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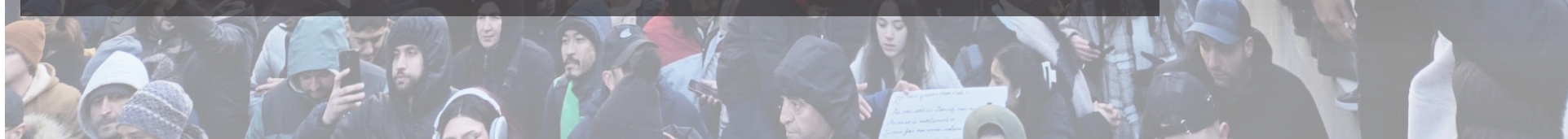
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MAKE 2026 A YEAR OF REVOLT

Carney and the Premiers are attacking workers, Indigenous Land Defenders and anti-genocide campaigners. They are fast-tracking new laws that suspend our rights while they run roughshod over the planet in the pursuit of profit.

But they can be beaten. They need us more than we need them. Let's make 2026 a year of REVOLT!



Quebec resistance to Trumpist attacks

by: Chantal Sundaram

In February 2025, the Quebec Minister of Labour introduced Bill 89, now known as Law 12: “An Act to give greater consideration to the needs of the population in the event of a strike or a lock-out.”

Instead of services “endangering public health or safety” essential services are now “services ensuring the well-being of the population” greatly increasing those who can be ordered back to work during a strike. And the law gives the government the power to designate, by order, which workplaces are now “essential.”

And it also gives the “neutral” Quebec labour board the right to determine whether an employer is providing services that justify both a back-to-work order to end a strike, and the right to impose binding arbitration, eliminating not only the right to strike but the right to vote on your own contract.

Unions have called Bill 89/Law 12 a return to the anti-union tactics of former Quebec premier Maurice Duplessis, a political and religious conservative who was in power from 1944 to 1959, and who brought McCarthyism to Quebec even before McCarthy. Some have also called it revenge on the public sector for their massive Quebec Common Front strike of 2023 which saw a fifth of the Quebec population on strike at the same time.

The streets and the courts

All unions in Quebec called for the

withdrawal of Bill 89 immediately. There was a months-long campaign with large rallies. On November 29, the day before it came fully into force, a militant rally of tens of thousands in Montreal united every single union in Quebec, as well as most community groups, to protest both this law and the CAQ’s Bill 3, which aims at making some union dues optional – those that are used for “non union” activities, meaning social justice causes.

The CAQ is concerned over union dues being spent on things like trips to the COP climate conference and a legal challenge to the CAQ’s racist “secularism” law that prohibits teachers from wearing the hijab.

Two days after this massive show of solidarity in the streets, some of Quebec’s major unions launched a court challenge against Law 12. They held a media conference on the injustice of both Law 12 and Bill 3, which are undeniably unconstitutional.

But the real test will be the willingness to defy the implementation of Law 12. And it has yet to be tested against an actual strike. This almost happened against the public transit union strike in Montreal before the union settled in the fall.

Court challenges and illegal defiance of laws are not always counterposed. But legal challenges can sometimes distract or overwhelm

the route of defiance on the ground, or cause demoralisation, since the legal route is stacked in favour of employers.

Reining in the unions and scapegoating immigrants

The legal route is part of a concerted attack on unions by a CAQ government tanking in the polls. CAQ Premier François Legault mandated his Labour Minister Jean Boulet to “have the courage to modernize the union system.” They claim to have the support of union members to “clean up the internal management of unions.

At the same time, the CAQ is rapidly intensifying its appeal to overt racism in the name of “secularism,” fueling a right-wing view of Quebecois identity that targets the Muslim hijab (headscarf) as the enemy.

There are also ongoing major attacks on healthcare in the mix. The CAQ’s Bill 2 links a portion of doctors’ compensation to performance targets relating to their number of patients, particularly vulnerable ones, and there has been a public quitting of Quebec doctors to protest this.

The attack on unions in Quebec may have its own local story with a Trumpist government in decline, but it’s in step with persistent attempts to undermine legal rights of unions across the Canadian state.

Two solitudes: is Quebec more racist?

There is a disconnect in the labour movement between Quebec and

English Canada that has grown since the 1980s. Before that, the militancy of Quebec labour that was connected to demands for basic French language rights and Quebecois self-determination received wide support from unions in English Canada, especially in the turbulent 1970s.

In the 70s there was a huge revolutionary left in Quebec, but Quebec unions have never parked their allegiance with the NDP. They became linked to the Parti Quebecois in the 70s, which was never a labour party but pretended to be one in the high point of workers’ struggle and brought in some of the best labour legislation in the Canadian state, including against scabs.

But since the late 80s the Quebec ruling class, including the Parti Quebecois and sharpened by the CAQ, has fought to channel national feeling in Quebec towards narrow “identity” politics designed to fuel anti-immigrant racism. Despite this local history, that seeks to use a false argument about “secularism,” it is part of the deliberate stocking of anti-immigrant racism internationally to divide working class movements.

This two-headed monster, against unions and the oppressed, is coming to every part of Turtle Island right now and must be resisted. Without united resistance between labour in Quebec and in every part of the Canadian state, based on an understanding of Quebec’s specific national history, the right will grow on both sides of the two solitudes.



Tens of thousands march against the CAQ in Montreal

Justice for OINP workers

On November 14 last year, almost 2,700 applicants working in skilled trades to the Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program (OINP) had their applications canceled and returned to them by the OINP office at the Ministry of Labour. The government claimed they had identified “systemic misrepresentation and/or fraud relating to Skilled Trades Stream eligibility criteria” in the applications, suspending new applications and canceling and returning thousands of applications.

No clarification or evidence was provided to justify the decision, nor was any attempt made to verify the details of any of the applicants. These workers are telecom technicians, tool and die makers, CNC machine operators and horticulturalists (to name a few).

In response, hundreds of OINP applicants protested on November 17 at the Ministry of Labour building in downtown Toronto. The protesters are in a range of different situations: some still have valid work permits and continue to work; others have had their work permits (and health cards) expire; some have

been in the program for almost 2 years even though the applications are supposed to take 90 days to approve.

