

PEOPLE'S VOICE

CANADA'S
LEADING
SOCIALIST
NEWSMEDIA

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Ottawa launches sweeping attack on democratic rights with Bill C-2
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The peoples of the world say STOP THESE WARS!

The genocide in Gaza continues, and the US and Israel are using the pretext of “nuclear prevention” to impose regime change in Iran — but the peoples of the world are mobilizing for peace. Pg 2, 6

Photo: Manden Murphy

FIRST NATIONS LEAD RESISTANCE

As the federal government passes its 'fast track' legislation, First Nations lead the resistance - and deserve support
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GETTING SERIOUS ABOUT FOOD SOVEREIGNTY

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In response to the soaring arms budget, Toronto peace group plans people's hearings on military spending
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Pages from our past...

Canadian Tribune Vol 17 No 884 ~ July 5, 1954

How the West again rejected the plan to ban H-bomb

The Western Powers have again flatly rejected plans for the unconditional prohibition of the use, production and stocking of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction.

This was disclosed on June 24 when United Nations headquarters in London published the various proposals put forward at the recently concluded sessions of the sub-committee of the UN Disarmament Committee.

The sub-committee held 19 meetings in London between May 13 and June 22, at which representatives from Canada, France, the Soviet Union, Britain and the US took part.

The Soviet Union put forward three separate propositions during the discussions in an attempt to get agreement on the banning of atom and hydrogen bombs, only to have them all rejected.

Instead, the US delegation put forward a rehash of the old Baruch Plan, which would give the US the right to interfere in the economies of other countries.

Soviet 4-Point Plan

On the second day of the discussions, the Soviet Union submitted a four-point draft resolution stating simply its plan “to diminish the threat of a new world war and to strengthen the peace and security of the nations.”

The plan provides for:

- 1. A declaration on the unconditional banning of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction and an instruction to the Security Council to prepare an agreement guaranteeing strict international control over the implementation of the ban.
- 2. A recommendation that the US, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China should reduce their armed forces by one-third.
- 3. A recommendation to the Security Council to abolish all military bases on foreign territories.
- 4. A condemnation of propaganda carried on in certain countries for the purpose of inflaming enmity and hatred between nations and preparing a new world war.

US claims right to interfere in countries with atomic energy

The reply of the US delegation to this simple plan, tabled 11 days later, consisted of a long 57-point working paper, with various lengthy sub-sections, putting forward again the discredited Baruch Plan.

This document ignored the Soviet plan for banning atomic and hydrogen weapons first but goes into lengthy about control – control which would give the US superiority.

The document admits that the US plan would give the US powers to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries possessing atomic energy. ■

Iran: regime change masquerading as nuclear prevention



STEVE BISHOP

Following the unprovoked attack upon Iran by the state of Israel June 13, US President Donald Trump called for Iran’s “unconditional surrender,” while preparing to give the green light for overt military intervention by the US.

The US had already been covertly assisting the Israeli assault by providing backup for its Iron Dome missile defence system, designed to intercept any Iranian missiles fired towards Israel in response.

That the US was even contemplating military intervention in Iran, going against all the norms of international law and the so-called international rules-based order, can only be regarded as an international scandal.

Israel has a decades-long record of flouting international conventions and dismissing UN resolutions, but to be backed so overtly in doing so by its major ally and arms supplier would take the threat to world peace that Israeli action represents to a new level.

The pretext for the action against Iran is that the Iranian uranium enrichment program, being developed for civilian energy generation, is close to the point where it could be weaponized and Iran would have nuclear weapons capability. None of the evidence from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) or the US intelligence services suggests that this is the case.

In fact, it is Israel that is widely known to have a nuclear weapons capability, though, in line with its official policy of “nuclear ambiguity,” it refuses to confirm or deny the existence of a nuclear arsenal.

While the IAEA has raised “concerns” about the level of uranium enrichment in Iran’s nuclear facilities, it has not suggested that this is at a weapons-grade level. This assessment is shared by US intelligence sources who came to the same conclusion as recently as March of this year. The fact that Iran only increased its enrichment program because

the US, in Trump’s first term as president, pulled out of the nuclear program deal agreed in 2015 is conveniently overlooked by the media and politicians in the West.

