JESSE MCLAREN

Saturday October 3 was the fifth annual Toronto Disability Pride March.

As the organizers explained, the march aimed to

- bring recognition of the struggles and value of people with disabilities as we fight against ableism and other forms of oppression

- be visible and show that we have a voice in our community and a right to be heard by taking to the streets

- celebrate and take pride in ourselves as a community of people with disabilities

The first speaker, Indigenous songwriter and activist Diem Lafortune, explained how traditional economies provided for people according to their needs. But colonialism has inflicted deep scars, impacting mental health.

Disability scholar Tracy Mack described how in the nineteenth century the Toronto asylum (now CAMH), incarcerated people with disabilities as a source of free labour -- and there’s an upcoming historical tour of the

wall: October 24, 1 p.m. at Queen and Shaw. She also discussed the intersection of disability and anti-Black racism, and denounced the disproportionate levels of police violence directed at racialized mad people.

TDPM began in 2011 during Occupy Toronto. As co-founder Melissa Graham explained, “not only are people with disabilities part of the 99%, they are typically part of the lowest 1% of the 99%.” The austerity agenda is sharpening this oppression -- through cuts to social assistance, social housing and transportation that disproportionately affect people with disabilities.

As Kevin Jackson, TDPM organizer and member of the Ethno-Racial People with Disabilities Coalition of Ontario explained, the march is not about charity, sympathy or a cure but respect for people with disabilities as human beings. TDPM is not a parade but an act of solidarity and resistance, exposing the priorities of the system. As the marchers chanted, “Build ramps, not bombs!”

It’s been a decade

since the Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act became law and still it has not been adequately enforced. MPP Cheri DiNovo spoke about the lack action from Queen’s Park and the need for the disability movement to keep mobilizing.

David Lepovsky, Chair of the Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act Alliance, discussed the ongoing barriers for people with disabilities and the need to enforce the Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act. He called on people to use the federal election to push for a Canadians with Disabilities Act, and to use citizen journalism to expose everyday instances of lack of accessibility. After nine years in power the Conservatives failed to deliver on their promise of introducing a national disability act, and the Liberals have yet to match the NDP and Green Party commitment. For an election action kit visit barrierfreecanada.org.

This is shared from rabble.ca

STICKING WITH THE UNION

Carolyn Egan

No honeymoon for the Liberals

Now that there is a Liberal government in Ottawa, the working class, social justice and climate movements must be relentless in their demands for change.

The Harper government was tossed out because people across the country could no longer tolerate conditions as they were. They wanted an end to the Islamophobia and racist divisions the Conservatives were sowing. They hoped for a government that recognizes the needs for climate justice and would stop the ravages of the austerity agenda.

They are not going to get that with the Trudeau Liberals. You need only look back to Paul Martin and other Liberal icons who slashed the transfer payments to the provinces that paid for health care and the social safety net, robbed the Employment Insurance fund and attacked workers. Former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was best known for the War Measures Act, which took away the basic civil liberties of trade unionists and activists in Quebec.

Climate justice

There is no time for a honeymoon with the Liberals. The climate justice movement is leading the way with actions planned through the fall, leading up to the United Nations conference on the environment in Paris. The first event was planned before the election and was to happen no matter what party was elected, because none of them were seen to be strong enough on environmental questions.

November 5 through 8 a Climate Welcome is being planned in Ottawa. The description is “a series of gentle, civil disobedience actions...to welcome Justin Trudeau to office and call on him to work on real climate action. We know people will need to push for an urgent and drastic shift in Canada’s climate policies ahead of the Paris talks. We also know that this starts with a Prime Minister that understands that climate

action and tar sands expansion don’t mix.”

The ask is that Trudeau commit to freeze the expansion of the tar sands and commit to a justice-based transition to a clean energy economy. This is to be followed up with mass demonstrations in Ottawa and across the country in conjunction with the planned march in Paris on November 29. Buses will be leaving from Toronto and other centres close to Ottawa and local actions will be taking place as well.