If approved, an OINP applicant gains enough “points” to smooth

pursued other pathways.

One protester called out the fraud allegations by asking if his employer, Bell Canada, was a fraud. He challenged the competency of the OINP office, and why no attempt



OINP rally at Queens Park

photo: Amardeep Kaur/Guru Nanak Jahaz

their pathway to permanent residency. There is no appeal process for canceled applications, and many feel their time in the program has been wasted when they could have

was made to verify the application details. Other OINP applicants had worked for Beanfield (an Internet Service Provider), connecting offices in the legislature building!

Kuljinder Singh called for Ontarians to ask their government “why they are spending more and more funds of tax-payer money on skilled trade investment” when there were already skilled immigrant workers in the province.

The workers are engaged in a relentless protest movement, meeting each day at the Ministry of Labour or at Queens Park demanding that the Ford government reverse the decision.

The day after the close of the legislative session, 60 applicants received notification that their applications had been approved, showing that the protests had been effective.

Fairness

This is an issue of fairness for workers who came here based on a promise that they could possibly receive permanent residence status. They uprooted their whole lives for the opportunity and to have the program canceled is unjust.

The protest movement that these workers started follows in a line from the protest by the Post Graduate Workers Program

(PGWP) last year who held an encampment in Brampton in the freezing cold to ask for justice and to be given a fair chance to stay in Canada.

Under the banner “Good enough to work - Good enough to stay”, the PGWP activists became an important voice for immigrant workers who are being attacked by all levels of government.

Mark Carney and the Liberals are calling for a huge reduction in immigration based on the erroneous notion that immigrants are to blame for the cost of living crisis in this country when it is in fact the billionaires who are squeezing workers across the board.

For Doug Ford, the attack on the OINP workers is part of his attempt to stoke more racism which helps him to cement support with his base.

Immigrant workers are on the front line in this fight. They are pushing back against racism and scapegoating. They deserve our support and solidarity.

Find info and send a letter to your MPP at: <https://fairpath.ca/#action>

Support the Quw'utsun Nation land claims victory!

by: Bradley Hughes

Since time immemorial the people of Quw'utsun (Cowichan) Nation returned every summer to their village of Tl'uqtnus in what is now Richmond BC. Unbeknownst to them the arrival of Colonel Richard Moody in command of a detachment of Royal Engineers in 1858 was going to disrupt their traditions and their ownership of their lands.

In 1859 Moody was appointed to be the first Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works in the Colony of British Columbia. His duties included surveying the land claimed by the crown and selling it off. He is also one of the very first property speculators in the lower mainland.

According to the Supreme Court of British Columbia decision this summer in Cowichan Tribes v. Canada, Moody was accused of “squandering money and awarding contracts for roads without public advertisement, of faulty administration of public lands, and of the setting aside of government reserves for the benefit of government officers.”

He would go on to disobey then Governor Douglas' instructions to set aside from the colonial land grab those lands inhabited by or used by Indigenous nations. The Quw'utsun village of Tl'uqtnus and the surrounding lands appear in the surveys for the Crown, but Moody did not create an “Indian Reservation” for them. Thus leaving them as “Crown lands.”

BC's first land speculator

A few years later just as he was leaving the colony to return to Britain, he arranged to purchase from the Crown two sections of waterfront property that rightfully belonged to Quw'utsun Nation. The purchase was solely for speculation; he never occupied the land. His land speculation continued after he left. He eventually accumulated over 3,000 acres in BC. The rest of the lands in and around Tl'uqtnus were sold off by the Crown during the late 1800s and early 1900s, often to other high-ranking government officials.

The occupation of Tl'uqtnus continued into the early 20th century.

Since the land was sold to absent property speculators, the rightful owners, the Quw'utsun Nation, were initially unaware that their village and its surroundings had been stolen.

After they were pushed out by the colonial authorities, they never stopped trying to regain their land, including taking their case directly to the British King in 1906. In the meantime their land has been divided up between Crown lands, the City of Richmond, business owners and privately owned houses.

Reconciliation inaction

The BC government has steadfastly refused to negotiate a solution, forcing the Quw'utsun Nation to go to court. The trial at the Supreme Court of BC began in September 2019 and required a record setting 513 trial days and twenty more months to publish their decision. The resulting judgment is over 500 pages long. (You can find it listed as Cowichan Tribes v. Canada (Attorney General), 2025 BCSC 1490 on the Supreme Court of BC website. The executive summary is not very long and is fairly readable.)

In August the Supreme Court of British Columbia came to the perfectly reasonable conclusion that property rights don't apply to stolen land. The court awarded the Quw'utsun Nation title to their lands and the right to their traditional fishing in the Fraser river.

The court has ruled that Indigenous title isn't extinguished when the province steals their lands. The details in the court decision are quite clear. Governor James Douglas told the Quw'utsun that their lands were set aside from the process of settlement. Then ten years later Colonel Moody sold their land without their consent or knowledge. In the intervening 150 years, some land has remained as crown land, some has been sold to home owners, and some “belongs” to businesses. The court ruled that the Quw'utsun Nation have title to land “owned” by Canada and the city of Richmond. They also ruled that “BC owes a duty to the Cowichan to negotiate in good faith reconciliation” of the ownership of the land that has been sold to individuals and businesses.

This means that it is the respon-

sibility of the BC government to find a negotiated settlement with the Quw'utsun nation to deal with the concerns of home and business owners.

Anti-Indigenous racism

Instead of celebrating this decision, both the far-right BC Conservatives and the governing BCNDP oppose it and are fanning the flames of anti-Indigenous racism. In a media release the Quw'utsun Nation referred to BC Premier Eby's comments as, “at best, misleading, and at worst, deliberately inflammatory.”

The BC government has chosen not to negotiate, and is appealing the decision instead. “We're committed to reconciliation,” said Eby. And then contradicted himself by saying “This decision upends a lot of our work and we need a fast decision (on appeal.)”

