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UNITE THE FIGHTS KILL BILL C-39

- No new **pipelines**

- Defend **Indigenous**
Land rights

- Protect the right to **strike**

Stop C-39: Carney's omnibus bill is a corporate power grab

by: Sid Lacombe

Mark Carney is moving quickly to secure the future profitability of corporations at the expense of workers, Indigenous groups and the natural environment.

His bill C-39 is an omnibus legislation that will rewrite environmental laws, bypass Indigenous consultation for extraction industries and will limit the right to strike by labour unions.

Carney is calling for privatization of public assets, dramatic increases in fossil fuel production and infrastructure and a new age of mining projects. These schemes will mean a lot of money going to the already rich while the rest of us suffer.

The Liberal government will point to the trade wars and threats of annexation as the reason why we need to move so quickly and recklessly towards these new endeavours but, as we have argued from the beginning of Trump's term, they are only using Trump as an excuse to pursue more wealth accumulation for the top 1% here.

The Canadian ruling class didn't need Trump's threats to push them — they were already eager to crush environmental regulations, suspend workers' rights and attack Indigenous sovereignty.

In other words, they are doing what they have always done, just with a new momentum and justification.

We have already seen that Carney's "elbows up" game is something of a farce. A Toronto Star investigation has shown that more than \$7 billion in government contracts have gone to US based companies

since Carney has come to power.

It is clear that Carney, who spent many years working for US finance giants like Goldman Sachs, has pledged his allegiance to the billionaires, regardless of whether they're Canadian or American.

The corporate media are, not surprisingly, cheering on Carney and limiting criticism of the new laws. His international popularity is often cited as a point of national pride.

In the past few months he has been lauded around the world. Bloomberg is calling him the "New leader of the free world" after his trip to Europe, following his much publicized CEO summit in Toronto. European politicians lined up to get a photo op with the new messiah of neo-liberalism.

What Carney is actually doing is pumping air into a tired and deflated

centre-right political project of pro-corporate globalization that is in rapid decline in almost every part of the world.

Politics in most countries is polarizing with the far-right and the left social democrats gaining support, while the traditional liberal parties disintegrate. They are in that mess because they continue to insist on a project that sees corporate control as the key to fixing the crises of the system.

This is resulting in a cost of living crisis for most working people and has led to the abandonment of these parties by millions of people.

And, although Carney is riding a wave of popularity in Canada his project, which primarily involves mass transfers of wealth to the billionaires, will not keep him atop the polls for long.

CEO summit

The CEO summit brought billionaires from all over the planet together to attract investment in Canada.

It was successful if we look at the numbers — more than \$500 billion in investment deals inked at the proceeding. But it will be a disaster for working people, Indigenous nations and the natural world.

Among other announcements made at the summit was the privatization of airports which, as we have seen in other parts of the world, will increase costs for travelers, gut union jobs and result in profits going to investors rather than being re-invested in infrastructure.

He also announced a new "Productivity Mega Deduction" for corporations which will result in \$36 billion in lost tax revenue over the next 4 years, by one estimate.

Attacking workers

The attacks on workers are not new for the Liberals. Under Trudeau, the federal government frequently undermined collective bargaining and forced workers off the picket lines. From Canada Post to dockworkers in Quebec and BC to Air Canada flight attendants the government used section 107 of the labour code to curtail the constitutionally protected right to collective bargaining.

Carney is now advancing a new model that can force binding arbitration on workers set to strike, which essentially removes the power of the strike as a means to force new agreements. And the decision to do so would not be accountable to any elected body but could be decided by an individual minister in charge.

Unions are planning to defy the

new laws. CUPE, Unifor and the Machinists union (IAM) have all declared that they will fight the airport privatization.

Many of the unions have also stated that they will defy the anti-strike provisions in the law. It remains to be seen what that fight will entail but we have already seen the first actions by unions who picketed federal MP offices in Toronto, Hamilton and Thunder Bay. There will need to be a sustained pressure campaign to get the union leaders to take a firm stance and fight these measures through mass action.

The new legislation also gives the government, again with the full authority of one designated cabinet minister, the ability to fast track projects that are deemed in the "national interest".

This fast tracking will speed up mining and fossil fuel infrastructure projects that will be both environmentally devastating and will essentially eliminate the possibility of proper environmental assessment and consultation with Indigenous groups.

According to Julia Levin, associate director of national climate at Environmental Defence, "This will leave Canadians in the dark about risks to communities, wildlife and nature. It also would make it practically impossible for the government to meaningfully consult Indigenous communities on major projects, which is constitutionally required."

Bill C39 is an attack on human rights and an assault on the environment on an already burning planet. But these attacks can spark a mass movement bringing together different groups and sectors in one big fight to stop Carney's corporate takeover.



Unite the fights against Carney

On the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation, Carney pledged to implement the TRC calls to action, and labour organizations like the CLC, the OFL and national unions made statements of reconciliation.

These are important as Indigenous people experience apartheid conditions in Canada: high levels of poverty, ill-health, violence at the hands of police, rates of incarceration and everyday violence. But more than just words is needed.

Carney's hypocrisy is clear: one day earlier he approved the new Pacific Link tar sands pipeline as the first "Project of National Interest".

He also attacked Indigenous sovereignty with Bill C-39: an omnibus bill expanding on Bill C-5 that establishes "Regions of national interest" to fast track development and dismantle environmental protections.

This fuels forces further to the right mainstreaming residential school denialism, for example in a Globe and Mail editorial earlier this year.

No wonder the Second Sons were emboldened to come to Tk'emlúps te

Secwepemc with a banner that said "Got bones?", denying the horrors of residential schools where 215 unmarked graves had been confirmed in 2021.

The Dominion Society combines remigration — "the return of foreigners to their respective homelands" — with attacks on Indigenous people.

And yet, on September 23rd, 9,000 people joined the Grassy Narrows River Run in Toronto — the largest

turnout yet — to demand mercury justice. Significant contingents from labour unions, including USW, CUPE, OPSEU, ETFO, OSSTF, and others were there. It is vitally important to build this. Mercury poisoning health impacts on community members is quite desperate. Recently, a number of community members have died, including a ten-year-old boy who committed suicide.

But there is an elephant in the

room.