In spite of the evidence to the contrary, the narrative around the justification for supporting Israeli action has been the mantra that Iran must never have nuclear weapons. This is usually closely followed by the time-worn assertion that Israel has the right to defend itself, a platitude which, since October 2023, has been used to justify Israeli genocide in Gaza.

European governments hung on the coattails of the US, confining themselves to calls for “restraint” or having “expressed concern” over rising tensions in the region, but they have not condemned Israel’s violation of Iranian territory or its blatant ignoring of international law.

Just as there can be no justification for Israel’s genocide in Gaza, the attack upon Iran, especially while the Islamic Republic was in negotiations with the US, has no legal or moral basis.

The attack upon Iran does, however, have a clear political objective, and that is one which has been asserted more prominently in the past few days: regime change.

We must be clear that it is not for Israel, the US or anyone else to bring regime change to Iran. The future of Iran must be for the Iranian people themselves to determine.

We don’t want Israel and the US’s ‘regime change’ playbook inflicted on Iran

In the context of Israel and the US’s unprovoked attack on Iran, it is worth understanding the motivations of some of those pushing regime change in Iran, and the truth of their relationship to the Iranian people.

The Western media has been adept for many years in its obfuscation of the real objectives of the

■ CONTINUED BOTTOM OF NEXT PAGE

People's Voice Fund Drive passes the half-way mark!

We’ve raised \$26,200 toward our \$51,000 goal — please help us finish!

Despite the challenges of a delayed start, due to the federal election, our 2025 PV Fund Drive continues to roll along. We’ve now passed the half-way mark, with \$26,200 raised toward our overall goal of \$51,000.

This still leaves just under \$25,000 to raise, which we are hoping to achieve in the next month.

We rely on the fund drive for our operating budget – printing and mailing, maintaining our website and social media platforms, researching and writing – so it really is critical that we raise this money.

As you can see from the chart to the right, Saskatchewan and Quebec have joined Alberta in reaching their target and going over the top. Nova Scotia is very close behind, with 72 percent of their goal raised, and Manitoba and Ontario are roaring along around 50 percent.

We’re grateful to our supporters across the country, who are continuing to build momentum in this fund drive. Pages 10

| Region | Target | Received |
|--------|-------------|-------------|
| BC | \$17,000.00 | \$3,716.00 |
| AB | \$4,000.00 | \$4,236.00 |
| SK | \$600.00 | \$760.00 |
| MB | \$2,700.00 | \$1,392.87 |
| ON | \$22,300.00 | \$10,847.00 |
| QC | \$2,000.00 | \$2,070.00 |
| NS | \$750.00 | \$530.00 |
| NB | \$400.00 | \$110.00 |
| NL | \$750.00 | \$230.00 |

How is your region doing? If you're able to help us reach our goal by organizing a fundraising event, please connect with us at peoplesvoiceditor@gmail.com.

You can contribute today by visiting PVonline.ca/donate

and 11 of this issue have information about some fundraising initiatives, including a big BBQ planned in Toronto’s west end by the Omar Latif and Public Sector Workers clubs. We hope all readers will support those efforts and others, to help make them a success.

You can also help by sending a contribution today. We accept cheques and money orders (payable to People’s Voice and mailed to 290A Danforth Ave., Toronto, ON, M4K 1N6) as well as e-transfers to pvoicepayment@gmail.com. We can also accept donations through PayPal (including using credit cards) at our website, PVonline.ca/donate.

We’re proud to work with all of our readers and supporters, to produce consistent and reliable media that matters to working people and the struggles for peace, equality, climate justice and socialism.

Thank you and Solidarity!



Bill C-2: Sweeping attack on democratic rights must be defeated!



The Communist Party of Canada issued this urgent warning against the Liberal government's Bill C-2, which the Party describes as "the deceitfully named the 'Strong Borders Act'." The huge 140-page omnibus bill proposes sweeping changes on border security, immigration, customs and law enforcement, and has been called an attack on democratic rights.

"This legislation escalates state surveillance, entrenches xenophobic scapegoating, and deepens Canada's subordination to the US government, continuing the authoritarian legacy of Harper's Bill C-51 [the 2015 Anti-Terrorism Act]. Far from protecting Canadians, Bill C-2 criminalizes dissent, eviscerates privacy rights and abandons refugees to violence, serving monopoly capitalism's drive toward repression and war.

