

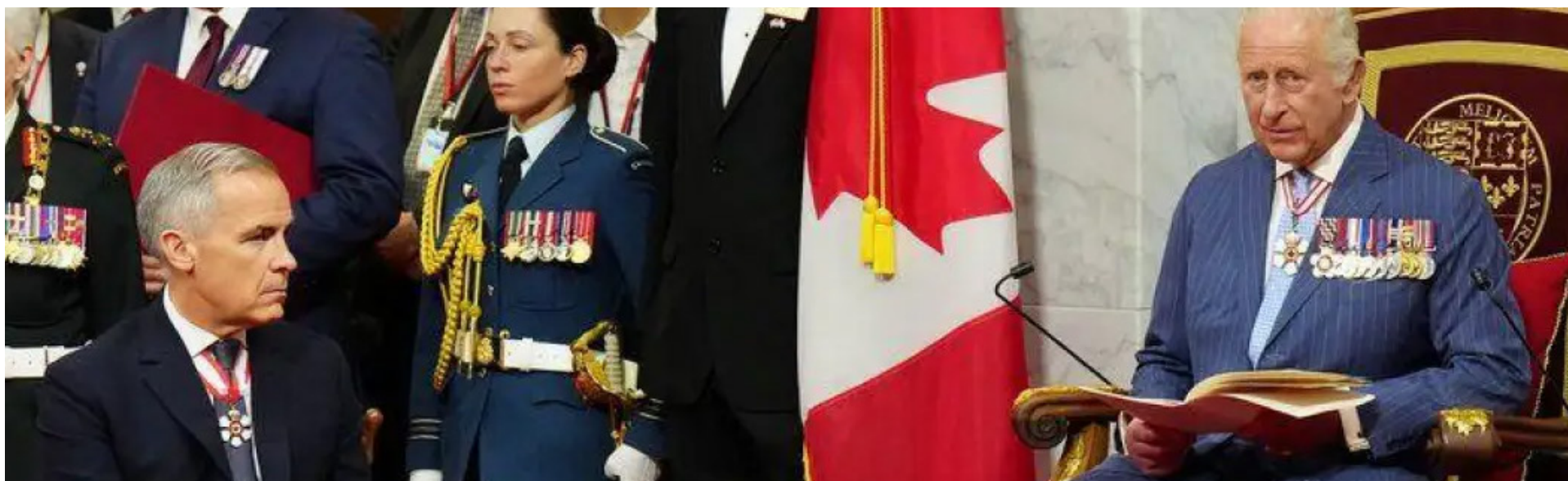
# Stop the attacks on Indigenous sovereignty



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# DEFY KING & CARNEY



The throne speech was written by one of the **richest men in Canada** and **delivered by one of the richest men in the world**. It should come as no surprise that **Carney's Liberals** promised more **wealth for the wealthy**, more **war**, more **racism**, more **climate chaos** and more **cuts to public services**.

# BUILD THE RESISTANCE!

# A throne speech from two rich men: Make Canada Great Again?

by: Chantal Sundaram and Bradley Hughes

From the “throne” of Parliament, one of the richest men in the world read a speech written by one of the richest men in Canada. This was heralded as a victory for Canadian identity and sovereignty against threats by another rich and anti-democratic man in Washington DC. What does this mean for the rest of us?

King Charles inherited the wealth created by the enslaved and colonized people the world over. Carney made his fortune working for companies like Goldman Sachs whose financial speculation helped create the market crash of 2008 and Brookfield Asset Management who, among other things, makes money by from property speculation, rental homes and student housing.

A British sovereign was asked to deliver the throne speech for the first time in decades, to draw a line in the sand against Trump. A feudal institution to save Canadians from the dismantling of democracy in the US? Most Canadians didn’t buy it: an Angus Reid poll found that 83% didn’t care that the King was giving the throne speech.

Carney is banking on the fear of Trump to allow the “King of Canada” to sell his bankrupt solutions. In the throne speech, the Carney Liberals put forward policies that will result in more wealth for the wealthy, more war, more racism, and more climate catastrophes. And cuts to public services to make the Canadian economy strong, with no time to waste.

The message was: “Make Canada Great Again,” under the blessing of an irrelevant monarch. But here’s the breakdown:

## No time to waste to eliminate “waste”

Carney’s government aims at a “balanced” operating budget for the federal public service by eliminating “waste”. A cap on the public service means cutting essential services in favour of the actual waste: military and police.

More border guards and 1000 more RCMP. Since 2000 police use of force has killed over 800 people and over 2000 people have died in custody, according to Tracking (In)Justice. More police means more police violence. The throne speech also promised changes to the Criminal Code to make bail more difficult.

## No time to waste to gear up for war

The day before the throne speech, NATO Secretary General Mark Rutte said NATO members will agree to increase military spending to 5% of GDP. To reach this goal the money wasted on arms and other

military expenditures would need to increase by more than \$100 billion every year on top of the \$33 billion per year that is already budgeted.

The throne speech promised to expand Canada’s military industry independent of the US and commit to the “Re-arm Europe” plan. This will all come at a huge cost to “waste” in social programs for us.

The first test may be cutting our Canada Post mail service.

## No time to waste to exploit the Earth

The government will identify “projects of national significance,” and through a “new Major Federal Project Office, the time needed to approve a project will be reduced from five years to two.”

The Liberals once again promised to make Canada an “energy superpower in both clean and conventional energy.” Oils and gas extraction companies revenues have already increased by over 300% between 2016 and 2022.

The key word from the “throne” was speed: no time to waste on environmental assessment. Less time spent assessing risky mines, pipelines, and oil wells. This means more disasters.

According to the Canada Newfoundland & Labrador Offshore Petroleum Board, “Canada’s world-leading environmental standards” lead to 676 spills from drilling operations in Newfoundland and Labrador between 1997 and 2022. That is an average of more than one spill every two weeks. The Canada Energy Regulator pipeline incident data reveals that between 2008 and 2024 pipelines in so-called Canada had 439 fires, 803 “substance releases,” which includes oil, gas, and contaminated water, 453 incidents of “Operation Beyond Design Limits” and 123 serious injuries. Although there is some overlap, that is more than two incidents a week over sixteen years.

Deregulation to speed up project approval also means less concern with acquiring free, prior and informed consent of Indigenous nations whose land will be destroyed by these projects.