Notably absent from the march was Unifor, which represents Dryden Mill workers. A key demand of the march was to shut the mill down, directly impacting these jobs. How can we avoid pitting jobs against Indigenous rights and the environment?

Similarly problematic is labour's response to Bill C-39. This bill further strengthens section 107 of the labour code curtailing the right to strike. The CLC, OFL, major unions and regional labour councils have rightly pushed back against this, but they have narrowly focused on removing this provision, not to repeal the entire bill.

But Indigenous land defenders will fight against Bill C-39 too. Jeronimo Kataquapit from Attawapiskat First Nation and founder of Here We Stand that is organizing resistance against critical mineral mining in the so-called "Ring of Fire", has expressed concerns that this region will be declared a "region of national interest" under Bill C-39 and urges First Nations to take action: "What we do next isn't a choice — it's a responsibility to the future generations."

These fights need to be unified.

It is imperative that we revitalize climate justice politics, which gained ground with the rise of Idle No More. The Leap Manifesto and the Green New Deal attempted to connect Indigenous sovereignty struggles with a just transition for workers to a green economy, and global justice. This is most clearly expressed today by Quebec Solidaire (QS): they call for a "transition socioécologique": government investment in green jobs, respect for Indigenous sovereignty and a Quebec for everyone.

Lacking these politics, the labour leadership is moving closer to Carney's "national interest" and "nation-building" rhetoric, discrediting organized labour amongst Indigenous peoples. This gives a free pass to pipeline building, military production and extractivist projects, driving a wedge between struggles.

This is feeding a growing polarization: jobs versus Indigenous Sovereignty; jobs versus the environment; jobs versus migrants.

A different future is possible if we fight for a just transition and unite the fights!



Election 2026: Another Quebec is possible

by: Chantal Sundaram

Throughout the Quebec election campaign, the media in English Canada focussed on the possibility of a third referendum.

Now that the Parti Quebecois has formed a minority government with the Liberals in opposition, that future is unclear.

But the untold story of the election is the survival of Quebec solidaire, the only party of the left, which fought a strongly progressive campaign against a rising tide of neoliberal austerity and racism. Its platform for climate justice and aggressively taxing the rich to pay for affordable housing and rent control, public healthcare and public transit, as well as NYC Mamdani-style public groceries, outshines the NDP in every way. The slogan was “It’s possible,” which was a breath of fresh air in a right-moving landscape.

QS was the only party to denounce the “ethnic” definition of what it means to be Quebecois today, to embrace immigration as enriching Quebecois identity, to support nation-to-nation sovereignty relations with Indigenous communities, and to denounce Islamophobia masquerading as “secularism.” QS punched up while every other party punched down.

And they emerged practically unscathed despite the odds, holding on to nine seats. In 2018 QS had made its first breakthrough, electing 10 MNAs and becoming recognized as the official “second opposition” to the ruling CAQ. It was bolstered by the youth generation of the Maple Spring student strike, which joined the party en masse. In 2022, QS carried that

breakthrough forward, occupying a solid second place in the popular vote. It was an indication that though Quebec society was polarizing, it was not entirely to the right.

This time, QS did see a drop in its youth vote, but still 21% of its candidates in the 2026 election were 30 years old or younger. And this time, the popular vote was not a strong indicator of success, with five parties vying for it. The reviled incumbent Coalition Avenir Quebec (CAQ) got

movements in the National Assembly and to “do politics differently” to avoid the pitfalls of just chasing votes. It painstakingly built a coalition between social democrats (orphaned by the collapse of the provincial NDP over its federalism) with the left of the women’s movement, the strong climate justice movement in Quebec, rank and file union activists, and the left of the sovereigntist movement.

As an electoral party, for twelve years it struggled on the margins to

integrate workers’ demands into its mandate, including the best labour laws and the only anti-scab legislation of the time.

Today the PQ has gone along with the pro-employer laws passed by the CAQ, some of the worst strike-breaking and union-busting laws in the country. In this context, QS’s call to tax the top 0.1% of earners with assets over \$25 million to generate \$5 billion annually for public services struck a chord.

“Identity” politics and sovereignty

From the 1990s, the PQ and other mainstream Quebec parties increasingly pursued an “ethnic” notion of Quebec identity that became increasingly racist. This was in lockstep with their embrace of neoliberalism and austerity. The false “secularism” promoted as a feature of Quebec identity by the CAQ, with its Islamophobic laws on religious symbols, had its roots in the PQ’s own “Values Charter” before that. And today every party but QS has jumped on the anti-immigrant bandwagon.

QS was also the only party that advanced a vision of Quebec independence not to build a nation for its own sake, but to break with the current order and imagine a radically different Quebec for the people, not the elite, to be achieved through a nation-to-nation relationship with Indigenous communities and rooted in equal respect for Indigenous sovereignty.

The PQ on the other hand said it would only “consult” Indigenous people in its sovereignty project. So on election night, Indigenous organiza-

tions including the Mohawk Council of Kanawake invited themselves to the PQ watch-party: they protested outside with the clear message of “pas sans nous,” “not without us.”

In her concession speech CAQ leader Christine Fréchette talked about the importance of the “third way” option her party offered: neither federalism nor separatism. The CAQ was a right-wing coalition of both camps, and ultimately represented nothing but a degradation of French language legislation into anti-immigrant racism.

After the ballot

Ultimately social change doesn’t happen at the ballot box. But QS ran candidates in all 127 ridings, not to win but to be seen. Building on that will now be key, to ensure QS is seen as part of real struggles for change.

The first QS MLA ever elected, Françoise David, told a reporter on election night that she hopes that QS works with all the most left forces in Quebec against the rise of the right. Ruba Ghazal, QS co-spokesperson of Palestinian origin, who was re-elected in her Montreal riding told a cheering crowd on election night that she was proud of the results that proved wrong those who said the opening for the left had closed in Quebec.

As Ruba said: “It’s a good thing Québec solidaire is here to be the voice of those who don’t have one. We resisted. We are standing tall. That’s also what Québec solidaire is: Québec solidaire is people who stand tall, who resist through thick and thin. We fought the way only the left knows how to fight.”



13% of the popular vote but not a single seat, while QS got 12% of the popular vote and still secured its 9 seats. This is an indication of the solid roots QS has built; the PQ could not pull any QS strongholds.