On another occasion he said, “These are profound issues that are hard to consider in the absence of the real people ... the homeowners, the business owners, who will be affected by this decision ... I want the court to look into the eyes, metaphorically speaking, of the

individual private landowners.” They point out that, “Generations of real Quw'utsun people, including our current membership, were denied the ability to exercise our way of life, and access to key food and trade systems, when our settlement lands at Tl'uqtnus were taken from us. We continue to experience the impacts today. However, we are a respectful people. We intentionally did not bring this case against any individual private landowners, and we did not seek to invalidate any of their land titles. The decision makes it clear that it is B.C.'s obligation to advance reconciliation in these circumstances,” said Quw'utsun Nation Chief Cindy Daniels (Sulsulxumaat) of Cowichan Tribes.

The court decision places the blame for individuals being sold stolen land where it belongs--squarely on the province. It also places the responsibility for resolving this squarely on the province by directing the province to negotiate in good faith with the Quw'utsun Nation to reconcile this situation.

Solidarity with Indigenous sovereignty!

A Premier and cabinet who believed in reconciliation would act very differently than Eby and his cabinet. They are misrepresenting the court's decision and encouraging anti-Indigenous racism in their statements and in the action of appealing the decision. Instead the Premier should begin by taking responsibility for the criminal actions of Colonel Richard Moody, who covertly sold Quw'utsun land to himself to resell at a profit. He should begin good faith negotiations with Quw'utsun immediately. At the same time the province should also reassure home owners who are mistakenly worried about losing their homes by promising to pay the homeowners the value of their home on demand.

On housing, on the opioid crisis, on oil and gas pipelines, and now on reconciliation, when pushed to choose between the needs of business and the needs of anyone else, Premier Eby and his cabinet side with business. It's up to all of us to build the solidarity movements that support Indigenous rights and push back this provincial government.



Quw'utsun Land Defenders celebrate their victory

The response from the alt-right BC conservatives, the mayor of Richmond and the BCNDP have all been to refuse to engage in good faith reconciliation, and instead they have chosen to whip up anti-Indigenous racism.

John Rustad the recent leader of the BC Conservatives published an open letter to the premier that makes no mention of the rights and concerns of the members of Quw'utsun nation. Instead it calls on the Premier to appeal the decision and in the meantime suspend land claim negotiations with all nations across the province.

people who will be directly affected by this decision and understand the impact on certainty for business, for prosperity and for our negotiations with Indigenous people.” As the Union of BC Indian Chiefs pointed out, this amounts to considering the members of Quw'utsun nation as not “real people.” It also implies that the homes and businesses are at risk.

The Quw'utsun nation has tried to assure the people of Richmond, that, “the Quw'utsun Nation's court case regarding their settlement lands at Tl'uqtnus in Richmond has not and does not challenge the effectiveness or validity of any title held by

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Drought conditions, that most severely affect Eastern and Southern Africa where 90 million people face acute hunger, are spreading: across the Americas and southern Europe water shortages are adversely affecting agriculture and driving greater food insecurity.

These worsening conditions are forcing people to migrate, both within their home country and across borders. Authoritarian regimes and the far-right ignore or openly deny the climate crisis, instead seeking to blame migrants for a panoply of social ills.

Climate devastation is also being used as a weapon.

Devastating flooding in Pakistan from June to September last

year killed more than a thousand people and displaced millions. The crisis was worsened by ongoing geopolitical tensions with India over Kashmir – India unilaterally suspended the Indus Waters Treaty in April, accusing Pakistan of sponsoring a terror attack in Pahalgalam. When floods impacted millions in the Indian Punjab in August, India released floodwaters into Pakistan furthering the destruction there.

The Gaza genocide, wars in Ukraine, Sudan and the Congo demonstrate the fault lines of growing global conflict, as does Trump's aggression in Venezuela and the Christmas day bombing of Nigeria.

While the agreements reached through the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change have proved ineffective at halt-

ing global warming or delivering reparations for the people of the global south, the developing wars



Flooding in Pakistan

and conflicts threaten to undermine desperately needed international cooperation even more.

Underlying the drive to planetary destruction is capitalism. A tiny minority of capitalists control this system based on the exploitation of the labour of the vast majority, and the expropriation of Indigenous lands and resources. Each competing capitalist must maximize profits above all other considerations or fall to their competitors.

This exploitation and expropriation does not go unchallenged by workers and Indigenous peoples – indeed the interests of rulers and ruled are irreconcilable. The state arose “as a power, seemingly standing above society” in order to bring order to the rule of the capitalists.

States compete for economic

and military dominance in a world system that is a complex hierarchy with world and regional powers at or near the top that seek to keep weaker states in their place. The long relative economic decline of the US, and the rise of the Chinese state has created greater instability in the whole system – and increased tensions in key hot spots leading to economic conflict, wars and genocide.

Building the forces that can challenge the rule of capitalism within states – revolutionary solidarity in action between working class and Indigenous sovereignty movements – is important to solving the climate crisis. But this revolutionary solidarity must develop across state borders to bring about a livable future.

Socialists and the trade unions

by: Ritch Whyman

Anyone looking at the labour movement today can see the real potential for a broader struggle and the need for a more robust resistance to the attacks that working class people are facing. And yet we see very little lead coming from the top of the labour leadership. Leaders may hold press conferences and do some saber rattling, but it is not spilling over into building a broad sustained resistance.

Back at the beginning of COVID, there was a real retreat in the class struggle. Workers faced a new moment as people were being sent home and there was general disarray.

In 2022 there was a change and workers started pushing back. People realized that we were not all in this together and it fuelled anger and frustration. This was coupled with the growing inflation that workers see when they go to grocery store, see their rents getting jacked up, the sorts of things that bankers, businessmen and bosses don't feel.

Although there was no generalized lead from any union leader around the question of inflation, across the country there were pockets of strikes and some historic victories in terms of record-setting contracts between 2021 and into 2024.

There were brilliant strikes: Poultry workers in Quebec picked a perfect moment in 2021 to go on strike and almost froze poultry production in the province of Quebec. A thousand food workers in Guelph shut down all beef production in Ontario in 2024.

Members were rejecting tentative agreements by large margins, sometimes 99%, saying this is not good enough, even when bargaining teams were getting some small gains. It was a particular moment, a moment when there was a labor shortage that for the first time in people's living memory, whether they could enunciate it or not, there was a knowledge that they need us much more than we need them. Workers in some sectors got the largest raises they've ever seen. But, from the top of the labour leadership there was nothing. Not even a recognition that the issue of inflation is a serious thing. It was kind of treated as, oh, yeah, sure, it's not good, but it's not that bad.