A world-wide climate justice movement is organizing and intends to keep up the pressure no matter the outcome of the Paris deliberations. It understands well that this is a long term struggle against governments and captains of industry across the globe whose goals are always to maximize profits, letting nothing stand in their way.

The fact that Harper is gone should fool no one that the relentless attacks on working people and the poor will stop or that the rape of the earth for its natural resources will lessen. If anyone has any doubt, the co-chair of the federal Liberal campaign made that very clear in his email to energy giants with tips on how to best lobby a new government.

Trade unions have signed on to the LEAP Manifesto, which links the fights for climate justice with the struggle against austerity. It puts forward an anti-capitalist approach highlighting an anti-racist, class perspective. Meetings are being held in every province organizing locally on the principles it espouses.

The Canadian Labour Congress has endorsed the November 29th rally. Union activists should get involved. Let the Liberal government know that there will be no honeymoon. Working people and the poor want real change and are prepared to fight for it. Let’s get into the streets and show Ottawa that we are part of an international movement for climate justice.

‘BARBARIC CULTURAL PRACTICES’

by JULIE DEVANEY

“Say it loud, say it clear, Muslim women welcome here!” was the chant that filled the sidewalk outside of Minister of the Status of Women Kellie Leitch’s campaign office in Alliston, Ontario on the afternoon of Thursday October 8.

Women’s groups and their supporters gathered in response to Leitch joining with Immigration Minister Chris Alexander to announce their “barbaric cultural practices” hotline. While this hotline is designed to divide neighbours on the basis of religion -- in essence inviting white Canadians to spy on their Muslim neighbours and “report” on them -- this action, organized by Women Working with Immigrant Women and endorsed by the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics and Toronto Health Coalition, was coordinated to identify “barbaric Conservative practices.”

Signs were pasted onto the side of the office

identifying the worst of the Conservative record, including: refusing to call an inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women, denying health care to refugees, voter suppression and the destruction of the environment.

Harper’s Conservatives have also been whipping up racism and xenophobia under the guise of “women’s rights” by proposing a ban on the niqab at citizenship ceremonies and possibly for all public servants. In response, there have been a rash of incidents, including the assault of a pregnant, Muslim woman in Montreal and woman wearing a niqab in Toronto being attacked while shopping with her daughters.

In a statement in solidarity with the action, Judy Rebick said, “That the most anti-feminist leader in decades is using women’s rights to cover his blatant racism and sexism adds insult to injury. What we wear is an individual choice just like control of our bodies. It is central to women’s

rights and to human rights. Adding other appeals to racism under the cover ‘barbaric cultural practices’ deepens the outrage.”

The rally began with Michelle Robidoux from the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics telling the crowd: “We are here to say there are many things in this country that are deeply disturbing, but they are not the niqab. What is disturbing is Ministers Kellie Leitch and Chris Alexander fomenting xenophobia and mistrust, getting neighbours to spy on each other with a hotline. Where is the hotline for Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women? Where is the inquiry? It is barbaric that the Prime Minister ordered a halt to refugee acceptance while thousands of people were drowning while fleeing wars.”

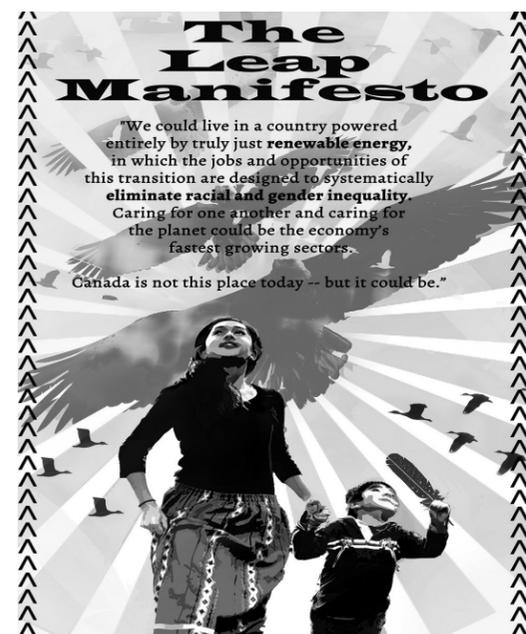
Others in the group wondered why, if Conservatives want to “protect” Muslim women, they don’t appear to be asking any Muslim women what issues they care about in this election. Participant Mohamed

Baksh said he joined the action “in support of this issue and for Muslim women in general and to talk about the divisiveness Harper is trying to put out there.”