"Bill C-2 unleashes mass warrantless surveillance, granting police and CSIS unchecked access to Canadians' private communications, online activities and personal data based on flimsy "reasonable suspicion." This shreds decades of privacy rulings in the courts and targets workers, migrants, Indigenous peoples and activists for profiling. Communications corporations will be forced to spy on users under secret ministerial orders, while Canada Post gains powers to open mail without judicial oversight. These measures deliberately surrender Canadian sovereignty, facilitating US and foreign agencies' access to sensitive data, aligning with Trump's racist anti-immigrant agenda and violating Charter rights.

"The Bill's cruelty toward refugees exposes its reactionary core. It imposes a retroactive one-year deadline on asylum claims, stripping protection from those fleeing wars or repression that erupt after their arrival, a gross violation of interna-

tional law. The Immigration Minister gains dictatorial powers to cancel residency applications and deport entire groups without due process. Simultaneously, Bill C-2 eliminates the exception in the 'Safe Third Country Agreement' that allowed refugees crossing from the US between ports of entry to seek asylum after 14 days. This traps vulnerable people in Trump's racist deportation machine, despite the US being demonstrably unsafe for refugees.

"The wars refugees flee, from Haiti to Afghanistan, are often fueled by US, NATO and Canadian imperialism. Canada's support for US aggression, coups and resource plunder has displaced millions. Now, as climate catastrophe and war accelerate, Bill C-2 slams the door on those seeking safety.

"This assault coincides with capitalism's crisis. Hundreds of thousands of temporary migrants, deliberately imported to address a tight labour market during the pandemic, now face discardment as unemployment rises. Instead of addressing the real causes of inflation and austerity, price gouging by monopolies, gutted rent controls, and corporate tax cuts, the Liberals have decided to scapegoat migrants.

"Undocumented workers fighting wage theft or exploitation will face deportation when employers weaponize new information-sharing powers between border agencies and all levels of government. This collusion is an attack on labour organizing and shields exploitative bosses. An attack on labour rights, for any group of workers, lowers wages and attacks working conditions and labour rights for all workers.

"Police and CSIS cannot be trusted with these powers. The McDonald Commission exposed RCMP crimes: arson, illegal detention and sabotage of democratic

■ "NATIONAL SECURITY", PG 10



First Nations oppose federal "fast-track" legislation for development projects

Broad, united resistance is both urgent and possible

PV STAFF

Across the country, First Nations organizations have expressed determined opposition to Ottawa's recently passed Bill C-5, the so-called "One Canadian Economy Act," arguing that the legislation will fast-track large-scale infrastructure and resource projects by allowing federal ministers to bypass environmental reviews, provincial collaboration, and the obligation to obtain First Nations' free, prior and informed consent.

Bill C-5 is part of a wave of development-oriented legislation that federal and provincial governments have introduced in recent weeks, nominally in response to Donald Trump's tariff and trade war with Canada. In fact, virtually every one of these bills – including Bills 14 and 15 in BC, Bill 54 in Alberta and Bill 5 in Ontario – is designed to expedite and extend corporate profiteering by circumventing Indigenous rights and existing labour and environmental regulations.

On June 11, the Union of BC Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) unanimously passed a resolution opposing Bill C-5 and calling for "coordinated First Nations response." The UBCIC warns that the legislation is in complete opposition to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN Declaration) as well as Canada's own United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act (UNDA).

Noting that the legislation seeks to enable ministers to deem projects "in the national interest," granting near-automatic approval and overriding vital regulatory and consultative processes, UBCIC argues that this maneuver undermines environmental protections, First Nations basic human rights and sovereignty, and the principles of justice and equity affirmed in international and Ca-

nadian law.

Grand Chief Stewart Phillip, UBCIC President, said that "the federal government cannot cloak violations of our rights under the guise of national interest. This legislation, as currently written, would be a complete betrayal of Canada's commitments under the UN Declaration and the hard-fought recognition of our inherent and constitutionally protected title and rights. It will not stand unopposed."