The ruling class did attempt to address inflation. They did it with three mechanisms. The first was to try to erode the confidence of labor by creating a larger surplus army of labor, which is the unemployed, to erode that confidence that the bosses need us more than we need them. The second was to create economic problems for workers beyond inflation. They put people in a double-edged bind where inflation was met with interest rate hikes. People who had to renew their mortgages, who had car payments and credit card debts saw rates that were soaring.

The third thing was to say the issue was low productivity, which is completely counter-intuitive because if you drive up interest rates, in a capitalist view of the world, that means businesses don't borrow money to build productivity. Increasing productivity under capitalism really means a higher rate of exploitation to squeeze more out of workers. They want us

to work more for less pay. Again, this is the mantra of the Canadian ruling class.

Together these actions have made working people afraid and feel the need to hold on to what they have. At the same time there is no incentive for businesses to borrow money to expand. But for the banks, it means huge profits.

Where is the labour leadership?

In Canada, the UK, and most of the English-speaking world, there has been very little centralized labour resistance to this. If you look back to the 1970s, there were at least calls for one-day strikes, a national one-day strike, and national one-day mobilizations around the issue of inflation. There is no call to boost up picket lines, to build strikes, to knit these things together into a mass working class movement in the face of the cost of living crisis.

Carney is unleashing massive attacks on workers. At the same time, millions and billions are being handed out to corporations under the guise of nation building projects, while thousands of workers being laid off in steel and auto plants. Why on earth is there no call for action from our labour leadership?

They haven't even taken a nationalist position of saying, all right, we're elbows up; we're all in this together. Let's nationalize the steel industry. Let's take over the CAMI

employer to bargain with them kind of undermines the whole edifice of capitalism. Profit and ownership are the keys. So, the existence of unions in their own right undermines some of the ideological underpinnings of capitalism. But unions have also become very incorporated into the laws and regulations of the system.

There is also the explanation that the leadership of the unions is just bad, which on the surface is a fairly accurate assessment. But it isn't necessarily because they are bad people. We have to look at a couple of things about the nature of unions.

If they are bad leaders it is because they can't see outside of the framework they operate in. Why is that?

If you go back to Rosa Luxemburg, she talks about union leaders and unions becoming institutions on their own, where the object of the institution, which is to raise workers up and pose a political challenge to unfettered capitalism, gets lost. The union itself becomes the object. For example you may have heard, we can't go on strike, it would bankrupt the union. Or, if we break the laws, they're going to fine the union, they're going to fine the union leaders. Of course, it is serious if you are the president of a small local and could lose your house if you get fined. But if the rest of the labour movement stood up and said, don't worry, we're going to buy your house from the bank and give it back to you,

movement isn't between left-wing union leader and right-wing union leader, as most of the left thinks of it. It is not an unimportant distinction. It does matter which leader is going to create more space for the rank-and-file to organize and fight back. But, the main divide in the trade unions, the organized section of the working class, is between the rank and file and the leadership.

Some people interpret this as socialists saying that if we didn't have this leadership, there would be mass strike waves. We're not spontaneists. We don't believe that struggle just materializes. We think capitalism produces struggle, so people will always fight back. We believe there needs to be leadership and there's a need for a revolutionary organization.

But inside the union movement, if we look at the last moments we've been through, if we look at the Air Canada strike, if we look at some of the petty factionalism that goes on between unions, millions spent on lawyers, you can see where their priorities are. We see the main divide is between on one hand, a bureaucracy that puts the institution ahead of the members and on the other hand the rank-and-file members. What we want to fight for is the members. We always want to fight for more rank-and-file control, even when workers vote for things we don't like.

We want, as much as possible, to have open debates about strategy, tactics, what needs to be done. We don't want closed conferences, we want big conferences for workers to be at, like CLC and OFL conventions.

When workers have a say, and there's a debate: Why aren't we organizing? Why didn't we rally around the Air Canada workers? They don't do what the leadership always wants them to do. The leadership is constantly trying to suffocate those sorts of things.

What we mean by a rank-and-file strategy

That's why when we say we have a rank-and-file strategy, it's not because we fetishize the rank-and-file, but because we know inside the labor movement there is this gap. There is a division between workers and their leadership. The unelected bureaucracy, and the elected leadership, particularly at the national and provincial levels have an interest in the maintenance of this system. They don't have an interest in overthrowing capitalism. They don't have an interest in destabilizing the situation we're in. And we see that if you look through labor history, look at the Operation Solidarity strike in BC in the 1980's, the Days of Action in Ontario in the 1990's. Not only in Canada but around the world, the same thing happens. Huge movements rise up and the leadership runs to the front to try to bring it down and put it back into "normal" channels.

Which is why it becomes all the more important for rank and file people to push, to say, this is what a mass struggle looks like. It means when there's a picket line, those workers don't sit there and we don't play this bureaucratic game of waiting for that union to say, please come join our picket line. We organize and

we mobilize. And that's what builds muscles inside the working class, is when people organize and fight.

When we have a cost of living crisis that involves direct confrontation with employers, it means stepping up and fighting the Carney government. So that's why for revolutionary socialists, it's not just about criticizing, it's about getting in and trying to build rank-and-file networks, trying to say that this is our best way to push the labor movement forward.

Imagine if at Air Canada, there had been a network of rank-and file activists: some in Toronto, some in Vancouver, some in Winnipeg so that when the online votes were happening, there was a coordinated no. Not just voting no to the contract, but going back on the picket line. I don't want to minimize how hard this work is but imagine if that existed and they had been able to network. It wouldn't have taken much in terms of lateral, across-the-board, rank-and-file organization to flip that situation and keep the pressure on Air Canada.

Everybody should be so frustrated right now that we are letting another moment pass. Although people have illusions in this elbows up thing, we had a moment and we still have it to drive a truck through that, to say if we're all in it together, the banks are going to loan working class people at 0.0001% money to buy homes. We are going to loan cooperatives hundreds of millions of dollars to build cooperative housing. We are going to nationalize the steel industry.