“Party of the ballot and party of the street”

QS emerged out of social movements as a formal party in 2006. Its pledge was to be a voice of social justice

win over the base of support of the Parti Quebecois. The PQ had been the unofficial party of the left and labour movement since the 1970s: today it is hard to imagine that they had ever tried to pose as social democrats. They were always a split from the Liberals, but they needed to build a base amongst the most impoverished Quebecois and connect with the growing power of the labour movement in the 1970s. The PQ was forced

BC election unlikely to end well

by: Bradley Hughes

On September 22 BC NDP Premier David Eby called an election two years into a four-year term. His stated reason for the election is that “Trump is coming after us.” However the extreme chaos and disorder in the opposition BC Conservatives seems like a much more likely reason.

In the 2024 provincial election the BC Conservatives went from only 2% of the vote in the previous election to winning 43% of the vote and 44 of the 93 seats in the legislature. The NDP lost 10 seats (down to 47) and the Greens stayed at 2.

This new version of the BC Conservatives has adopted far-right “freedom convoy” politics including climate denial, anti-indigenous racism, and transphobia. Before the election the official opposition was the BC Liberal party, in the hopes of unseating the NDP no matter what. party leader Kevin Falcon unilaterally suspended the party’s election campaign in August 2024 and merged his party with the BC Conservatives.

Some of the Conservatives electoral success came from sharing the name with Poilievre’s federal Conservatives, but much of it came from the combination of the dire state of housing, healthcare and the affordability crisis combined with seven years of the NDP making

right-wing policies and arguments respectable. The NDP approved the Site C dam despite the objections of nearly every Indigenous organization in the province, they refused to implement rent controls; as the opioid crisis intensified they steadfastly opposed safer supply; they increased the previous government’s tax cuts and subsidies to bring fracked gas terminals to the province and arrested nearly 1,200 people to force through old-growth logging on Vancouver Island. In defence of profits for fossil fuel companies they sent the racist RCMP armed with machine guns and attack dogs into Wet’suwe’ten nation to force through a natural gas pipeline. This attack on Indigenous rights sparked occupations and shut downs across so-called Canada.

After the election Premier Eby

continued his campaign to make Conservative convoy politics respectable. He has proposed imprisoning people with addictions, making it harder for people to be on bail while waiting for trials, and he lead a racist attack on Indigenous rights.

In 2025 the Supreme Court of British Columbia reached a decision, after the longest trial in Canadian history, that land that the colony of BC stole from the Quw’utsun (Cowichan) Nation in the 1850s still belonged to the Quw’utsun Nation. Even though much of it had been sold and re-sold over the years. Instead of negotiating with the Quw’utsun Nation as directed by the court, Eby denounced the decision, declared that it ignored “real people,” and is appealing the decision. He then went

on to try to suspend the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act because the courts were applying it, as intended, to BC laws. Only the behind the scenes refusals by a few NDP MLAs combined with the government’s one-seat majority stopped him.

Despite all this assistance by the NDP government, after the election the Conservatives descended into chaos. By the middle of September this year, they had lost 19 caucus members who went on to create three new parties. In the week leading up to the premier’s well publicized election call: the former leader John Rustad, who nearly won the 2024 election was expelled from the party; the leader of the Conservatives resigned; and the leader of one of the splinter parties was appointed as leader of another, only to abandon it a few days later to rejoin the Conservatives. (Which, as hard as it may be to believe, is only a sampling of the nonsense the Conservatives were up to.) After the election call many of those who had quit and/or were expelled quickly rejoined the Conservatives.

The first polls after the election launch had the NDP dropping from a previous 10 point lead to the Conservatives leading by 2 percentage points, which is a tie within the uncertainty of the polls.

The only bright spot in this election is the BC Green party platform. They are running on a platform

that includes building permanently affordable housing, proper rent control, \$10 a day childcare, a new tax on those with more than \$100 million in wealth, a windfall tax on corporations, and no new fossil fuel development. But even the Greens seem to accept the current oil and gas frenzy and would content themselves with greater taxes and royalties while suspending future projects.

There are no good outcomes to this election. If the Conservatives win they will pursue attacks on the public sector, indigenous rights, and their right-wing anti-LGBTQ+ agenda.

The NPD has spent decades transforming itself into a neo-liberal party. If they win a majority, like all other pro-business parties, they will launch a new round of attacks in the hope that resistance will be limited and people will come to accept the damage over the four year mandate. A majority NDP government would also mean that the small number of MLAs who still have principles would not be able to occasionally hold the rest of the party back, like they did in defence of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act.

Defending Indigenous rights, public spending, the climate and our own standard of living requires action beyond voting. Whoever wins the election we must build the solidarity needed to keep them in check.



Eby may regret calling an early election

World in revolt

From student walkouts in France to the housing revolt in Spain to the Left win in Berlin to the new wave of protests in India, people are fighting greed, corruption and austerity. We track developments in some of these crucial fights against the billionaires' agenda.

French socialists say “everything is open,” as protests weaken centre politics

“It’s an incredible situation,” says Denis from the streets of Paris. He says the school student revolt is growing with unions throwing their weight behind the mobilizations.

It has transformed the political atmosphere ahead of the presidential election in seven months’ time. Several polls show Marine Le Pen in first place and left winger Jean Luc Melenchon, of the LFI party, in second.

Anti-racist organisation Marche des Solidarités (MDS) has called a counter-demonstration at the fascist RN conference on 24 October.

Socialist Worker spoke to socialist and MDS organiser Denis about the political atmosphere in France right now

What does it feel like to be in France?

Everything is unstable and open—and there’s a radicalisation and a politicisation that won’t stop unless there is a big defeat.

But for a movement to have momentum, be built, go somewhere, you need to build between the big days.

There are slogans about cleaning toilets next to slogans about freeing Palestine.

The key point at the moment is the budget—cutting funding for hospitals, wages, pensions and schools. Our message is, ‘We want the money for us, for our needs, so don’t make cuts in hospitals and education’

The more the movement pushes, the more we think we can win. What is important is that the movement builds more and more. Already it is national and there are more and more and more schools involved.

What issues does the movement face?

One issue now is that the government is trying to divide the school kids between the professional schools and the general schools.