Chief Marilyn Slett, UBCIC Secretary-Treasurer, stated that "It is clear to us that provincial and federal politicians are advancing a coordinated agenda designed to sidestep and undermine the basic human rights of First Nations. The government of BC's Infrastructure Projects Act and Renewable Energy Projects (Streamlined Permitting) Act, the government of Ontario's Bill 5, Protect Ontario by Unleashing our Economy Act, and now the federal government's Bill C-5. We will not allow Crown governments to sidestep their legal obligations or erase decades of progress through legislative shortcuts. We stand with all First Nations, including those in Ontario, who oppose this regressive legislation. Our resistance will be strategic and united."

On June 14, the Chiefs of Ontario convened an emergency meeting and unanimously passed its own resolution opposing Bill C-5, which also called for united Indigenous opposition. The Chiefs of Ontario warn that cutting corners on environmental laws will lead to oil spills, mercury poisoning, unsafe drinking water and irreparable harm the environment and all human beings.

"This bill is about exercising power over the First Peoples and our lands and resources. Bill C-5 is not reconciliation – it's a be-

■ FIRST NATIONS, PG 10

Change in Iran must come from the Iranian people, not from Washington or Tel Aviv

■ FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Iranian revolution in 1979, which overthrew the dictatorship of the Shah of Iran.

The revolution was one to establish a national democratic republic and mobilized forces from across the social spectrum, from the organized working class, academics and the clergy. External attempts to subvert the revolution were always a danger, not least the Western-backed attack upon Iran by Iraq, which led to eight years of war from 1980-88, and had a devastating impact upon both nations.

However, the internal dynamics of Iran, with the clergy gaining control of the state apparatus, establishing a theocratic dictatorship and conducting waves of arrests and executions of the progressive opposition, was the fatal blow to the progress of the revolution and the signal for Iran's retreat into a reactionary medievalism.

On this basis, in line with the wishes of the Iranian people as expressed in their opposition to the dictatorship of the former shah in 1979, and as increasingly expressed

in their opposition to the theocratic dictatorship today, popular democratic transition in Iran is vital to secure peace, democracy and social justice for the people of Iran.

This, however, is not the regime change which Trump in the White House or Netanyahu in Tel Aviv are seeking. On the contrary, a progressive and democratic Iran is the furthest from their minds as support for monarchist opposition in the form of Reza Pahlavi, son of the former Shah, based in the US, is given greater prominence by Western politicians and media.

Netanyahu's call for Iranians to rise up against the present regime in Iran has been echoed by Pahlavi, who met Netanyahu on a visit to Israel in 2023. The likelihood of Pahlavi being able to mobilize mass popular support inside Iran is slim, however, given his distance from the country and the perception of many Iranians that he is collaborating with the aggressor Israel.

Any return to Iran for Pahlavi would need the significant backing of US or Israeli military forces to suppress the opposition which such a reactionary move would pro-

voke. The danger of Iran becoming a state dismembered by Western imperialism, such as has been the case with Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan and Syria, would be all too real in such a scenario.

An alternative for the West could be backing the Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK), an exiled group that enjoys support in the US from hawks such as veteran Republican John Bolton. During the 1980s, the MEK backed Iraq in its war with Iran, and the Islamic regime often accuses it of collaborating with Israel. Like Pahlavi, the MEK does not enjoy popular support inside Iran and would require significant external backing in order to maintain any grip on power.

Recent years have seen increasingly popular opposition movements inside Iran. Millions protested disputed elections in 2009 in what became known as the Green Movement. In 2022, the Women, Life, Freedom Movement mobilized millions across Iranian cities, calling for an end to Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei's rule following the death of 22-year-old Mahsa Amini in police custody after she was arrested for allegedly

not properly wearing her hijab.

Workers in the transport, oil, public services and teaching sectors have taken action to improve wages and conditions in spite of trade unions being effectively outlawed in Iran. These are the potential movers of change that Trump and Netanyahu do not want to see – those who are opposed to the theocratic dictatorship but equally do not want to see Iran's future shaped by the outside interests of Israel or US imperialism.