## No time to waste in covering up broken promises

Carney’s plan for the housing crisis: more money for builders and speculators. In addition to direct subsidies to builders he also promises to cut “municipal development charges in half for all multi-unit housing.” Development charges are the fees that cities and towns charge housing developers to pay for the sewage and water connections, and to pay for the schools, parks and other necessities required by increased density. Forcing cities

to slash these fees will result in more failures in aging water and sewage infrastructure along with less livable cities.

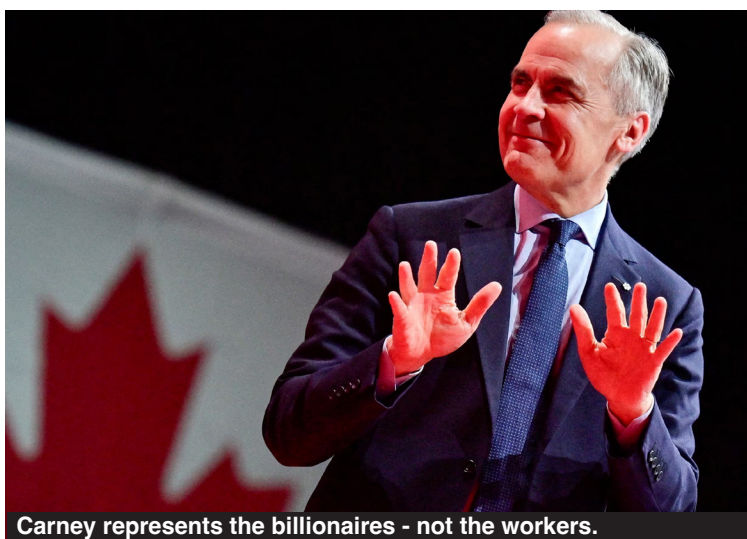
He also promises more of the anti-immigrant racism adopted under Trudeau with a cap on temporary foreign workers and international students to less than five percent of Canada’s population by 2027. This continues the government’s mass deportation plan that will force up to 1.2 million people from the country this year.

There were promises to maintain transfers to the provinces, leave untouched the new dental, pharmacare, and childcare plans, and provide a tax-cut for home buyers. At the same time the Liberals are promising to “balance the budget.” With increased spending on cops, border guards, subsidies for real estate developers, more money for the arms trade, and spending on infrastructure to increase oil and gas company profits, it’s hard to believe social programs won’t be cut.

## No time to waste in building resistance

And the ultimate lie? Lip service to the reality of Indigenous rights: mention of the empty federal government promise of reconciliation, not Land Back. Most Indigenous treaties are directly with the Crown, but many are being fought in the courts by the federal government. We need to be prepared to stand in solidarity with Indigenous land defenders as Carney’s government tries to destroy their lands for profit.

We need to stand against the broken promises to us all: there is no monarch, no Parliament, nothing but ourselves that can make ordinary people strong across borders.



Carney represents the billionaires - not the workers.

# Trump, tariffs and resistance in the US

by: Faline Bobier

Donald Trump’s tariff wars have been causing an extremely bumpy ride for world capitalism with huge swings up and down in global stock markets. The man who promised to make America ‘great’ again is causing havoc in the world economy, which cannot fail to touch the US economy and is already causing inflationary pressures.

In contrast to his pre-election promises that prices would drop on day 1 of his administration, working class Americans are seeing price rises for everyday goods (especially food). They are taking Republican reps to task at town halls across the country where the politicians are having a lot of trouble getting across their Trump-approved lies. People, of course, are also angry about the job losses, attacks on veteran services in a community where unemployment and health problems are rife, attacks on women’s and trans rights, illegal deportations of immigrants to horrific prisons

and the so-called Big Beautiful (Billionaires’) Bill, which threatens to cut millions of Americans off Medicare and Medicaid.

At a recent town hall in Parkersburg, Iowa, on May 30, Senator Joni Ernst, R-Iowa, addressed federal cuts to Medicaid. As she was speaking, someone shouted from the audience, “people will die!” Ernst then told the auditorium, “People are not – well, we all are going to die. For heaven’s sakes, folks.” Yes, we’re all going to die. But working class people and the poor would prefer that it be in old age, rather than at age 30 or 40, because they can’t pay for the life-saving care they need, unlike Senator Ernst.

The huge swell of protest across the US in the wake of the reality of Trump’s policies hitting home is also affecting the upper echelons and the judges who have been ruling against various aspects of Trump’s administration. Take, for example, the recent ruling of the little-known Court of International Trade in Manhattan. They have

ruled that Trump’s worldwide “reciprocal” tariffs that he announced on April 2 are illegal. They argued that only Congress has the power to impose or regulate tariffs and eviscerated Trump’s argument that emergency laws afford him the authority to act. Interesting to note that the three judges were appointed by 3 different US presidents – one by Ronald Reagan, one by Barack



Obama and one by Donald Trump himself!

White House lawyers are now scrambling to get the ruling overturned. In the meantime, Trump has imposed a new 50% tariff on imports of foreign steel and aluminum. This, in turn, has stoked fears that big-ticket items from cars to washing machines to houses could see major price increases. But those metals are used in so much packaging, they’re likely to impact consumer products across the board.

When Trump was asked by reporters if he was worried about the economic turmoil and rising consumer prices his tariffs are causing, he replied, “Sometimes you need to take medicine to get better.”

The problem for Trump and his ilk is that they don’t actually have the ‘prescription’ to make capitalism better, other than to transfer enormous wealth to the already wealthy – a government of the billionaires for the billionaires. Trump has no coherent economic policy other than using tariffs

in an increasingly desperate and unhinged way. While at the same time reverting to a strong-arm and unapologetic use of imperial force to try to take America back to its position of global hegemony. A position it has been steadily losing over the last decades.

The problem for ordinary people is that as the dinosaur rampages and thrashes his tail he can bring on, not only his own demise, but the ruin of us all. That is why the resistance that has been growing – on college campuses where students are walking out on Republican politicians and speaking out loudly against the genocide in Gaza in spite of being threatened, in communities and unions where people are mobilizing against Trump and succeeding in making Elon Musk the most hated figure in a long time – this resistance has to grow. The movement can’t look to the Democrats or the judges to save them; the power that can defeat Trump is in the workplaces, colleges and streets of America.



# Alberta separatism is a ploy to increase fossil fuel profits

by: Brian Champ

**A**lberta Premier Danielle Smith is looking out for oil and gas profiteers by stoking the fires of Alberta separatism.

In order to protect the planet-destroying oil and gas industry, she is relying on and helping to build the far-right and its hate. Alberta's bill 54 will make it easier for a far-right group to field a separation referendum.