The professional schools are much more in the suburbs—the poorer areas where there are more black and Arab kids.”

The government decided to push for a lockout, saying that the professional schools would be closed, with lessons on Zoom. They are accusing the students of these kinds of schools of violence.

How has LFI reacted to the movement?

For the first time, there’s a real concrete chance of the fascist RN winning the presidential election in seven months’ time. It’s not a small

thing—people are asking, ‘Is a fascist party winning the next election?’

But, at the same time, for the first time in years and years, people are coming out against it.

Typically, left reformists will be looking to moderate in a period of elections. But LFI hasn’t and we feel that Melenchon is being radicalised by the situation.

On 29 September, police attacked pickets in front of schools, in front of trade unionists. On the same day, Melenchon made a speech attacking the police. ‘They are against our kids,’ he said.

He encouraged people to support the kids against the police, saying, ‘We will not forget and we will not forgive.’

People feel they don’t have to vote for someone they don’t like, with no hope to prevent RN from winning.

Now they think we can have a different policy that goes a totally different way and I think that Melenchon has understood that he can connect with that.

For a big majority of people in the movement, LFI is heir organisation, even if they are not members. The youth were shouting their slogans against RN and those shouts have been dominant in demonstrations. They would do chants for Palestine and then for Melenchon.

Do you think LFI, as an electoral party, might hold the movement back?

Sometimes elections paralyse struggle—there’s no fight, not even from the trade unions. But this time the prospect of Melenchon doing well in the presidential elections is feeding hope and that’s feeding the struggle.

LFI have local “action groups”—they’re very weak and have had no organic connection to the movement until now. I think they are trying to build because the demonstrations have potential supporters for LFI. They are bringing flags to the demonstrations in big contingents.

LFI can’t control the movement or lead it, but they lead in the sense that their ideas are shared by the movement.

This is also a weakness for the movement. You can have big numbers on a demonstration, but you need revolutionary organisation to win.

Marche des Solidarités is organising a counter-protest at the RN conference on 24 October?

We have, at Marche des Solidarités, a good relationship with LFI.

I think Melenchon thinks they have to go together—the student movement connected with the feeling against racism and RN.

At the moment, LFI does not want a national mobilisation at the RN conference and in some places the members are not trying to mobilise.

But we had the ear of thousands of young people. These feelings are completely supported by LFI.

The people who relate to LFI like the idea of going to the demonstration against the RN conference.



Student walkouts are sparking a much larger revolt

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Berlin shows the far-right is not inevitable

by: Ibrahim Alsayahy

The radical left has scored a historic victory in the heart of Germany.

Die Linke won 25.7 percent in Berlin's state election, more than doubling its 12.2 percent vote in 2023 and achieving its best-ever result in the German capital. It finished clearly ahead of chancellor Friedrich Merz's conservative CDU, while the SPD suffered its worst-ever result in a Berlin state election.

The result matters far beyond the ballot box.

Berlin is a city being squeezed by soaring rents, property speculation and the cost of living. Die Linke put housing at the centre of its campaign, alongside the cost of living and public transport. It also demanded implementation of the 2021 referendum in which Berliners voted to expropriate the city's giant

corporate landlords.

That points to an important lesson at a moment when the far-right is growing across Germany and gaining electoral success themselves.

The AfD has fed on anger, insecurity,

and declining trust in the political establishment. It tries to turn that anger against migrants, refugees, and other oppressed people. And the mainstream parties have repeatedly helped legitimize this politics by

adopting tougher anti-migrant rhetoric and policies of their own.

Berlin shows that anger does not automatically have to move to the right.

When the left directs anger towards landlords, corporations, and those who hold wealth and power—and connects it to concrete struggles over housing, wages, and public services—it can begin to offer a different pole of attraction.

But an electoral victory is not enough.

Die Linke will now face pressure in negotiations with the SPD and Greens. They will push it to retreat from its promises, particularly over housing and the expropriation of the big landlords.

The danger is that electoral success is translated into managing the same system that produced the crisis in the first place.

The real strength behind this result

must therefore be built outside parliament too—in workplaces, tenants' movements, neighbourhoods, trade unions, and anti-racist struggles.

Germany still faces a serious far-right threat. On the same day that Die Linke surged in Berlin, the AfD won 38.2 percent in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.

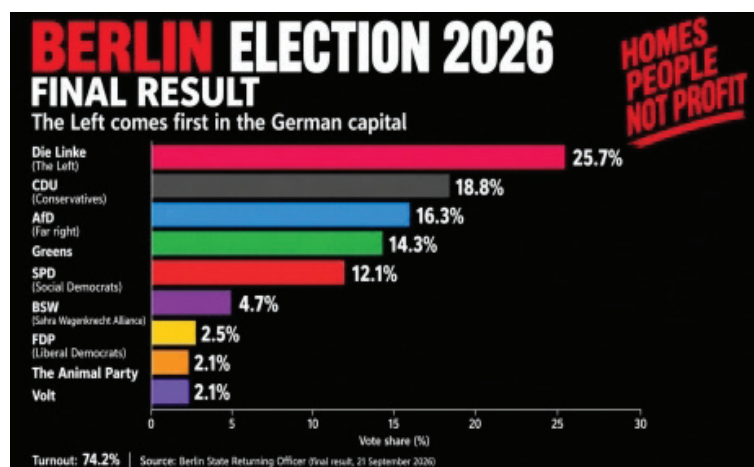
That makes the lesson from Berlin even more important.

The rise of the far right is not inevitable.

The answer cannot simply be defending a discredited political center that helped create the conditions in which the far right grows.

The alternative has to come from struggle—from turning anger upwards against landlords, bosses, and the wealthy rather than downwards against migrants, refugees, and the poor.

When class anger finds its real target, the radical left can advance.



The streets call the shots: inside the popular uprising over housing in Spain

by: Cristina Fernandez

The images that have circulated in part of the media this past week, showing thousands of people occupying "Puerta del Sol," Madrid's city centre, may feel like a starting point, a breakthrough, the onset of a working-class battle. However, it is important for anyone who wants to see a shift in the balance of power in behalf of the working class to understand that the current occupation of city centres in more than twelve major Spanish cities has been the result of meticulous organizing work carried out over more than seven years by the Sindicato de Inquilinas e Inquilinos (Tenants' Union). Seven years of organising regular neighbourhood assemblies for mutual support, in which the neighbours provide each other with advice and backing in their individual cases, whilst giving political meaning to their personal experiences and building genuine people's power. This continues the practice initiated by the Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (PAH, Platform for People Affected by Mortgages) in the 2010s of calling on any neighbour to put their body on the line to prevent an eviction.