“It’s working,” added Baksh, “because Muslim women wearing the niqab are afraid to go out in public and to go shopping. Harper wants to pit the rest of the public against Muslims so he can win this election. I appreciate when I look around and see everybody here today who are non-Muslims and I appreciate people coming out and showing that we have good support from the community out there because it goes to show that we all want to stand up for equality, we all want to stand up for justice and we want to make sure that people have that freedom and right to choose.”

Passers-by honked their horns and stopped to read the signs and express support.

This is shared from rabble.ca



SocialistWorker

TELL JUSTIN TRUDEAU...

Much of the opposition that challenged Harper was from the Indigenous-led climate justice movement. If the Liberals campaign slogan “real change” is to mean anything, it must mean real action for climate justice.

This year is the hottest on record, and the recent Hurricane Patricia smashing into Mexico show what will happen if we don't rapidly reduce carbon emission.

The climate crisis is urgent, and what happens in Canada will make a huge difference. As climate scientist James Hansen warned, “If Canada proceeds [with the tar sands] it will be game over for the climate.”

Fortunately a climate justice movement is rising.

Climate justice movement

Idle No More emerged in December of 2012 to challenge Harper's attack on environmental legislation and ongoing colonization of Indigenous territories, epitomized by the tar sands.

Since then the climate justice movement has delayed every major pipeline proposal. A wall of First Nations opposition has delayed the Northern Gateway pipeline to the west coast, and last year mass civil disobedience on Burnaby mountain delayed the Kinder Morgan pipeline.

The climate justice movement in Ontario and Quebec have delayed the Line 9 and Energy East pipelines, and those on both sides of the border have delayed the Keystone XL pipeline.

This year the climate justice movement mobilized 25,000 in Quebec City and 10,000 in Toronto, and climate justice activists intervened in the election demanding action.



The Leap Manifesto (leapmanifesto.org), launched in the midst of the election, shows a broad vision for climate justice that goes beyond the ballot box.

Clearly Harper's adversarial approach to the climate justice movement is not working for the 1%, and they are hoping a more friendly face can help expand the tar sands.

Liberal tar sands

The tar sands have always been a joint project between Liberal and Tory governments. Both parties have subsidized the tar sands, and whereas Harper took Canada out of the Kyoto protocol the Liberals simply ignored it and let carbon emissions rise under their rule.

As *The Globe & Mail* explained, “In the mid-1990s, with oil prices at depressed levels, the Liberal government of Jean Chrétien had to provide tax breaks to rescue the industry, in particular the two major oil sands producers, Suncor and Syncrude Canada Ltd.

“It wasn't until international crude prices began to soar in 2003—reflecting war in the Middle East and the rise in China's demand—that the oil sands sector found firm economic footing and expansion began in earnest.”

Now that a fall in China's demand and a surge in fracked gas has driven down oil prices, the Liberals are again coming to the tar sands' rescue.

While the Conservative frontal challenge to the climate justice movement only increased its strength, the Liberals are trying a softer approach of lip service and appeasement while continuing the same policies.

Trudeau's version of “change”

When Attawapiskat Chief Theresa Spence went on hunger strike against Harper's policies in 2012, Justin Trudeau met with her. “It was deeply moving to meet [Theresa Spence] today. She is willing to sacrifice everything for her people. She shouldn't have to,” he said at the time.