In early April polling, 25% of Albertans supported separation from Canada after the Liberal's election win support rose to 36%.

This is up from 29% at the crest of the "Western Exit" (Wexit) wave reported in a 2019 Common Front poll.

Danielle Smith rode this far right wave into the United Conservative Party (UCP) leadership to become Alberta premier in 2022, powered by far-right Take Back Alberta (TBA) members in the UCP base. Islamophobic, transphobic and left-bashing climate deniers in the TBA lead the Alberta Prosperity Project (APP) that demands a referendum later this year.

## Colonial myths and far-right hate

The APP uses settler colonial myths of "pioneers" with "expectations of self-government" on the "western frontier", defending their way of life against political and economic elites in Ontario and Quebec.

Their reasons for separation include their belief that the federal government supports, "wokeness, cancel culture, critical race theory, the rewriting of history, and the tearing down of historical monuments;" "the elimination of the supremacy of God;" and has used "a questionable public health

crisis to infringe on basic constitutional freedoms."

Canada's real history differs from myths of self-reliant pioneers.

Federal government policies in the 19th century enabled settlers to take over Indigenous lands in what became the province of Alberta in 1905.

The feds built the railroad; set up the Northwest Mounted Police (forerunner of the RCMP); and perpetrated a genocide against Indigenous peoples to take them off the land.

Alberta oil production started in the late 1940s transformed the economy almost overnight. Royalties and licenses began providing significant government revenue. After the 1970s oil crisis the federal government wanted greater control.

Pierre Trudeau's early 1980s National Energy Policy provoked a precursor wave of "western alienation" pushing Conservative politics to the right. Smith's right hand man Rob Anderson co-authored the "Free Alberta Strategy" (FAS) in 2021 to counter alleged "sustained federal attacks" on Alberta's oil and gas industry.

Smith followed this playbook by enacting the Alberta Sovereignty Act on becoming Premier.

Fossil fuel projects and pipelines are built over Indigenous land without their consent no matter if under federal or provincial jurisdiction. Separation tensions amount to a falling out among exploiters and expropriators pursuing the same settler colonial mission.

And Danielle Smith continues to follow the FAS playbook.

As John Bell explained in 2022: "So the Smith agenda in a nutshell; destruction of public services and the

unionized workers who provide them; investing in a local para-military police force; all wrapped up in fairy tales about Alberta's sovereignty and oil-based economic superiority. And lurking behind it all, poisoning the lives of Albertans the way it poisons everything it touches, is the fossil fuel industry."

Canadian fossil fuel production has risen by 150% since 1990, subsidized by both Liberal and Conservative federal governments. But this is not enough for the fossil fuel profiteers. In Alberta, where 84% of Canadian oil is produced, they want to overturn as many restrictions and regulations on their operations as they can to increase profits even more.

FAS demands the elimination of federal environmental assessments mandated greenhouse gas emissions caps, and BC coastal oil tanker bans.

An independent Alberta would become even more favourable for oil producers, or these goals could be achieved by Alberta becoming Trump's 51st state.



A more likely outcome is that the Alberta government is able to use right-wing hate and the separation referendum as a ploy to win increased provincial powers within Canada. Complications or costs are rarely talked about for any of these transitions, and only fossil fuel profiteers benefit.

## Resistance

But the UCP fears struggle from below that could upset their agenda. So they turn to the far-right to try to divide resistance by attacking Indigenous land defenders, immigrants, LGBTQ+ people, people living with disabilities and climate activists.

Smith should be fearful. In 2022 Treaty 8 Grand Chief Arthur Noskey told the press: "We take offence to Danielle Smith's forthcoming sovereignty act and outright reject it."

After bill 54 was tabled, the Confederacy of Treaty 6 First Nations called for Smith to "immediately abandon this dangerous rhetoric and recognize that treaty obligations ... are binding commitments that cannot be dismissed or overridden by separatist ambition ... and cannot be broken by any province or political party. These lands were never ceded, nor surrendered."

Chief Kelsey Jacko of Cold Lake First Nation spoke of the crisis for his people: "Our water is suffering. Our animals are suffering out there. It's frustrating when everybody thinks about economics, and then we're left out of it. [Smith] has no right talking the way she is because we are treaty people."

Many Indigenous leaders, including Chief Sheldon Sunshine of Sturgeon Lake Cree Nation and Chief Billy-Joe Tuccaro of Mikisew Cree

First Nation also pushed back. Chief Troy Knowlton of Piikani Nation called separation rhetoric "right out of Trump's playbook."

Mi'kmaq senator Paul Prosper demanded that Smith recognize inherent rights "that existed before the founding of this country."

Assembly of First Nations National Chief Cindy Woodhouse Nepinak has asked PM Carney for a constitutional review of the 1930's natural resources provincial transfer agreements that occurred without any First Nations' consultations.

Last November, trans rights activists protested UCP laws targeting trans children's rights at school, gender-affirming care and trans women sports bans.

In early February, dozens of people protested against hate in St Albert after three white supremacists had held signs saying "deport them all" and "white lives matter" while performing Nazi salutes a few days before.

On May 6, disability advocates, allies and organizations protested at the Alberta legislature against the government's clawback of Canada Disability Benefit payments to those receiving provincial support.

Public sector workers are ready to fight back against public service and job cuts too. On May 13 the Alberta Public Employees Union representing 23,000 public service workers announced an historic strike mandate of 90.1% on an 80% turnout.

Building this resistance and building the connections between these movements is crucial to the fight against Smith and the oil companies, and a larger unified resistance is needed to combat the far-right myths they rely on.

## "Worth fighting for" campaign building power with public sector workers

by: Peter Votsch, CUPE Local 7797 (retired)

**T**he Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU) has put forward a campaign to fight back against years of cuts in public services, and attacks on wages and collective agreements among workers in the 'Broader Public Sector' (BPS). It is called "Worth Fighting For", and is about saving our services.

The BPS includes workers in developmental services, children's services and treatment centres, community agencies, youth justice, correctional facilities, universities, community health, mental health and addictions care.

In 2024, after years of underfunding by both Tory and Liberal provincial governments in Ontario, the Financial Accounting Office estimated that BPS programs were underfunded by \$3.7 billion.

Hastening this process was Ontario's Bill 124, legislation introduced by the Ford Tories that used force to suppress public service wages and benefits. It was enacted in Spring 2019, and was repealed by

court order in 2024, as it had violated the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It did so by removing public sector workers right to bargain wages and benefits. Instead it set wage increases to 1%.