Change in Iran has been coming for a long time, but it must be change for the people, by the people, not change shaped by foreign intervention and an imperialist agenda, imposed upon the people of Iran. ■

Steve Bishop is a senior executive member of the Committee for the Defence of the Iranian People's Rights (CODIR). This article is based on two separate pieces, published in Morning Star, which have been edited together by PV staff

EDITORIAL

RENEW THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The “preemptive” aggressions by Israel and the US against Iran are flagrant violations of international law. They are murderous crimes which escalate tensions in the region to catastrophic levels. The blatantly aggressive attacks cannot be justified, as they rest on false pretexts: the International Atomic Energy Agency and even US intelligence confirm that Iran has no active nuclear weapons program.

Israel’s actions reveal quite clearly its role as the primary military proxy for US imperialism in the region. Washington had clear foreknowledge of the attack and provided encouragement – it is no coincidence that this attack took place just days before the sixth round of nuclear talks between Iran and the United States, and that Trump immediately urged Iran to sign a deal “before it’s too late.”

The aggressions are obviously aimed at weakening Iran, forcing it to sign a deal dictated by the interests of US imperialism, and sparking “regime change” on US and Israeli terms.

Canada’s complicity in this a dangerous drive towards wider war is shown by both its rapidly escalating military spending and by Mark Carney’s immediate public support for the US bombing.

Now is the critical moment for all pro-peace and democratic forces in Canada to unite around key anti-war demands. The Canadian government must be pressed to immediately condemn these attacks and take strong action against Israel including supporting the BDS movement and ending all diplomatic and economic ties. Ottawa must also be forced to abandon its militarization spree, which drives the world ever closer to all-out militarism and war.

Years ago, during the last global arms race, Canada had a dynamic, broadly-based, well-organized and generally united peace movement. Its campaigns included calling for an independent Canadian foreign policy based on peace, détente and disarmament; participating in the historic Stockholm Appeal for Peace and the campaign against nuclear weapons in Canada; opposing the imperialist wars against Korea and Vietnam; demanding Canada’s withdrawal from NATO and NORAD; and fighting against the Cruise missile and Ronald Reagan’s “Star Wars” project.

For decades, the peace movement was able to engage a huge range of social sectors across Canada – labour, farmers, academics and professionals, youth and students, women, Indigenous peoples, immigrants and racialized people – because the destructive power of nuclear weapons, combined with imperialism’s boundless aggression, made it clear that the very survival of humanity was now at stake.

But are those stakes any less now? Surely the events of the past few weeks show that they are just as high, if not higher. It is urgent that we respond to the risks to humanity’s future by rebuilding the peace movement and the struggle for peace.

It means engaging the people of the country – millions of people – to raise awareness about the dangers of increased arms spending, military alliances like NATO, Israeli apartheid and genocide, and aggressive actions like the recent attacks on Iran. It means drawing connections between different movements, discussing principled internationalist positions, and working to build the broadest unity of forces against war and militarism.

In response to Israel’s attack on Iran, the Women’s International Democratic Federation issued a call to action: “No one can sit idly by; no one can remain silent. Silence is complicity.” They are absolutely right.

Now is the time to renew the struggle for peace – before it is too late. ♦



IN BRIEF



PEOPLE'S VOICE welcomes your letters. We reserve the right to edit for length and clarity, and to refuse to print letters which may be libellous or which contain personal attacks.

More police, more arrests at CANSEC military fair protest

This was the largest military show protest in Ottawa with more police than I have seen since I began reporting in the 1980s. It is the largest annual show of its kind in Canada – a shameful racket for promoting the military industrial complex and perpetual wars.

On May 28, before 7 AM, about 100 police directed us to assemble at the “designated media site” in front of the north gate of the EY Centre, one kilometer north-east of the Ottawa International Airport.

The CANadian defence and SECurity trade show (CANSEC) attendees began to enter the EY parking lot early, which was filled by about 8 AM. Buses, vans and taxis brought them from all directions. Hundreds walked in from two hotels south of the EY Centre, and from an overflow parking lot across the street. Most attendees entered at the north gate where I was, surrounded by protesters and police.

All CANSEC exhibitors must be members of the Canadian Association of Defence and Security Industries (CADSI), which reported 12,000 registered attendees, 300+ exhibitors and 55 foreign delegations.

For 4 to 5 hours protests were often intense, loud, and delivered a mixture of anti-killing messages. Red paint simulated blood on protesters hands, signs and the street. The noise was much louder than in previous years as younger people shouted insults, used bullhorns, drums and finger gestures at passing attendees. Masked protesters opposed the Israel-Gaza genocide.