We can see the possibility to really drive a radical agenda and turn the anger away from immigrants, away from people on student visas, onto who it really deserve it: Poilievre, Carney, the Westons, the Sobeys. There is a palpable anger everywhere at the 1%, at the rich. The people that should be driving that agenda, the trade union leaders, and the NDP, have abandoned that terrain, which is why we see Poilievre and the far right soaking it up.

Our analysis is that we need rank and file organization. We need to always be looking at the base and we need to always strategize about how do we build. Struggles have to be viewed through a lens not of how does this build the left bureaucrat's profile, but how does this build the space and the confidence of ordinary rank-and-file working-class people to organize and resist? It also means when a strike doesn't win all the economic demands, we don't want to sit around and say, this is garbage. We want to say, we don't think this was good enough. But if you ask the workers quite often, they'll say, God, we were facing enormous things. We won, we pushed back and we feel confident. We start with the workers' confidence. Do people feel more confident? Are they more willing to fight now than they were last week? If the answer is yes, then to me, that's a victory. And that's why when we analyze the Air Canada strike, I think it's a victory. But I also think it's a glaring example of how much more could have been won, not just for Air Canada workers, but for the whole airline sector, which is on fire. It could have spread and given confidence to other workers to fight back, which could have changed everything.



Metro workers on the line after rejecting a tentative agreement

electric vehicle plant. Instead, we see nothing from the union leadership.

At Canada Post the Liberals smash and strip away the right to strike and we get nothing from the CLC. It was the Air Canada flight attendants themselves who moved. It just brings us always back to the question, why is it that what would appear to be in the material interest of the democratically elected union leadership, and when workers are willing to fight, that there is nothing from the top? It baffles the mind that there is a moment that we could really tip this agenda backwards away from the Liberals and the bosses and yet nothing comes about.

So why is this? There are different explanations. Some people expect unions to be radical entities because on the surface, the notion that workers would have a right to force an

it would be a different situation.

If there was that sort of solidarity, we could cut through these threats. But the notion becomes that the union itself has to be preserved, even if that means it no longer does what it's supposed to do, which is to lift up workers and move them forward.

Unions have become big entities trapped inside labour laws, and a logic develops inside of them where the union, the institution, starts to trump the objectives of the institution. If the union is going to get fined out of existence, well, we can't have this wildcat strike, right?

The divide between the rank-and file and the leadership

So with the bureaucratization and the shift to identifying the union as the object, the divide inside the labor

Voices from the front lines

On December 20, Postal workers and supporters gathered at the CIRB office in Toronto to demand that governments stop their attacks on workers rights and to call on union leaders do their job and fight back against the erosion of bargaining rights. Read excerpts from their speeches below.



Carolyn Egan, President of Steelworkers Toronto Area Council.

“What this is showing is a real determination not only of the workers at Canada Post – the members of CUPW have been waging a tremendous battle against privatization, a tremendous battle against the Carney government and the governments before him, who were trying to push workers down in this country. It is a shame. And I must say that the fight is hard.

We know it’s hard, and we’ve stood behind you every step of the way and we’re going to stay that way until you win this battle.

And it is not impossible to win this battle. We’ve seen it before. We have a long labour history in this country and around the world. The Winnipeg general strike, the common front in Quebec when the city of Sept-Îles was taken over by workers because they believed they should control the media, they should control the TV and the radios. And they did it, and they put their message out.

Around the world we have seen workers rising as well – whether it be in India, in Africa, in Europe – standing up against the same tyrannical pol-

icies of corporations and governments.

I was speaking to some of our comrades in the steelworkers just a little bit ago, we were so, so, so energized and inspired by the flight attendants when they said no to back to work right legislation. And as one of my own fellow workers said, I never thought of the flight attendants as being stereotypical of the labour movement in this country. And that may have been true, but it’s not anymore because those primarily women stood up and said, “No, we will take it no longer.” They walked out and they gave inspiration to all of us. And I think that that sense of solidarity runs through their veins. It runs through your veins. It runs through our veins.”

Learie Charles, President of the Scarborough local of CUPW.

“Thank you for coming to protest with us against what we have been facing in CUPW, as well as among the railway workers and the airline workers, and with the intention of the federal government to use section 107 and other dubious areas of the Labour Code as the basis of continuing to suppress us when we stand up militantly and take our constitutional right to strike as a stage in the struggle against the employer.

But we have to continue this fight until

we win. This demonstration which we are having here this morning symbolically in front of CIRB is important – because it’s no longer that we can simply pass resolutions in our locals or pass resolutions at the OFL, and at various bodies, and do nothing about it. We have to make these things very concrete that when we pass our resolutions and mobilize our members, we have to come out and take protest action and we have to be determined to carry through these struggles until we win victory.

As you can see, management is uniting across the country under Carney to bring in some of the most repressive kinds of activities against working people. We must have a response to that. And our response must be that we will fight back every time. The times will be hard, but we cannot give up that fight.

The kinds of things which they’re doing in the workplaces across Canada right now, especially the post office, are the most draconian. More people are being fired now. More people are being disciplined. All of this is part of that one action which is going on in order to hamstring and crush the working class as much as possible.

We have greater numbers. We are more determined than they are. And I’m saying to you, brothers and sisters, as we are protesting across the country this morning, we should continue these kinds of protests and develop them even further. I take this opportunity this morning to call on not only the OFL, but the CLC and others, to take this matter seriously about organizing – whether it’s a day of action or a general strike.”



Andria Babbington, President of the Toronto & York Region Labour Council.

“It’s so important for us to send that message that this fight with Canada Post, your fight, you standing up, it’s not just about you. It’s really you fighting for every single resident that lives in this country.

This is a huge fight. And I want to say that when I look at the social media and I see peo-

ple talking, I’m so proud because they’re not there attacking you. They’re angry. They’re angry at the fact that this government continues to interfere. This government starts their campaign off caring for workers and once they sit in that seat, they roll over to the corporate side and show us what that means.

But we always have another chance to make it right. We always need to send that message that we will get them. Their day will come. That’s right.