Stronger union locals which were able to include 're-openers' in their agreements, were able to return to bargaining following the end of Bill 124, to negotiate increases. But many smaller bargaining units were not able to do so, and fell way behind in wages and benefits.

## Strategy

The strategy proposed by OPSEU is one long proposed by activists across public sector unions. The idea in the case of the The "Worth Fighting For" campaign will organize bargaining across sectors, bringing together workers in individual agencies and/or non-profits to bargain together with the funder, not individual agencies management. For most agencies the funder is the provincial government. The plan is to stretch across union/bargaining unit divides to bring together large numbers of workers in the BPS, to give those workers more power to fight not only for better collective agreements, but also to restore

funding for services sorely needed in our communities.

The concrete proposition is for cross-union bargaining committees in the BPS to adopt the demand for a 6.5% across the board wage increase, without sacrificing their autonomy in terms of bargaining around other issues of importance to their workforces (and clientele).

This has long been the strategy adopted in Quebec, that of the "Front Commun" (Common Front). Workers in various sectors bring together as many sectors and workers



together as possible, so as to be able to mobilize in numbers. The plan for bargaining often involves cross sectoral campaigns to put pressure on the employers and the government, in order to achieve gains in bargaining.

The strategy in the case of the "Worth Fighting For" campaign is a mapping of separate agencies, and bringing their workers together. It will be crucially important to involve rank and file activists, not just union reps in this. Rank and file workers need to be organized in the workplace to actively mount a campaign against the employers and government by having a plan of action, including pickets and coordinated strike action when needed. When bosses face this kind of pressure, real gains can be bargained in a timely manner.

OPSEU has already brought CUPE Ontario on board, and aims to approach other unions with sizeable representation in the BPS such as SEIU, but also including private sector unions such as Unifor, the Steelworkers and the United Food and Commercial Workers.

## If Not Now...

Workforces in the BPS have borne the burden of many years of cuts

and underfunding. Throughout the public sector, we are at cross-roads: on a local level, we are losing our best and most talented workers, and instead turning many services into part-time, high turnover centres with rapidly declining quality, with grossly overpaid managers attempting to retain their positions and salaries.

Yet there is a high level of strike activity across the country in all sectors, with workers refusing to shoulder the blame for the affordability crisis.

The purposeful destruction of the public sector, not unusual for Tory governments, is meant to lead to privatization, with ever lower service standards and working conditions – and meant to destroy unions in a strongly unionized sector.

This campaign is a shot in the arm not only for BPS workers, but for our many clients and their families, desperate for the high-quality services they deserve from all levels of government.

It has the potential to strengthen workers across the public sector as a whole, and also the private sector – a strategy to mobilize rank and file workers has the potential to win real gains.



# Why we fight for Trans Liberation

In light of a recent UK supreme court decision, debates have emerged on the left about how Marxists should approach the fight for trans liberation. *Morgan Oddie* analyses the debates and outlines why we must fight for trans liberation.

On 17 April 2025, the UK Supreme Court issued a ruling that limits the definition of “sex” for the purposes of the 2010 Equality Act to the biological sex one is assigned at birth. This effectively eliminates the small gains made by the Gender Recognition Act for transgender people in the issuing of Gender Recognition Certificates for their legal recognition of a gender transition from their sex assigned at birth to the opposite (non-binary people were already excluded from access to GRCs).

The case was brought forward by the trans-exclusionary radical feminist (TERF) group “For Women Scotland” who were aiming at ensuring that trans women were not included in gender equality targets.

excluded from single-sex spaces for privacy or safety but fails to indicate how biological sex is defined or proven. Notably silent on practical implementation, the ruling leads public service providers, employers, and healthcare providers to be responsible for deciding how to apply the new exclusionary measures. This potentially impacts everything from changing rooms and sports teams to access to domestic violence support, the ability to pursue pay equity claims, and the use of washrooms in public spaces, like schools, and in places of employment. This exclusion can happen by default rather than having to meet the previous threshold of “legitimate aim”.

As intended, this decision disproportionately impacts trans women and will intensify pre-existing social and economic inequalities. Comrades at the Socialist Worker Party in the UK have identified “the avalanche of transphobia in Britain has accelerated” as a result of the ruling, which will only embolden the attacks on trans rights. It is also likely to also sweep up gains for cis women’s rights, highlighting the need for solidarity-

ity across communities that are disproportionately impacted by misogyny.

## Identity Politics

The mainstream media coverage of the UK Supreme Court decision has chalked it up to one more chapter in the ongoing culture wars. Culture wars are used to distract from crises of capitalism but that isn’t a reason to dismiss identity. As International Socialists, we must resist arguments that degrade lived experiences in favour of a monolithic working class. The struggle against all forms of oppression is inextricably linked with the self-emancipation of the working class.

Transphobia, along with xenophobia, have been two pillars of far-right organizing that have been strategically adopted by political ruling elite to divide the working class. The rigid gender binary and most of its social referents are products of capitalism because class society has an interest in maintaining gender norms.

The reorganization of the family under industrialization and the necessity of the gendered division of labour under the patriarchal nuclear family model is in the interest of the ruling class for social reproduction of the working class. In a post-“lean in” feminism drive for furthering women’s rights under a status quo capitalist system, women are now expected to fulfill dual roles of caregiver and wage earner.

As Laura Miles argues in *Transgender Resistance*, “how we are currently sex-assigned says little or nothing about who could nurture and socialise the next generation, how that might be accomplished, and for

what purpose. These vary from one culture to another.”

Women’s rights are not advanced through transphobia. By positing that trans rights will somehow detract from the “real” oppression of “real” women, there’s an easy drawn line to biological determinism that constructs a natural and ahistorical category of woman to justify misogynistic oppression based on biology.

## Biological Determinism

When the women’s liberation movement of second wave feminism pushed back on social norms that ensured patriarchal oppression, they said “biology is not our destiny”. Contradictorily, somehow biological predetermination is the root when it comes to the perpetuation of harmful myths that trans women are only predatory men looking to violate women’s bodies through increased access to their safe spaces and degrade the small material gains won in labour and health. This framework correlates to second wave feminist arguments and their modern referents that male biology and its capacity for rape are the source of patriarchal violence against women.