It is because of the well-established roots of the Tenants' Union in Madrid's neighbourhoods that, on the evening of September 22, hundreds of people once again responded to the call to take to the streets and spend the night outside the home of María del Carmen Abascal (Maricarmen), an 87-year-old woman with a 50% disability who was set to be evicted the following morning. The police closed off the street to prevent the even larger crowd that had turned

up at dawn from joining the protest, even barring the press from covering the unfolding events. They then forcibly removed, one by one, the people who had flooded the street in front of the entrance, the stairs, and Maricarmen's home, using a violence so blatant that had lost all semblance of legitimacy.

Maricarmen's eviction is a paradigmatic example of the structural violence experienced first-hand by a large segment of society that cannot afford rent, that is forced to move more often and further and further from urban centres — which have now been transformed into tourist accommodations — cannot afford to move out of their parents' homes, and is subject to landlord abuse. It

is also the direct consequence of housing policies that have been far too lenient towards vulture funds, real estate agents and short-term rental platforms, and have privatised social housing and given landlords free rein to speculate, allowing them to raise rents at will with every lease renewal. During its current term, the left-wing coalition government has attempted, without much success and without sufficient political resolve, to counteract these policies, a legacy of previous PP (Partido Popular) administrations and current right-wing regional governments.

The outrage of a broad social majority, sparked by Maricarmen's eviction, has spread beyond existing organisational structures and has

exerted relentless pressure on the Government to compel it to pass a decree-law that was dubbed the 'Maricarmen Decree'. The Tenants' Union's demands include the outlawing of evictions, restrictions on seasonal and room-by-room lettings, a general rent freeze and the automatic renewal of existing rental contracts, as well as the expropriation of properties held by vulture funds.

The squeeze on the administration from popular mobilization forced the Cabinet to pass two decree-laws on September 29, which took immediate effect. However, a good part of the measures in these decrees failed to address the root causes of structural inequality and avoided confronting the rentier class. Among the provisions were: preventing vulture funds from purchasing homes for less than 70% of their market value; tax relief for landlords who reduce rent prices; the increase in VAT on tourist rentals; a freeze on rents above average market rates, valid only until 2028; and a ban on evictions, effective only until 2031. These measures have struck the people on the streets as far from satisfactory and the government was suspected of splitting a single decree into two, foreseeing that the one including the boldest measures would fail to secure a parliamentary majority.

A parliamentary session needed for their ratification was scheduled on October 2 and, while it was expected that the most ambitious decree would not be approved, ultimately both decrees were rejected due to a lack of support from right-wing, centre-right, and pro-independence parties. Square occupations, demonstrations, and popular assem-

blies are set to continue in full force and the Tenant's Union and other voices are calling to a general strike. The pressure from below has resulted in Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez dissolving parliament and calling general elections for November 29.

Even if the left-wing parties do not have an assured victory according to polls, this movement, which like the 2011 Indignados movement has already expanded to claim other civil rights such as education or public health and question the distribution of wealth, is already victorious when it comes to re-inspiring and convincing the public that politics is worth doing and can be done by everyone. As a case specific victory, the mobilizations have forced Madrid City Council and Urbagesión, the company that owns Maricarmen's home, to negotiate her return home by signing an eight-year rental contract, under which she will pay a monthly rent not higher than 30% of her pension.

Nevertheless, the structural victory is that the organized working class has managed to shift the focus of public debate by addressing material living conditions and framing the issue as a conflict between housing as a right and business interests, between life and capital. In the occupied squares, political imagination is being broadened, and the prevailing common sense about what is politically feasible and desirable is being redefined. Many who previously lacked the language or the hope to channel their disillusionment, and who were adopting complacent, neoliberal, and individualistic stances, are now experiencing the most powerful of joys: collective struggle.



Huge protests have sprung up across the Spanish state

Review: the life and politics of Howard Zinn

by: Brian Champ

The publication of *The People's Historian: The Outsized Life of Howard Zinn*, a new biography by Dave Zirin, comes at an important moment: Zinn's *A Peoples History* of the United States has been banned by a number of school boards across the US, part of the 'anti-woke' culture war in Trump's America. As a historian and writer he brought to the forefront the struggles of ordinary people – workers, students and the oppressed – and their agency to make history from the bottom up. And he brought this viewpoint into his active engagement with struggles throughout his life.

This is not a supposedly "objective" portrayal, "balancing" Zinn's life with the oppression and injustice he fought against. Zirin is right to pick a side, with Zinn in the fight for justice and a better world: the title of Zinn's autobiography, *You Can't be Neutral on a Moving Train*, captures this ethos.

Zirin's own writing and activism about the intersection of politics and sports is in this same tradition.

Zinn's contributions are wide ranging and dealt with in detail throughout this biography. As a young Jewish professor at Spelman College – a historic black college for women – he encouraged and advised students participating in the civil rights movement, becoming a trusted mentor. When the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) formed, he was invited to be an advisor alongside Ella Baker, a socialist veteran of the civil rights movement. He was outspoken against the Vietnam War and was a prominent anti-war activist: aiding the release of the Pentagon Papers; accepting an invitation to help release American POWs from North Vietnam; documenting and encouraging the soldiers' revolt; opposing Marine Corps recruitment at Boston College as a professor. He protected students from the draft by refusing to submit

failing grades to university administrators.

He was a very popular professor with students, known for engaging and humorous lectures and long office hours. But he was butted heads with administrators over on campus activism and worker's struggles at both Spelman College and Boston University.