Last year we were standing at the corner again expressing our anger at what this government was doing to you as workers. And today we are back here again in December, standing in solidarity and sending

the message that this fight is our fight. Yeah. When I say this fight is our fight – you know why? Because it’s not over. This fight is not over. This is just getting started.

So when you take this fight on, we want to make sure that we send it also to the community, that we thank them for standing with you. They need to know that we appreciate the fact that they see through this government what they’re doing. Toronto and York Region Labour Council is with you all the way.

All of our affiliates know what you’re going through, and they’re with you all the way.

And we’ll wait until we hear from you when you say it’s over. We’re not leaving you”



Exposing right-wing forces behind Mexico’s “Gen Z” protest

by: Alma Marinelarena

On November 15th (15N), a protest and riot in Mexico City received world-wide coverage, which claimed it was “organized primarily by Gen Z youth groups”. But the protest was not a genuine youth movement, nor did it arise from indignation by the so-called Generation Z.

It was a coordinated operation, financed by right-wing politicians, business interests, and media figures from national and international circles. Far from being a Mexican youth movement, it was publicized through an account linked to international right-wing networks and their bots.

On October 3rd, Azteca News published a report portraying global youth protests, focusing on Carlos Bello, an influencer with no political background who suddenly appeared criticizing the government.

On October 7th, Ricardo Salinas Pliego, owner of TV Azteca and one of the main business opponents of the “Fourth Transformation” or 4T (the platform of the ruling Morena party inaugurated by former president Andrés Manuel López Obrador declaring that neo-liberalism in Mexico would no longer guide the country’s economic policy) shared this influencer’s video – a youthful image for a political narrative.

On October 12th, this influencer announced that a march was being organized – a march with no clear purpose, date, or demands.

On October 15th, the account GeneracionZ_mx uploaded an image with the “One Piece” flag, a symbol that has been used in youth protests in other countries. However, the account is not organic. Created in 2024, it was inactive for a year and previously amplified anti-leftist messages in Venezuela, Ecuador, and throughout Latin America.

On October 16, the right-wing account “Mexican Revolutionaries” appeared, releasing

10 AI-powered videos calling for a march for “recall of President Claudia Sheinbaum”.

They began promoting the issue on October 26th. Of those 359 communities, 28 had foreign administrators, accounts focused on travel, makeup, memes, anime, video games, cooking, and tourism. Suddenly, they all started posting against the Fourth Transformation and in favor of this artificial march. The communities weren’t created organically; they were rented, their audiences bought.

This isn’t youth organizing – it’s paid political marketing. From October 16th to 26th, the discourse was “peaceful march and recall

Mexico on fire – a symbolic provocation.

Added to this is Spanish media entrepreneur Javier Negre, who was invited to the country by Ricardo Salinas, and Fernando Cerimedo, a digital operative for Argentina’s far-right President Javier Milei and Brazil’s Jair Bolsonaro, an expert in bots and disinformation. Agustín Antonetti of the Libertad Foundation (Argentina), a promoter of anti-leftist narratives who is obsessed with anti-communism, and Eduardo Menoni, a far-right, anti-leftist Venezuelan activist with a network in Miami, are also involved.

The November 15th (15N) march was

generation. It is part of an international strategy of destabilization targeting progressive governments. Independent analysts estimate that in October and the first days of November, the cost of this operation exceeded 90 million Mexican pesos (~5 million USD). Everything — the sudden activation of hundreds of accounts and the massive use of AI, the purchase of entire communities, the coordinated activation of influencers, the synchronized narrative — is a political operation designed, financed, and amplified by national and international right-wing networks seeking to disguise itself as a citizen movement using youth symbols, hired influencers, AI, and the purchase of digital farms.

It is a mobilization that aims to destabilize, manipulate emotions, and generate an artificial perception and images of violence. The data debunks this narrative, and the evidence that the artificial November 15th march was manufactured, and the movement was not youthful nor spontaneous. Some protesters were reportedly forced by their bosses to attend the rally or be fired.

The right-wing forces behind the November 15th protest are furious that the reformist Morena government continues to enjoy strong public support. But Sheinbaum is facing growing calls to implement a 40-hour work week, pitting Mexico’s labour movement against both employer resistance and her government’s stalling. In the period ahead, this working-class movement will be key as the US increasingly threatens direct intervention in Mexico.

With thanks to Carlos Vijnovsky Zenteno - Mexican Political Scientist and Public Administrator from Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México @UNAM_MX and Editorial Director of @ElSoberanoMX

This article has been edited for length. Read in full at [socialist.ca](#)



referendum,” but on October 25th, pages and accounts simultaneously began disseminating AI-generated images of the National Palace of

not local, youth-led, or spontaneous. It was not born on TikTok or Discord, and did not arise from the genuine disenchantment of a

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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 Métis communities that have developed in the last hundreds of years.



Hands off Venezuela

Donald Trump is taking aim at Venezuela and is threatening a wider war and regime change operation so he can secure control of the country and its vast oil supplies.

For more than a century the US has considered Latin America as part of its sphere of influence. They have pillaged the entire region for resources and produce while arming death squads and launching coups against any Latin American leader who dares to question Washington's authority.

Trump is justifying this new aggression as part of the war on drugs, accusing Venezuela without evidence of being a narco-state.

He has authorized the illegal killing of fishermen in the seas around the country and has now upped the stakes by seizing oil tankers and enacting a blockade on the country.

This situation is reminiscent of the days in the lead up to the invasion of Iraq when the US

spread lies to justify its intervention.

In those days the antiwar movement had to argue that the war was about oil. In this case, senior Trump advisors are admitting as much in public.

They state that one of the reasons for the intervention, on top of the flimsy narco-state

excuse, is to regain access to oil supplies that he says were illegally taken away from US corporations without compensation.

This is a lie. Most US companies were given cash in return for their oil assets and either way, these resources belong to the people of Venezuela alone.

What this is really about is growing global inter-imperial competition while the US is in a state of decline. They fear that China and Russia have been gaining more influence in the region and they want to kick them out to maintain American dominance.

Canada has thus far avoided criticizing Trump's actions. But we should see that silence as complicity, not condemnation. Canada has a long record of supporting US imperial ambitions in Latin America. By siding with the US, our own corporations have enriched themselves by stealing resources from the area.