Challenging social norms, led many of those same feminists to accept a type of biological determinism along binary assigned sex lines because of the reductionist framework of “sex is biology and gender is social constructed.” So, “your body is your body and your identity, gendered or otherwise, is only just a feeling”, particularly if it doesn’t line up how it socially ought to. Unfortunately, the narrative of sex is biological and gender is socially constructed comes from what was a typically progressive and feminist view and is a position still held by many leftists, including socialists, without the realization that this sharp distinction has a high potential to be utilized to be trans-exclusionary.

As our comrade Judy Cox from

SWP points out, “biological sex and gender to do not exist in separate worlds. There is no solid materialist cake on which the flimsy icing of gender is spread.” Here, we might turn to Marx who rejected the essentialism of human behaviour, as “the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of social relations.”

More so, Marxism in both its dialectical and materialist approaches give us the tools of analysis beyond binary methods.

Though not an explicitly Marxist analysis, many turn to Judith Butler’s 1990 work *Gender Trouble* to problematize the gender/sex binary. Their critique of gender essentialism spoke to both the social temporality and performativity of gender, in a way that denaturalized the stable and coherent subject.

Butler writes, “Gender ought not to be conceived merely as the cultural inscription on a pre-given sex (a juridical conception); gender must also designate the very apparatus of production whereby the sexes themselves are established. As a result, gender is not just to culture as sex is to nature. Gender is also the discursive/cultural means by which ‘sexed nature’ or ‘a natural sex’ is produced and established as ‘prediscursive’, prior to culture, a politically neutral surface on which culture acts.”

Sex and gender are not things that are independent from one another, nor are they abstracted from the social processes that shape them. Among the many issues with this argument is that even sex biology isn’t actually on a binary, with wide variance in the spectrum of chromosomes and corresponding primary sex characteristics, and complex factors impacting the in utero sex development of genetics – poverty and deprivation during pregnancy being a largely ignored one when the far-right make arguments for biological naturalness and God-given perfection.

Reductionist biological determinism also ignores the number of intersex people who exist and the harmful genital surgeries to normalize assigned biological sex presentation in infants. We have also seen this play out in the transphobic and racist attacks against cis women elite athletes and the somewhat misleading term “Disorders of Sex Development” or DSD, some of whom have been excluded from competitions, forced to undergo medical interventions to reduce their natural biological sex characteristics, like reducing their testosterone levels, prompting inconsistent and hypocritical discussions of “fairness” in female sports. The forced interventions on cis women athletes, as well as the availability of health care for cis gender affirmation (e.g., pharmaceuticals for male pattern baldness, sexual functioning and libido drugs, hormone replacement therapy for cis people), expose the hypocrisy of the fear of trans healthcare.

If sex biology was as natural and perfect as TERFs and the far-right would have us believe, why would this be needed?

The biological spectrum aside, through Hormone Replacement Therapy (HRT), people can also literally change their biological make-up and/or hormonal sex. Although medical transition is not necessary for gender identity validation for all trans people, the possibility of puberty blockers, HRT, and surgical interventions for gender affirmation, further undermine the notion that biology is static and unchangeable. However, we want to avoid the pitfalls of excessive attribution of gender to biology in fore fronting the argument in biology when the social construction of gender is so pervasive. Laura Miles is helpful here in her description of gender identity as the gender-self: “an outcome of interactions between the person’s self-perceived body, their biological sex (including in some cases their deep unease about this), the social perception of their body in the eyes of others, social factors like gender values and expectations, and finally

the person’s development as a sexual being with sexual attractions and sexual needs (their sexuality).”

## So, why all the transphobia?

It’s an easy level target for mobilizing the far right.

In Ontario, and elsewhere in so-called Canada, Drag Queen story time attacks evolved into school board protests in a convenient wedding of transphobia plus “won’t you please think of the children?” concerns to mobilize large populations of people in moral panic.

**Far-right politicians use this emphasis on the dangers of “gender ideology” to lay the ground for further pushes to the right and the increasing rise of fascist organizing.**

Far-right politicians use this emphasis on the dangers of “gender ideology” to lay the ground for further pushes to the right and the increasing rise of fascist organizing. While the population of transgender and gender-diverse people is actually quite statistically low, there is a disproportionate focus on their social impact by politicians and the media. As fascist regimes organize, as was the case in Nazi Germany, gender and sexual diversity become targets.

According to the Independent Press Standards Organisation, there was a reported 400% increase in news stories about transgender issues between 2009 and 2019 in UK media.

News coverage in North America has seen similar hikes, mostly from right-wing outlets.

Capitalism creates the conditions for transphobia in its necessity of social reproduction of the working class because the gender binary is necessary. Gender diversity was an early target of colonial violence in the forcible imposition of capitalism on Indigenous cultures. The ruling class maintains its control both through divide and rule mentalities to target marginalized groups like trans people and immigrants, and simultaneously has a vested interest in gender norms going unchallenged.

The real gender ideology is the binary that is constructed and maintained in the interests of the ruling class.

## Why We Fight for Trans Liberation

Resistance in collective struggle helps us as working class people imagine alternatives to capitalism. Attempts to divide us and undermine solidarity are in ruling class interest and it is only under socialism we will have freedom from the constraints of biological determinism and the imposition of social norms of gender.

The myth that transgender people are all white, socioeconomically privileged, and academically inclined is a fallacy. This portrait is another attempt to divide marginalized groups. Its perpetuation by those on the left who claim the fight for trans liberation is a distraction from oppositional sexism and the unity of the working class only supports the arguments of fascists, the far-right, and the interests of the State in maintaining control.

Arguing for the naturalization of binary sex and gender reinforces a narrative that the conditions of the world also cannot change. Disciplining and brutalizing trans bodies functions to preserve ruling class interests in maintaining capital’s investment in the gender binary. It’s only through struggle that solidarity is built.

In 2023 when the Million March for Children happened across the country, there was a dangerous tem-



porary merging of an evolved-Convoy white nationalists with conservative racialized communities – early fascist underpinnings attempted to capitalize on the fears and misunderstandings about 2SLGBTQIA+ folk. When Israeli attacks increased in onslaught post-October 7, we showed up to fight occupation and genocide with our Palestinian siblings and comrades, some of whom had helped organize

the school board rally a month earlier. We are vocal against attempts at Israeli pinkwashing and reject attempts to pit oppressions against one another.

In the last years of persistent multiracial and multifaith organizing, our communities are stronger for having struggled together and solidarity continues to be built on our fundamental principle that an injury to one is an injury to all.