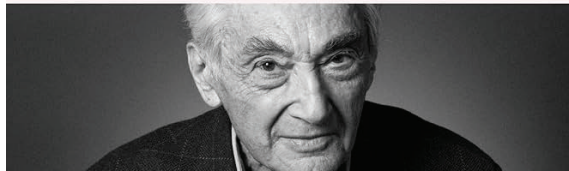
Zinn may be best known for his 1980 book, *A Peoples History* of the United States. In it, he challenged the mainstream US historical narrative by bringing forward the stories of resistance by Indigenous peoples, the working class, and black people to the US ruling class. Many professors and teachers started using it in their curriculum, and it has inspired more historians to dig beneath the surface to uncover the mass struggles of ordinary people. Hollywood actor Matt Damon, who as a boy was a neighbour of the Zinns, produced a theatre piece, *Voices of a Peoples History* of the United States building on the book.

Zinn also wrote numerous plays. One of these, *Marx in Soho*, set Karl Marx in late



The People's Historian THE OUTSIZED LIFE OF HOWARD ZINN DAVE ZIRIN

"Dave Zirin's biography of Howard Zinn, the great people's intellectual, is a triumph. . . . A measured, finely tuned narrative of an undeniably sweet but complicated scholar who transformed how we Americans see ourselves."—K A I BIRD, Pulitzer Prize-winning coauthor of *American Prometheus*



the trade union newsletter and participated in labour book club meetings. They read the fiction of Upton Sinclair and Jack London, but also works by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Zinn recalled: "When I first read *The Communist Manifesto* . . . it had a profound effect on me." Trade union activism was a life-long engagement for him.

When World War II started, he could have stayed at his essential job, but he enlisted because, as a young Jewish radical, he "wanted to fight against fascism". Around this time he met his wife Roslyn, a kindred spirit: they remained partners in life and struggle until

1990s Soho, NYC, to explore how he would react to late capitalism and his legacy. In it Zinn voices Marx's famous quip against distortions of his views: "I am not a Marxist."

A key part of the book shows how early life experiences shaped his life and radicalism. Growing up in Brooklyn during the depression grounded him in the experiences of the working poor. In the late 1930s, he worked in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, alongside Communist Party members. There he edited

her death in 2008.

World War II further radicalized him. US army segregation became apparent during basic training, as he found himself in a black area after going on a walk: "What I remember most vividly is a squad of black soldiers taking a break on the grass near me, singing, 'Ain't Gonna Study War No More!'" Once overseas, where black and white soldiers served together, he witnessed systemic racism up close and was forever changed.

As a bombardier, raining down death from 20,000 feet, it took some time before the reality of the war hit home. He had heard criticisms of the war as an imperialist war, but it was his involvement in dropping napalm on the town of Royan after France had already been liberated that convince him. The town was said to be a Nazi holdout, but the bombing raid killed 3,000 civilians and only 23 German soldiers. He said later that his involvement in this was a major regret of his life.

Back home, Zinn threw himself into activism, worked odd jobs and took advantage of the GI Bill to attend College. He worked in coalitions alongside Communist Party members and the FBI started surveillance on him in this period. Fears about exposing others took its toll: "... in an impulsive move that I have regretted ever since, my wife gathered the box of letters we had written to one another during the war, in which we had sometimes mentioned friends in the communist movement . . . and threw them down the incinerator chute." He argued then and later against anti-Communism and its terrible effects on movements.

Another point of interest is the inclusion of stories involving major figures that were students or comrades in struggle: Daniel Berrigan, James Baldwin, Fannie Lou Hamer, Dick Gregory, Tom Hayden, Daniel Ellsberg, Ron Kovic, John Lewis, Bob Moses, and Alice Walker to name a few.

Whether you already know Howard Zinn or are just hearing about him, I highly recommend reading this book.

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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.



What is the real Marxist tradition?

by: Tami Gadir

The socialist John Molyneux first published *What is the Real Marxist Tradition* in 1983. It was re-released in 2003 and 2025 respectively. While capitalism has developed some new features and the world has unraveled in some new ways in the four decades since the first edition, the overarching message of the book is more relevant than ever. The book can be understood through two simple lines of inquiry: first, what is the real Marxist tradition, and second, what isn't it? The first question relates to how socialists in the present might make sense of the theories of Marx and his legacy in order to implement these ideas in practice. The second interrogates what Molyneux generously calls the “transformations” of Marxism that took place after the Russian Revolution of 1917, and asks why it is important to distinguish these transformations from the ideas of Marx and Engels, as well as of Lenin, Luxemburg, and Trotsky.

What is the real Marxist tradition?

Socialists who talk openly about socialist goals may be faced with retorts that Marxism is a childish fantasy for people who refuse to accept the adult realities of big-P Politics, by which they mean electoralism. This is a regurgitation of capitalist commonsense (in the Gramscian sense) and should be rejected. Marx arrived at his theories through direct observation and analysis of material workers' struggles in his time, and historical research. Among other things, he documented how capital and the state interact, how capitalism's exploitation of people also necessitates an exploitation of natural resources, and how workers' struggle from below could challenge these seemingly insurmountable relationships. This was empirical work, not mere ideation.

Those who built on this historical materialist tradition included Vladimir Lenin (from whom present-day Marxists have learned the centrality of the revolutionary party), Rosa Luxemburg (from whom we learned about the power of the mass strike), and Leon Trotsky (who developed a theory of permanent revolution). Crucially, all of these figures also contributed foundational analyses of global imperialism, which Marxists today continue to understand as being inseparable from global capitalism.

Class relations

Molyneux argues that the first and most important point from which everything else emanates is class. Class societies had existed in Europe for millennia before modern industrial capitalism. What differentiated the development of our current system, the modern capitalist class society, from earlier ones, was the growth of the productive forces of capital to a point where the working class, which is the

direct source of those productive forces, could also be the downfall of the system. Under a capitalist system, a structurally-determined antagonism exists between capital and labour,



also known as the ruling class and the working class. It is this antagonism that defines the class basis of capitalist relations. To overcome it, the working class needs to fight the capitalist class. This theory arose from the observations that Marx and Engels made of Paris in 1871, that the working class could correctly identify this antagonism and successfully seize power from the ruling class. Importantly, they also argued that this fight needs to be taken up internationally.