We need to be clear that we support the right to self-determination for the people of Venezuela and the region and oppose any imperial interference.

No more imperialist interference in Latin American nations!

¡Fuera Yankis de Venezuela y de América Latina!



US warships sail towards Venezuela

The necropolitics of a massacre in Rio de Janeiro

by: Murilo Trigo

On October 28th 2025 the city of Rio de Janeiro lived through a day of chaos. Before the break of dawn, a “mega-raid” was launched by a 2500-strong police force at the heart of two densely populated neighbourhoods - Penha and Alemão - with a combined population of 230,000. The official reason given for the operation was to disrupt operations, re-take territory, and fulfill 100 arrest warrants for members and leaders of Rio's largest organized crime faction: the CV (Commando Vermelho, Red Command).

The Massacre

For the next 20 hours, the heart of the metropolitan region became a war-zone with helicopters, armoured vehicles, burned barricades, closed streets, canceled bus lines, constant shootouts, and an improvised bomb-dropping drone. What followed was a familiar experience for the entire city: closed businesses, canceled classes, delayed flights, and many calls to check on family and friends. Official statements at the end of the day announced 64 dead, including 4 police officers. The police also arrested 133 suspects, seized 93 rifles, and apprehended over one ton of drugs. The Governor overseeing the operation declared it a success.

Around midnight, the local community formed search parties to look for the missing and unaccounted in a forest up the hill. By daybreak, over 60 bodies had been found, and were lined up in the street for identification. Some had tied hands and signs of summary executions. One was decapitated.

The massacre totaled 133 dead, registering as the deadliest police operation in Brazil's history. What follows is a perspective on how we got here.

The Beautiful City

Rio, once the capital of the nation during colonial times, has two major geographical features: a huge bay facing the Atlantic - with calmer waters that function as a natural harbour - and a collection of mountains and hills that at one time housed thick rainforest vegetation.

The bay was central during the Atlantic slave trade between Portugal and Britain, exchanging coffee, sugar, and enslaved people as commodities for over 300 years. No land reform was ever implemented following the end of legalized slavery, resulting in one of the world's highest rates of wealth inequality. Today, major banks originally funded with inheritances from the slave-trade charge one of the world's highest interest rates for a population that lives overwhelmingly in debt. It's financial-capital refined to the tune of sugar cane plantations.

The hills create a unique dynamic in how this inequality plays out. Unlike in São Paulo,

where the poorest live at the periphery of the city, Rio's geography and its chaotic urbanization process created over 1000 slums on its many hills: “favelas”. Spread everywhere throughout the city and flanking many of its main commuter routes, these favelas house the most neglected by the government's austerity policies. And because, as a rule, there are no political vacuums, organized crime took over.

The Vicious Cycle

Rio's organized crime factions have been growing and expanding their territories for decades. Though every crime organization has its zone of influence, Rio's favelas have the particular tactical advantage of high-ground vantage points with irregular and labyrinthian streets, making access especially difficult to outsiders. In practice, this means that a faction's territory is always in potential dispute by a rival faction and their control over it must be backed by numbers and firepower. Within their territory, a faction sets the laws, the prices, and can walk in broad daylight with open-carry firearms. Operationally, drugs and guns are as relevant as supply chains, cash flows, and franchises,

prevent the current state of affairs. In the years following the end of the 21-year military dictatorship, Rio elected one of the most forward thinking and prepared Governors the country had ever seen. Leonel Brizola put into action a plan for educational revolution: the large-scale deployment of high-quality public schools for marginalized communities. In addition to the more direct socioeconomic development aims of the project, there was an aspect of public safety in the understanding that there would never be any lasting solution to organized crime that didn't involve providing an alternative future to the youth who make up the bulk of its labour force recruitment.

Instead, after Brizola's tenure, the project was kneecapped and defunded. In the decades that followed, the marriage of electoral politics and rampant State corruption gave rise to one of the most disgruntled and reactionary electoral blocks in the country. To date, almost all elected Rio de Janeiro Governors since Brizola (6 out of 8) have been charged and found guilty of corruption schemes related to election vote-buying, embezzlement, and bribes, with multiple of them still under arrest. Claudio Castro, the

financial market. There is only so much money you can launder with churches and gas stations, and recent police investigations have revealed high-profile cases of organized crime factions embedded into tech-financial institutions like e-banks and betting apps.

Not to be left out of their share of profits, off-duty or former police and military formed “militias”: paramilitary groups that collect protection rackets to “displace” local factions.

Occupying a significant chunk of the city, these militias have their own rivalries, disputes, turf wars, and often get into the same businesses as the crime factions, from service surcharges to money laundering and executions. These militias are often backed by local politicians and deadly police operations rarely happen in their controlled areas.

Meanwhile, with an electorate lacking even their basic needs like food and safety, long-term and high-minded socioeconomic projects don't win elections: outrage does.

Academic and polite politics fundamentally fail to appeal to a people who - just to survive - must think with their bellies before their heads. And it is in that context that the dehumanization of “others” becomes increasingly acceptable. A people who must live in constant fear for themselves and their families have no issue with policies that say that “a good thug is a dead thug” and that the State should deal with crime with “bullets, beatings, and bombs”, not sociology.

And because “if it bleeds, it leads”, both traditional and social media play a profitable role in this perpetual erosion of empathy. Polarization engages, and after each massacre, a new low is reached with a torrent of “not enough dead” comments. Pollsters hit the streets and report overall support for latest police operation, in particular within faction-occupied neighbourhoods, while spreadsheets are filled for someone's next electoral map. Though there is also popular mobilization to condemn the police violence, they are labeled as faction sympathizers and soft leftists protecting criminals. It's “us versus them” like cops and robbers. Nuance be damned.

To complete this vicious cycle, the inefficacy of these policies in addressing the issue of organized crime becomes not a downside, but a feature for maintaining power through elections under capitalism. When wealth and votes are the keys to power instead of results, corrupt elites can reliably funnel embezzled funds into marketing and outreach for their re-election's anti-corruption slogans and tough-on-crime soundbites. The result is an ever more militarized and lethal police force, with a higher rate of suicides and incidents of violent crime, and a matching response from organized crime factions that know few prisoners will be taken.