# Unite to fight Doug Ford's bill 5

**O**mnibus Bill 5 (the “Protect Ontario by Unleashing our Economy Act”) is a dangerous attempt by the Ford government to give dictatorial powers to the cabinet.

It weakens protection for endangered species and artifacts and archaeological sites, gives Ministers more power over mining leases, restrictions on where in the world energy and electricity components are procured and when and where to apply environmental assessments.

You'd be wrong if you thought the bill would restrict US products - the government specifically references China as their example.

Ford is aligned with Trump's confrontation with China and opposes renewable energy – China currently produces 80 per cent of solar power components and 2/3 of wind turbine components.

Furthermore, the Ford government ambition for Ontario to become a gas-fired and nuclear electricity “superpower” will increase integration with the US, despite their rhetoric.

## Special Economic Zones

The most dangerous part of the bill enacts the Special Economic Zones law. Energy and Mines Minister Lecce argued this was necessary “to cut government review timelines by 50 per cent.”

In “special economic zones” (SEZ), “trusted proponents” of “designated projects” could be exempted from ANY provincial law, municipal by-law or local board regulation at the cabinet's discretion. The quoted terms are not clearly defined and are also at the cabinet's discretion.

This takes the blatant corruption of Ford's Greenbelt carve-up to a new level. Corporate pigs are already elbowing their way to feed at the public trough.

Lawyer and professor Bruce McIvor describes it as “legalized lawlessness”, characteristic of the state-sanctioned violence used by the British empire to oppress colonial subjects

## Indigenous Resistance

Indigenous leaders are calling for the bill to be scrapped.

Chief Gary Quisses of Neskantaga First Nation, a member of the Land Defence Alliance said “We will fight the bulldozers that the Ford Government wants to fast-track. Our people will meet you on the land. These are our homelands and our consent has not been provided to cross the river system of our homelands.”

Abram Benedict, Regional Chief of the Chiefs of Ontario, spoke directly to Ford: “You can't ‘unleash’ our rights or our sacred respon-

sibilities to our lands and waters with the wave of a pen.”

Grand Chief Alvin Fiddler of Nishnawbe Aski Nation of 49 First Nations with territories covering two-thirds of Ontario, highlighted the overlapping mental health, drug use, housing and unsafe drinking water crises in First Nation's communities, adding “We want the economic progress more than anyone. We need it. ... It's the how. We cannot afford to have Doug Ford dictate that to us through this piece of legislation.”

Grand Chief Leo Friday of the Mushkegowuk Council of seven First Nations on the James Bay coast and inland, expressed his fear, saying “if we're not involved in the exploration or in the development of our land ... many of us will die.”



Mass rally at Queen's Park says: “Indigenous land is not for sale”

## Protecting the Environment

Environmental groups have also already been campaigning to expose the dangers of Bill 5.

Tim Gray, Executive Director of Environmental Defence called out the Ford government hypocrisy: “Bill 5 breaks that promise [to protect Ontario]. He's making it easier for his friends to pave over farms, forests and wetlands and wipe out endangered species without any guardrails. Just like we did with the Greenbelt, we need to come together to stop his

attack.”

Justina Ray from Wildlife Conservation Society Canada has also highlighted how Bill 5 shifts away from “integrated landscape planning” to “fragmented oversight”, undermining management of “cumulative effects of development.” These include impacts beyond Ontario's borders – carbon released from Treaty 9 territory peatlands would be a disaster for the global climate crisis.

## Undermining Democratic Rights

The Canadian Civil Liberty Association (CCLA) called it a “power grab”. Anaïs Bussi res McNicoll, CCLA director of fundamental freedoms said it enables the cabinet “to unilaterally do away with legal safeguards that protect vulnerable communities and Indigenous

Sudbury” into areas where “fundamental labour rights and protections no longer apply, including those around child labour, the right to refuse unsafe work, and even basic meal breaks.”

These groups and many others spoke at the very limited public hearings on the bill being rushed through. Chief Archie Wabasse of Wunnumin First Nation was cut off abruptly before he was finished speaking. Chris Moonias of Neskantaga First Nation questioned how accessible they were to Treaty 9 Indigenous peoples, as he had travelled thousands of kilometers and spent thousands of dollars to attend. When Ford and Lecce say they've fulfilled the duty to consult this is what they mean.

NDP MPP Sol Mamakwa representing the Kiiwetinoong riding and a member of the Kingfisher Lake First Nation proposed the public hearings be extended and moved to Thunder Bay for better accessibility. This was shot down by the Tory majority.

But they are feeling the pressure. They amended the bill's preamble to add the phrase “in a manner consistent with the recognition of existing aboriginal treaty rights”. But legally this will have very little impact

## Opposing the Ford Agenda

The breadth and depth of the pushback against Bill 5 shows that the Ford government has overreached. Pickets and protests have been organized all around Ontario, including at Tory MPP offices. NDP and Liberal MPPs filibustered in the committee to delay passage. Sol Mamakwa was removed from the legislature on June 2 for calling Ford's claims to respect Indigenous rights “untruths”. He joined the large Indigenous-led rally outside, where Grand Chief Alvin Fiddler more bluntly called Ford a liar.

The bill will likely become law on June 5. But even after it's enacted, we must remember that Education Workers in Ontario defied Ford's Bill 28 that attempted to take away the right to strike in 2022, and broader support from the labour movement and communities across Ontario forced him to repeal it. And when Ford tried to carve up the Greenbelt with Bill 23, widespread protests across the province forced him to back down again.

Bill 5 threatens both of these movement victories, and attempts to go further. But it presents an opportunity to pull together a broad coalition of Indigenous peoples, environmentalists, social justice campaigners and organized workers into a movement that can stop the Ford agenda in its tracks.

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# LAND BACK!

**Territorial acknowledgment:**

As settlers, we acknowledge our occupation of lands that are the Indigenous territories of Turtle Island. We support all struggles for Indigenous sovereignty in whatever forms they take by the hundreds of First Nations and Inuit communities that have resided here for many thousands of years, and by M tis communities that have developed in the last hundreds of years.





# Defund the police

## 1919 General Strike and Nakba anniversaries tainted by overblown Winnipeg police budgets

by: Tami Gadir

**T**hursday May 15th marked the anniversary of the start of the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. The strike is a proud feature of Winnipeg history, but was marred by severe police repression and violence. This grim reality is commemorated by a 2019 city monument called Bloody Saturday, completed for the centenary of the strike. The sculpture is a replica of a streetcar that was photographed on Main Street as it was overturned by defiant protesters against police and strike-breakers. It has become one of the iconic images of the strike.