Social realities, not natural laws

The Marxist tradition is a social scientific one, which observes the relationships between humans, society, and nature. The fact that it is named as a social science is important, because unlike the laws of nature, or physics, such as, say, gravity, social laws (or realities) are contingent on the people who make them. In contemporary capitalist society, most people have trouble keeping up with the costs of living, regardless of how much we work. Yet we are expected to simply accept this as the natural order of things and search for solutions from within ourselves (you're not sufficiently motivated; you don't work efficiently enough; your lunch breaks are too long). The commonsense of the day does not challenge the underlying relations of capital to labour that lead to this problem. Capitalists have a vested interest in repeatedly positing such social realities as natural laws, because when workers are resigned to their class position, it helps them to maintain the upper hand over workers. When the working class recognizes that this relationship is not a foregone conclusion, the possibility to subvert it can emerge.

From practice to theory – the unity of Marxism

The real Marxist tradition, for Molyneux, is a route to theory from practice and back again. It is based on a historical materialist understanding of the world, rather than an idealistic one. The foundation is the analysis of labour and capitalism as it works in the world and is experienced through the worker: put simply, the working class's labour is exploited, and capitalists get to profit from it.

What isn't the real Marxist tradition?

Multiple currents call themselves Marxist rhetorically while in practice, they contradict the democratic self-emancipation of the working class for which Marx argued. Molyneux focuses on three of these currents.

Kautskyism

The first is Kautskyism, a form of socialism from above that began with the Second International, which arose from the electoral strength of the social democratic party (SPD) in Germany, in the late 1800s. The position Karl Kautsky took was that working class empowerment could be achieved by taking the state over from the inside, namely, gaining a parliamentary majority. Such a top-down approach is also extended to the working class's relationship to the labour or union bureaucracy, which acts as a broker between workers, on the one end, and capitalists and the capitalist state, on the other. In this model, bureaucratic order and self-preservation is the priority. If the working class threatens to disrupt this order, the needs of the working class are subsumed to the continuation of the labour bureaucracy.

Stalinism

The second current is Stalinism, the form of socialism from above that is responsible for warping the international reception of Marxism. After World War I had diminished the Russian working class, it was clear that the Russian Revolution of 1917 led by the Bolshevik Party, had not led to an international revolution. In 1921, the Bolsheviks were taken over by party bureaucrats. When faced with a choice between continued pursuit of international revolution, on the one hand, and the preservation of themselves and the Soviet state, on the other, they chose the latter. By the late 1920s, Marxism-Leninism became the rhetorical dogma used by party officials to bypass democracy and exercise top-down power. Such a subversion of the ideas of Marx and Lenin required so-called amendments to their theories, one of the most impactful of which was the theory of socialism in one country. Given that internationalism had fundamentally defined the relations between the working class and ruling class under capitalism, Stalin's adoption of this idea in 1924 introduced a new contradiction: the Soviet Union had to become a nation state among capitalist nation states and an imperial power that could compete with the productive forces of its rivals. This meant mass

industrialization. A huge population of peasants living in poverty were coerced into forced labour to meet this goal. Stalin had departed entirely from Lenin's vision of the working-class revolution and cemented a new version of the capitalist class system, where the ruling class were the party leaders and production was state-owned and run.

Third World nationalism

The final subversion of the real Marxist tradition that Molyneux addresses is Third World nationalism, which has evolved into a concept more commonly known as campism today. One of the ways that Stalin's Soviet Union competed with the United States was by selectively supporting national liberation and anti-colonial struggles of the East and Global South. As Molyneux notes, by the 1960s, “almost every nationalist regime and movement in the third world called itself ‘socialist’ and many claimed to be ‘Marxist.’”

Although these movements were wide ranging in their politics, they all tended to engage guerilla warfare to achieve national independence. The peasant's class position is defined by pre-capitalist relations of production—relationships to land ownership. Therefore, the move from city to country, from worker to peasant, changes the class basis of struggle. Peasants do not have the same structural relationship to capitalism as workers, and therefore the material incentives to overthrow the ruling class are not the same. Idealism and strong (authoritarian) leadership fill the void left by a lack of materialism, epitomized by Cuba under Fidel Castro and Che Guevara and China under Mao Tse Tung.

Third World nationalists fight because they want to establish territory over which they will become the next ruling class of a competitive, capitalist nation state. The establishment of an independent nation is an end in itself. By contrast, the real Marxist tradition supports struggles for national liberation because they are the fights of the oppressed against imperialism, the biggest obstacle to a united, international working class.

Conclusion

The International Socialist Tendency emerged from a desire to move beyond the twentieth-century perversions of Marxism – left electoralism, Stalinism and its variants, and Third World nationalism or campism – toward the first principles of revolutionary socialism. Molyneux was insistent that identifying a real Marxist tradition was not about adherence to the words that Marx wrote on the pages in the 1800s. It is about the ways that we need to continue to observe, evolve our understanding, analyze in honesty, and respond in practice to the political conditions of our time to advance the goals of socialism from below, not from above. In our own time, it is about harnessing our organizational power as working-class peoples – connected across the world more than we have ever been in history – to unite against all oppression and bring about our emancipation. We have a world to win.

Education workers on the front line against Ford

by: Ben Fraraccio

The struggle continues on the education front. Teachers and education assistant unions are vigorously fighting Premier Doug Ford and his attempts to undermine public education. The Ford administration has approached the negotiations with education unions across the province in bad faith by creating a series of advertisements designed to turn the population against education unions. After the scripts for the ads were leaked in August, the provincial government attempted to justify the underhanded tactic by trying to deflect blame onto the unions.

At the bargaining table, the provincial government is attempting to force unions



to agree to all of its terms, without debate or negotiation, threatening to walk out of negotiations if their demands are not met. Meanwhile, the unions seek to maintain the current bargaining structure, where some aspects of collective agreement are negotiated with the provincial government, while others like sick-leave and seniority, are negotiated at the local level with the school boards.

Due to the impasse between the provincial government and the unions, the issue has been sent to the Ontario Labour Relations Board for a verdict; there will be hearings on the matter during October. Although the unions do not want things to reach a strike, they are prepared to do so should the provincial government force their hand. Preparations have begun, like the training of

picket captains. All teachers and education assistant unions in the province of Ontario will hold strike votes in mid-November, unless an agreement with the provincial government is reached.

By working in synchrony and negotiating together, teachers and educational assistants are demonstrating the strength that comes from workers uniting against the systematic dismantling of the educational system by the provincial government. Support your local teachers and education workers by joining the Day of Action on October 24. There will be rallies all across the province to show that unions and the people of Ontario will not allow the provincial government to continue the shameless gutting of the education system.