In the realpolitik of necropolitics, success is measured by the body count.



Rio cops congratulate themselves on a massacre

making these factions very similar to any profit-seeking enterprise but with violence as the rule rather than the exception.

The communities who live under their control are subjected to a whole new level of oppression, exploitation, and social marginalization that make joining the local faction a tantalizing proposition. As a result, the poorest and overwhelmingly non-white (black or mixed) population both suffers from and is blamed for the city's ever increasing epidemic of phone thefts, car robberies, murders, kidnappings, shootouts, and all manner of crime and violence.

There once existed a path, now untaken, to

current Governor and member of Bolsonaro's far right party, won as a Vice-Governor slate candidate together with the latest Governor to be arrested for corruption while still in office, making him the current Governor.

And yet, it gets worse. Investigation reports suggest that up to half of Rio's current Legislative Assembly has connections to organized crime. Most of them are investigated, charged, or found guilty of being involved in all imaginable manner of cover-ups, widespread bribery, money laundering, and even a high-profile execution. A major feature of this degree of organized crime is an almost mandatory insertion into State institutions and the

The new phase of genocide

by: Sid Lacombe

The Trump 'peace' plan was never about ending the genocide of the Palestinian people but rather about distracting the opposition, codifying the killing in international law through the UN Security Council and about creating even more wealth for the Trump family and the Gulf States.

While Trump and Netanyahu discuss a second phase of the ceasefire agreement, conditions for Palestinians continue to get worse.

The genocide continues—just at a slightly lesser pace of killing. The Israelis have seized more than 50% of what was the Gaza strip and are encroaching further as the yellow line (the new border) continues to move towards the centre of the enclave.

The Israelis are still starving people of Gaza with less than 25% of the required aid being allowed in. The worsening weather conditions and lack of shelter are accelerating the dire conditions.

The Gaza Health Ministry says that 25 people froze to death in December and the number is expected to rise as the temperatures drop. There are housing units sitting on trucks outside of Gaza but they are being refused entry by the Israelis.

The Zionists have only shifted from mass killing through indiscriminate bombing to a new phase of social murder where the conditions needed to sustain life are being deliberately withheld. Doctors in Gaza have said that they are woefully under-supplied in key medications and equipment.

The Health Ministry said "Around 54 percent of essential medicines are unavailable



Severe flooding is making conditions even worse for the people of Gaza

and 40 percent of the drugs for surgeries and emergency care are missing." Specifically there has been no supply of crucial antibiotics, IV solutions or surgical material allowed in since the ceasefire.

The UN has reported that more than 9,000 children were hospitalized for acute malnutrition each month.

Medical evacuations have slowed to a trickle with hundreds dying before they can get to a proper medical facility. Hani Isleem from Doctors without Borders authored a new report looking at medical evacuations. He said, "Officially, around 900 patients registered for medical evacuation have died before they could be evacuated and the true number is

likely much higher."

The killing by Israeli forces has not stopped. There have been more than Israeli 1000 violations of the ceasefire agreement. The military continues to blame the killings on ceasefire violations by Palestinians but as is always the case it is Israel that is doing the killing.

All told the Israelis have killed at least 418 Palestinians and injured 1100 since the ceasefire began.

This 'ceasefire' plan was never anything more than a ruse to dampen opposition to the genocide and to buy time to Israel to re-frame the narrative as support for the Zionist state collapses.

The new propaganda war

The Israeli Foreign Ministry recently conducted a study that found growing supermajorities in most European countries that oppose the genocide in Gaza. In an attempt to shift the debate - they have completely lost the argument on the genocide itself - they are urging 'influencers' and supporters to pivot to spreading Islamophobia as a means of trying to win more people to their side.

The link between the far-right in the west and the Zionists is clearer by the day.

Not content with just killing in Gaza, the Israelis are also pushing further into Southern Lebanon and building new fortifications on high ground near the border and are developing new settlements in the West Bank, contrary to international law.

The government of Canada did condemn the settlement expansion but has done nothing to end arms shipments to the Israelis.

Our movement must remain on the streets to call for an arms embargo on Israel and to end all Canadian complicity in this genocide.

2025 was a year of climate disasters

by: Brain Champ

The year 2025 will be the second or third hottest year ever – after 2024 – and the last 11 years were the hottest ever recorded.

The concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is now above 423 parts-per-million (ppm). This continues to drive the climate crisis. The growth in carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases is generated by continued growth in fossil fuel production and consumption. While solar and wind energy production has gained ground, it represents less than 5% of fossil fuel energy production.

Government and corporate boardroom decisions ensure the continued dominance of fossil fuels through investments in extraction, pipelines, power plants and roads that keep fossil profits flowing.

These same forces have undermined the UN climate meetings for over 30 years, leading to ineffectual agreements that have failed to stop the crisis. At COP 30 in Brazil this year, the final agreement made no mention of curbing fossil fuels.

Meanwhile the destruction of the climate crisis becomes clearer every day.

2025 began with the devastation of the

LA wildfires, and continued with the second worst Canadian wildfire season ever recorded. In December, atmospheric rivers submerged large parts of Washington state and the BC lower mainland under floodwaters.

84% of the world's coral reef area is bleaching due to heat stress caused by record ocean temperatures, making it more vulnerable and impacting an important habitat for many species.



Mass protests erupted at the COP meeting in Brazil

In late November and early December last year over 2,000 people were killed and millions stranded across Sri Lanka, southern India, Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia after two overlapping tropical cyclones hit the region. Most of the damage was caused by heavy flooding and landslides due to extreme rainfall overwhelming vulnerable infrastructure.

Earlier in November, two very strong typhoons struck the Philippines one after the other, killing hundreds and impacting millions.

Record temperatures in Korea, Japan, Iran and Punjab – where temperatures reached 50 degrees Celsius – are endangering many millions of people each summer.

In the US in June, extreme heat affected 255 million people, with temperatures exceeding 38 degrees Celsius, causing thousands of heat related illnesses and at least 150 heat related deaths (according to the CDC).

One study found that extreme heat from June to August across Europe, was estimated to contribute to 24,400 deaths in 854 European cities, most severely affecting Italy, Spain, Germany, France and the UK.

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