The strike anniversary coincides with the anniversary of the Nakba (catastrophe) of 1948, the beginning of 77 years of dispossession, displacement, and ethnic cleansing of Palestinian people. It was marked by a commemorative rally at the Manitoba Legislature.

Despite rainy weather and smoke haze from active wildfires in eastern Manitoba, there were around 150–200 people present. The speeches from a local pastor, rabbi, and imam, as well as representatives from the Canadian Palestinian Association of Manitoba and NDP Member of Parliament Leah Gazan, were punctuated by powerful songs from Grandfather Stone led by Ricky J. drumming group.

### Police get a budget boost

It is noteworthy that the day after these significant anniversaries, Deputy Chief Cam Mackid of the Winnipeg Police Service (WPS) announced a whopping \$3.2 million annual investment into the expansion of an Integrated Ballistic Identification System (IBIS) for firearm crimes. The national database that stores the information from IBIS has sped up WPS investigations 120-fold and is now being extended to police services across the rest of Manitoba.

While street gangs and criminal organizations were named as the source of gun violence,

Mackid neglected to mention the capitalist gangs of property developers who have influenced the social and material issues faced by downtown Winnipeg.

As Owen Toews argues in *Stolen City: Racial Capitalism and the Making of Winnipeg* (2018), such practices are steeped deep within Winnipeg's history. Even earlier than when 1919 strikers were crushed in the interests of capital, the Hudson's Bay Company traded land without the permission of the Red River Métis residents in 1869.

### Root causes of crime: material and structural

Local grassroots organization Winnipeg Police Cause Harm (WPOCH) says, "those who are criminalized are most commonly those who are surviving extreme poverty, mental health issues, problematic substance use, and intergenerational violence and the legacies of racism and

colonization." WPOCH cite that in 2025, police account for 28.1% of the city's operating budget, at \$339.3 million. This is an increase of \$18.8 million from last year, a large proportion of which goes to hiring 36 new police officers.

Such over-investment into policing is justified by the police claims that they "improve public safety and crime-solving across the province." Yet spaces like Community Connections at Millennium Library in downtown Winnipeg are to receive no further funding in 2025.

The Manitoba Library Association stated that Community Connections was a "culturally safe, low-barrier service space to access information and resources – essential in light of growing social issues such as poverty, homelessness, and untreated addictions and mental health conditions." Moreover, their services were "trauma-informed and guided by principles of harm reduction and positive community development." Staff were well-versed

in the needs of their patrons, and handled 45% of inquiries at the Library. This allowed the remaining staff to undertake other essential work.

The cost of running a service such as Community Connections equates to under 2% of the Winnipeg Police budget. Yet "security" has been the go-to response for problems that have come up as a result of poverty, addiction, and poorly funded services and infrastructure. For example, in January 2023, metal detectors were installed at the Millennium Library as well as more security guards, and two police officers, after someone was stabbed fatally. An earlier proposal for metal detectors at the library had been successfully knocked back by protesters, led by the community group Millennium for All.

### Class struggle then and now

The two anniversaries are reminders of the wide range of struggles against oppression and exploitation that we face. As we enter the 77th year of the Nakba, Islamophobia and anti-Palestinian racism have been used repeatedly to repress activism in support of Palestinian resistance.

At 106 years since the Winnipeg General Strike, police remain the tools of capitalists and the state through coercion and violence: against workers when they resist their exploitation by striking, and against visibly poor people, Indigenous people, and other racialized people, on a daily basis.

A better use of this \$3.2 million would be to fund essential services with sufficient staffing and workers who are paid a fair and living wage. Higher staff numbers can provide added safety for workers without the need for oppressive security measures and more police. Material and social support like this would serve the growing number of poor people in the city with alternatives to criminalization and provide spaces where people are treated with the degree of dignity we all deserve.



# Arms embargo now!

## Relentless movement for Palestine forced Carney to threaten sanctions

by: Sid Lacombe

**T**he announcement that governments in Canada, the UK and France have threatened sanctions against Israel unless it abandons its current offensive in Gaza is a product of the relentless movement that has filled the streets around the world for the last 20 months.

It is a weak response given the severity of the crimes being committed by Benjamin Netanyahu and the Israeli state, but it is still a sign of some movement in what had seemed to be a monolith of unquestioning support for the zionists by the western Imperial powers.

It reeks of hypocrisy since those same governments have provided diplomatic cover and material support for Israel's onslaught.

But the cracks seem to be growing. The EU has just threatened to end trade talks with Israel if they continue the assault on Gaza. This can provide us with both a strategic opening and a more confident broader movement.

It is worth analyzing how and why this has happened.

The movement is the key. There were tens of thousands on the streets within days of the offensive launched after October 7 forcing governments to pay attention.

There was a much larger pool of people who had watched the war crimes unfold over the years and they were ready to mobilize. There was significant growth of pro-Palestine organiza-

tions and, crucially, Jewish anti-zionist groups during the attacks on Gaza in 2008, 2012 and 2014 along with the huge mobilizations organized by the Palestinian Youth Movement in 2021 against the Shaikh Jarrah evictions.

The movement has gone through difficult moments and ups and downs as happens with any mass actions but it has not retreated. And the results have been obvious. The NDP motion - watered down by Trudeau - calling for recognition of a Palestinian state, sanctions on Netanyahu, an arms embargo and other measures is a significant advance that we did not see during past operations in Gaza.

These calls may fall short of all the demands of the movement but they are a start. This public call for sanctions should give confidence to all those who fight for Palestine.

### Imperial rivalry

The moment is also different because of the context of inter-imperial rivalry we are watching unfold. The Trump visit to the Gulf States without a side trip to meet Netanyahu is telling. Trump is more interested in building relations

with the trillionaire Saudi regime and bolstering US imperial interests in the region.

The fact that talks to normalize relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia were brokered

are abandoning that policy now but that may not be the case in perpetuity. If Trump feels that the question of Gaza will impede profits he may call for more restraint from Israel.

### Genicide and global condemnation

The scale of the slaughter in Gaza is unprecedented. In the last few weeks Israel has intensified bombings while continuing the months long blockade. The UN states that 14,000 children are in danger of starvation in the next few days and bombings have ramped up again. For even casual observers, the brutality of the zionists is hard to ignore. The wall of support for Israel is breaking as the war crimes are constantly exposed.