Thirteen people were arrested including one reporter, more than I can remember at previous events.

About 300 peace activists participated at different times. The police reported 75 to 100 at one time blocked all the roads for hours.

There were about 300 exhibitors. The opening day featured speeches from senior public figures and sales and networking opportunities for the most powerful players in the weapons industry. This year

over 280 exhibitors included firms that are deeply implicated in wars and repression from Palestine to the Philippines.

Police arrested 13 protesters, including one reporter. At least one smoke bomb was spotted. The security was militarized with a variety of over 100 special troops with cars, guns, rubber bullets, tear gas, riot shields, vans, bicycles and all in radio communication. ■

Koozma J. Tarasoff
Spirit-Wrestlers.com

Kononovich brothers detained again in Kyiv

On May 22, brothers Mikhail and Alexander Kononovich were unlawfully detained in Kyiv. Currently held as political prisoners, they are under house arrest with GPS monitoring bracelets.

According to the brothers, they were walking to a hospital when a police car suddenly stopped near them. Officers jumped out, claiming the brothers were “wanted for evading military service,” and attempted to forcibly take them to a recruitment center.

The Kononovich brothers tried contacting their lawyer, only to discover he had also been detained and taken to a different Kyiv recruitment office. The Communist Party of Ukraine issued an official statement accusing Ukrainian authorities of trying to mobilize the brothers to the front lines as a means of physical elimination.

The brothers stated in a video address: “Comrades, we declare officially: Zelensky’s regime wants us dead! They aim to send us to the front – then no one will need to prove whether we’re guilty or not. No one will care. They’ll kill us, and with no witnesses, no problem!”

As of now, the brothers remain under house arrest with GPS bracelets. A court hearing on their fabricated case, originally scheduled for May 15, was postponed to June 12.

This is not the first time Mikhail

and Alexander Kononovich have been detained. Previously, police took them to a recruitment center, but they were released after their lawyer intervened.

The brothers were initially arrested by Ukraine’s Security Service (SBU) in March 2022. They face charges under Article 109 of Ukraine’s Criminal Code for “actions aimed at seizing state power” and “disseminating materials calling for violent overthrow of the government.”

Both deny all accusations.

Antifashist.com

Support CUPW – oppose forced vote!

For the third time in 7 months, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) is being subjected to government intervention, stripping away postal workers’ right to free and fair collective bargaining with Canada Post.

Patty Hajdu, the Minister for Jobs and Families, has ordered the Canada Industrial Relations Board (CIRB) to proceed with a forced vote on Canada Post’s May 28 offers to Urban Postal Operations (UPO) and Rural and Suburban Mail Carrier (RSMC) postal workers.

Continued government interference has not only skewed this round of collective bargaining, but it now interferes with CUPW’s right as the sole and exclusive bargaining agent for its members.

Please take action and tell your Member of Parliament that you want the Minister and government to: halt this forced vote; allow Federal Mediators to assist in the resumption of meaningful bargaining; and publicly commit that it will not interfere with workers’ rights in the future to tilt the playing field in favour of employers. ■

Jan Simpson
CUPW National President

PEOPLE'S VOICE

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DEADLINES FOR NEXT ISSUE

Please send submissions (articles, interviews, photos, events, announcements) for our August 1-31 issue by July 21 to peoplesvoiceditor@gmail.com

Let's get serious about food sovereignty in response to US trade aggression

NATIONAL FARMERS UNION

Tariffs on Canadian exports to the US are in place, imposed by the US administration despite a month of efforts to dissuade them by dozens of Canadian government ministers, diplomats and trade representatives. And while Canada's retaliatory tariffs have also gone ahead, they will do little to bring the current situation to a rapid end.

We need to develop a serious response that will not only bolster Canada's capacity to protect Canadian farmers from the devastating effects of 25 percent tariffs on exports, but also shield farmers, farm workers and consumers from the potential impacts of retaliatory tariffs on US imports. We need a long-term strategy that increases our resilience to external shocks and reduces our dependence on trade with the US.

President Trump's disruptive strategy and lack of respect for rules means we can no longer consider trade agreements reliable. No one knows that better than folks in food and agriculture.