Save public healthcare

by: Faline Bobier and Christine Beckermann

The all-out assault on public health care took a dangerous step forward with Alberta's Bill 11 coming into effect on September 1st. According to Chris Galloway from Friends of Medicare in Alberta, the Bill "is an existential threat to the whole idea of single-payer public health care in Canada". It brings in "dual practice", allowing physicians to operate in the public and private systems at the same time, making decisions patient by patient. Dual practice, Galloway adds, is just a rebranding of 2-tier U.S. style healthcare where wait times are determined by what you can afford.

Tommy Douglas must be turning in his grave. But despite Premier Danielle Smith's concerted attacks, Friends of Medicare in Alberta is doubling down on their fight to save public health care, embarking on an ambitious campaign to mobilize opposition to the bill across the province. This campaign is buoyed both by a recent public opinion poll showing that 86% of Albertans believe universal health care should be based on need, not ability to pay, and by a surprise victory for the NDP in a by-election in Calgary-Shaw, a conservative stronghold.

While the attack is starting in Alberta, it will ripple across the country. Doug Ford will be emboldened as he continues to accelerate privatization and for-profit care in Ontario, starving public hospitals while they pour millions into for-profit clinics. Dozens of for-profit clinics are coming online as public hospitals are forced into deficit. Surgeries and procedures that were done in public hospitals are being shifted to for-profit clinics with staff and resources stolen from the public system. People

are being upsold and charged for services that are covered by our public system.

The Ontario Health Coalition (OHC) published a report tracking the past 5 years of increasing privatization and defunding of public hospitals under the Ford government:

"Every public interest group out here told the Ford government that the private clinics would simply be poaching from the staff and resources of public hospitals. Now, after five years, it is clear that the private clinics have slowed down addressing wait lists, not sped them up, delaying increased volumes literally for years.

brought in new user fees and extra-billing, queue jumping and other practices that are supposed to be illegal, and yet the Ford government has not fined them nor pulled their licenses. And, the evidence shows that the private clinics have increased geographic inequities in health care services as well as inequities between the wealthy and everyone else in terms of access to care."

OHC and local coalitions are organizing emergency town halls to renew and strengthen the fight against privatization. The Greater Toronto Health Coalition's town hall panel

from the Neskantaga First Nation, and a GTA paramedic.

People highlighted the urgency of the crisis and underlined how the conditions of work for health care workers, including increasing layoffs and understaffing, are reflected in worsening access to health care for patients.

Councillor Moonias highlighted the lack of access to health care for many Indigenous Nations, including in Neskantaga where the only medical clinic has closed twice because of flooding and raw sewage due to improper upgrades. 260 people have been evacuated to Toronto until the issue is resolved.

It's clear that only a united fight of all our forces can push back against the drive to privatization for the profit of the few at the expense of free public health care for all. We will go up or down together.

Natalie Mehra announced at the Toronto town hall the plan to build an On to Ottawa Trek for November 27-28, with a mass rally on Parliament Hill on Saturday November 28.

We need to fill buses, trains, cars to travel to Ottawa to stand together and demand that Carney's Liberal government uphold the Canada Health Act. Under the act, people living in Canada must have reasonable access to required health services. The services are to be provided on the same terms and without patient charges.

Carney is fond of using the phrase 'Elbows up'. So far that has meant very little in terms of defending the actual rights of people to access public health care. He has said not one word against the privatization pushed through in Alberta or the same processes happening in provinces like Ontario and Saskatchewan.

We need elbows up against US style privatization, private insurance companies and private clinic profiteers, be they American or Canadian.



The evidence shows that the government used our public money for redundant equipment and facilities. It shows that private clinics have

included Natalie Mehra, Executive Director of OHC, Chris Galloway from Alberta's Friends of Medicare, council member Bradley Moonias

Justice for Kaleym Davy

On August 6, 2026 Toronto police murdered Kaleym Davy. Undercover cops in unmarked vehicles followed a car with Kaleym and 3 other passengers into Mississauga and rammed the car. One officer then proceeded to shoot Kaleym, who was pronounced dead at the scene.

The Special Investigations Unit (SIU) is investigating but as we have seen countless times before, the SIU investigations are opaque and usually result in the officers being exonerated. CBC news studied the SIU and civilian complaints against police and found that only 12 percent of officers under investigation receive punishment.

In this case, there are already troubling signs that we may never know what really happened as the police keep changing their story. They originally said that they believed the car was stolen then later announced that the car belonged to the family but that the chase was because of a firearms investigation.

Kaleym's family are demanding answers but Toronto police are providing little information.

This killing follows a well worn pattern that the police use to justify killings. The police in plainclothes chase a "suspect" who, fearing for their own lives tries to get away. The police then go on to use the flight as the excuse for excessive force.

Flight from police should not result in summary execution on the streets as the police and their supporters have often argued.

The reality of racism in policing is stark. In the wake of the Black Lives Matter demonstrations in the US after the murder of George Floyd, NYU released a study of thousands of traffic stops in the US and found that black

people are twice as likely to be stopped by police. They are also twice as likely to be searched. "Black drivers were searched about 1.5 to 2 times as often as white drivers, while they were less likely to be carrying drugs,

guns, or other illegal contraband compared to their white peers."

In Canada the endless list of black people killed by police shows that racism crosses borders. From Lester Donaldson to Jermaine Carby to Andrew Loku, police are much more likely to use lethal force against non-white people.

The *Toronto Star* investigated the use of force by Toronto police against black people and found that, "of the 51 fatal shootings involving the Toronto police, at least 18 involved black men, representing 35 percent of fatal police shootings. Toronto's black population is roughly 9 per cent."

Defund the police

Police are, as Vladimir Lenin described them, "special bodies of armed men" at the service of the State, and the State apparatus serves the capitalist class. Violence is not a police failure, it is a revelation of their essential purpose. Racism is not a failure of the police, it is a true reflection of capitalism's need to divide and conquer us.

This is why we argue for the police to be defunded. The Toronto police receive more than \$1 billion in funding each year and their budgets always increase at the expense of needed social programs.

Their primary role is to maintain the power of the rich and racism is a key tool in their arsenal.

Defund - disarm - disband - the racist police!



On the streets for Kaleym in Toronto