This does not mean that there is a massive rift between the Israeli state and the western powers. Israel still occupies a central role in the US imperial project and will still receive staunch support. But it is an indication that cracks have started to emerge around Gaza among the NATO leaders. That public breach of consensus strengthens the movement and aids in reaching more people.

We need to recognize that the movements have forced this concession, albeit small, by our governments and to redouble our efforts to end the genocide and build a long term movement for a Free Palestine.

And crucially, we need to build the campaign for an arms embargo on Israel. Find details at: [armsembargonow.ca](http://armsembargonow.ca)





## Solidarity with postal workers

by: Deborah Murray

Once again postal workers in Canada are in a fight to preserve their right to collective bargaining. Late last year, after a 4 week strike, they were forced to shut down picket lines and go back to work.

This is an immediate threat to the entire labour movement and the right to strike for fair pay, better working conditions and a decent life.

The mainstream press, billionaire think tanks and politicians all make the same argument that the postal service is losing too much money and should, therefore, be privatized and sold off to corporate interests.

But the post office, like other public services, are just that — services. They need to be protected for the benefit of all working people.

Hospitals don't make money. Schools don't make money. Libraries don't make money. But the point of all of these services is that they strengthen society as a whole and provide opportunities for people to better their lives.

### Shutting down the strike

In December 2024, the federal government put an end to the national postal workers' strike by using Canadian Labour Code sections 107 and 108. The strike was to pause until May 22 while the situation was studied.

Earlier in 2024, the federal Liberals used Section 107 to end legal strikes at two railways under the pretext of securing "labour peace." Railway workers unions, port workers and now CUPW (Canadian Union of Postal Workers), are challenging the federal government under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms for violating collective bargaining rights including the legal right to strike.

Under section 108 of the labour code, the government additionally ordered an industrial inquiry to investigate the dispute between

Canada Post and the postal workers' union.

During the months-long inquiry, CUPW and Canada Post presented before the inquiry and over 900 written submissions were also presented by various groups and individuals. The union's and public submissions were largely ignored in the inquiry's final report, which was released on May 15. Commissioner William Kaplan effectively sided with Canada

their positions directly to 55,000 CUPW members and by emailing them to businesses that use the national postal service. That's a lot of effort and money spent by Canada Post, supposedly cash-strapped by billions of dollars over the past several years, to promote its position over that of the CUPW negotiating committee.

The postal workers' collective agreement expired in January 2024. After almost two years

Canada Post's "best and final offer" is on the tables and stands as a far cry from any serious attempt to tackle the major issues of concern to postal workers — wages, pensions, part-time weekend parcel delivery and a restructuring of how daily mail is processed and delivered. Canada Post ignored other important issues completely.

### The fight ahead

As we go to press, there is no resolution to this fight. The union issued a 72 hour strike notice and followed up by implementing an overtime ban. They then sought binding arbitration but the corporation is refusing to agree. Whatever the outcome of these machinations one thing is clear—the bosses are coming after our public services across the country and a fight needs to be built.

The labour leadership and the CLC, OFL and in the top of the postal workers union all say they are planning to fight. But up to this point, it appears that is limited to legal maneuvering that will do little to protect jobs today.

When transit workers with the ATU were banned from striking in Ontario it took more than a decade for the case to be heard in court. They ultimately won the case but because of the long delay the damage to the service was already done.

Hastily arranged rallies on May 31 showed that solidarity can be built with contingents from public and private sectors joining the fight.

Postal workers say this fight is far from over. The labour movement needs to build solidarity wherever it may be needed and to be ready to escalate to protect workers' rights and a vital public service. This fight could leverage the strong support for home delivery, but that can't be left to CUPW alone.



Postal workers rally at Mark Carney's office in Ottawa

Post, treated the national postal service like a privately run business, and blamed CUPW for the impasse in negotiations.

Since then, Canada Post and CUPW have exchanged proposals. However, Canada Post has bypassed the bargaining process and the CUPW negotiating committee by mailing summaries of

of negotiations in which Canada Post dragged its feet waiting for the moment to call on the government to stop the strike, this supposedly national postal service employer is doing everything in its power to ignore or override the postal workers' union, its legal right to collective bargaining and strike.

## Support striking CHS workers

by: Sid Lacombe

Workers at Canadian Hearing Services (CHS)—members of CUPE 2073—are on strike across Ontario for fair pay and proper staffing. But even more than that, these workers are fighting to save a vital public service.

CHS staff provide crucial and irreplaceable support for deaf and hard of hearing people in Ontario. Interpretation services are essential in many situations that others would take for granted such as accessing housing, medical services, government support or for employment.

Deaf and hard of hearing Ontarians are already in a much more precarious position in relation to their jobs. The loss or reduction of these services will make that situation even worse.

Many of the workers are doing the jobs of 2 or 3 people. They are overwhelmed with the caseloads and there are long wait times for assessments and treatments. Meanwhile management approaches the service with a business model that fails to take into account the vital needs the workers meet.

CEO Julia Dumanian has given herself 178% in pay increases over her tenure—and now makes \$340,000 a year while workers have fallen well below the rate of inflation and are facing increasing hardship.

According to Bijaya Shrestha, a worker in

Toronto, the CHS management "has no compassion for the people we support. They are risking the services that the community relies on". He went on to explain that these services

are a crucial part of a unique and distinct culture, language and community. "There is only one organization that provides this service and it is at risk because of mismanagement."



Join the picket line to defend CHS workers and this vital public service

This is a crisis that has been brewing for many years. These same workers struck for 10 weeks in 2017 for many of the same reasons.

Another worker, Marriott Otchere explained why these workers are on strike. "We are striking because we don't have a choice in the matter. All we'd like is a fair contract - we want to get back to work—not just for us but for our clientele. We service a vulnerable population. We aren't asking for the moon—just a fair contract. We were 500 members in 2017 and now we are 200 and that impacts our work and impacts the services we provide."

We need your support. We are trying to be as loud as we can but we need your voices as well - we need allies in support of us so that we can make a bigger impact and, hopefully, put some pressure on to get them back to the table."

This strike is about more than just supporting the workers with a fair deal. It is a fight for equity and access and crucial services that the deaf and hard of hearing community relies on.

### How can you help?

- Send a message to the CHS board of directors to demand they get back on track at: <https://cupe.on.ca/CHS/>
- Lobby your MPP and let them know that these services are in crisis and need to be protected.
- Join the picket lines! Find a picket near you at: <https://cupe.on.ca/chsstrike/>