Despite this lip service, Trudeau was not moved on pipelines. The next year,

he visited politicians in the US to reassure them that he would continue to support the Keystone XL pipeline. “My support for Keystone is steadfast,” he said.

During the first leader's debate in the recent federal election, Trudeau tried to reassure Bay Street that he could promote the tar better than Harper could.

Trudeau accused Harper of making the tar sands “a scapegoat around the world for climate change” and of eroding public trust in pipelines. He said that “the job of the Prime Minister is to get those resources to market” and that he would “restore public trust” and “make sure the right partnerships are in place” to

promote tar sands.

Attending Trudeau's victory rally was one of the “partnerships” he was referring to: Phil Fontaine, former head of the Assembly of First Nations who now runs a consulting firm that pipeline companies use to lobby First Nations and to claim Indigenous support.

While Trudeau might support corporate partnerships, he supported Bill C-51 that seeks to criminalize Indigenous resistance to pipelines.

The corporate media are cheering Trudeau's invitation for other parties to join him at the Paris climate talks. But with every major party supporting the tar sands, this is just a cynical attempt to portray a consensus in favour of tar sands and to undermine the climate justice movement.

Real change

But the climate justice movement had no illusions that the election would make real change, and the surge in voters who drove out Harper won't simply accept lip service.

Plans for direct action November 5-8 at the Prime Minister's residence (climatewelcome.ca) began before the election, and this is continuing to build momentum after the election.

There will also be protests across the country and around the world on November 29, on the eve of the Paris climate talks. These talks, controlled by the capitalist states who subsidize oil and gas companies, won't stop the climate crisis.

But the talks will serve as a focus for the climate justice movement to demand real change, including Indigenous sovereignty and climate jobs.

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 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

Harkat: no deportation to torture

It is not a coincidence that Mohamed Harkat received his deportation papers in the middle of the federal election campaign.

Though it may have been eclipsed by the niqab debate, the affidavit for Harkat's deportation to Algeria, and most certainly to torture, was yet another indication of Harper's deliberate stoking of Islamophobia.

The deportation is the consequence of a “Security Certificate,” under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, which allows for the imprisonment in Canada of refugees and permanent residents without charge.

Security Certificates allow for secret trials in which evidence is not disclosed to the detainees or their lawyers, and the full right to appeal is denied in a process that uses the lowest standard

of proof of any court in Canada. And, they allow the ultimate injustice: deportation without charge to unfair imprisonment, torture or death.

But on October 19, voters sent a strong signal that they reject the overt Islamophobia and war-mongering of the Tories. The Liberal withdrawal of Canada's fighter jets from the Iraq-Syria mission was the first follow-through on that election mandate. The public sentiment demonstrated in the election is also a new opportunity to relaunch a movement to defend and regain civil liberties in this country.

On election night Liberal Adam Vaughn, who unseated Olivia Chow, declared the Liberals to be “the Party of the Charter.” The Liberals must be held to that: Security Certificates

must be declared unconstitutional, counter to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and abolished.

Secure Freedom

A 2006 film made by Justin Trudeau's own brother, documentary filmmaker and journalist Alexandre (“Sasha”) Trudeau, makes this very case.

Secure Freedom chronicles Alexandre Trudeau's efforts to support Syrian refugee Hassan Almrei, one of the five men who have had Security Certificates issued against them. In fact, Trudeau offered to be a surety for Almrei, and his appearance in court generated front page coverage and major media attention to the Security Certificate issue for the first time.

Justin should give his brother's film another watch today.

Ultimately, Security Certificates must be abolished. But right now, it is critical that they not be used to send a man to torture in Algeria.

What you can do:

The Justice for Mohamed Harkat campaign is relaunching its efforts in an attempt to stop the deportation. They are requesting both support and donations to help with legal costs: donate here and sign the petition here.

The award-winning documentary *The Secret Trial Five* is available for screening, and members of the campaign can be invited to speak to your group, union local, or classroom.

And contact your MP, no matter which party, to remind them that deportation to torture is unacceptable.