No matter what happens, Canadian farmers, workers and consumers would be well served by initiatives that strengthen our food sovereignty and reduce our vulnerability to supply chain disruption, income loss, price increases and food shortages. As farmers, we produce for international markets and for domestic consumption. Both markets are critical. We also use imported equipment and inputs.

Strengthening food sovereignty – the democratic control of important decisions about food and agriculture – is a key strategy to withstand President Trump's economic pressure tactics, a strategy that will also build the resilience needed to better weather any coming storms. Top priorities for action are:

Defend supply management: Supply management is a model for a resilient, regional food system that ensures that the Canadian farmers who produce the high-quality dairy, chicken, eggs and turkey Canadians consume, are paid enough to cover their cost of production and do not have their market flooded by imports. This stable, reliable system is not exposed to tariff threats.

We need to use supply management as the model to build food sovereign systems. Large US dairy corporations are lobbying hard to get access to Canada's valuable markets, making our supply management a target for destruction. Farmers and consumers alike are counting on the federal government to stand firmly in support of supply management.

Diversify export markets: Canada's export-focused agricultural policy has created a high degree of dependency on the US market, particularly for beef and pork but for grain and oilseeds as well.

In the short term, AgriStability [federal-provincial risk management program for farmers] can provide some support to participating farmers when there is a severe drop in prices and/or increase in input costs. However, it is not accessible or suitable to nearly two-thirds of Canadian farmers, including many who are exposed to the US tariff threat. These farmers need effective support to allow them to survive the impending turmoil.

In the longer term, we need to adopt a multifunctionality policy framework similar to the European Union's, and structural changes to diversify both our markets and the crops grown for export, as well as measures that support the long-term viability of these farms.

Possibilities include return to single-desk hog marketing and implementing single-desk beef marketing for farms operating at a commodity scale while leaving space for small scale direct marketing to continue; re-establishing the single desk Canadian Wheat Board and expanding it to cover all commodity grains; targets and support programs to increase the proportion of production using certified organic and other bona fide ecologically sound and climate mitigat-



ing practices.

Promote and build regional and local markets: Local markets are critical to food sovereignty. Local and direct sales keep dollars in communities and food production where the eaters are. As retailers seek to replace US imports, demand for Canadian food products will quickly outstrip existing supply. We need to ramp up production that serves the domestic market to reduce our dependence on imported food.

Federal and provincial governments must now commit to rebuilding our local and regional food production, processing, storage and distribution infrastructure so that Canada has reliable, long-term capacity to feed our population.

Protect agricultural workers: Building a more resilient and robust Canadian food system means ensuring agriculture workers' jobs in both fields and food processing plants are good jobs, with fair wages, safe working conditions; and for migrant workers, full labour rights, open work permits and a pathway to citizenship.

An agricultural labour strategy that recognizes the seasonality of Canadian farming, and which provides livable incomes for farm workers year-round, will be necessary to build a long term, resident labour force.

Manufacture farm equipment: Canada once had a thriving and diverse farm equipment manufacturing industry producing a full line of machinery. There is a great opportunity to re-tool and expand our capacity to produce equipment designed for Canadian farms of all sizes and production types. An industrial strategy for Canada that includes farm machinery would have widespread benefits that extend beyond the agriculture sector.

Prevent corporate profiteering: Our experience during the pandemic and Ukraine war has taught us that large corporations across the supply chain are willing to use their outsized market power to increase their own profits at the expense of farmers, workers and consumers alike. The federal government must therefore implement measures to prevent corporations from using the imposition of US tariffs and the likely retaliatory Canadian tariffs as a cover for price gouging, wage suppression and discounting of farm product prices.

Canada also needs to address the excessive concentration of ownership in the agriculture and food sector, where monopolistic behaviour has become the rule rather than the exception. Our anti-trust/competition framework has proven inadequate, as seen by the approval of Bunge's take-over of Viterra.

If Canada is unable or unwilling to break up monopolistic companies, other methods of regulating and limiting their market power must be put in place or they will be in charge of our food supply.

Punitive American tariffs and a potentially expanding trade war creates uncertainty that is harmful to our livelihoods and our communities. Canadians' determination to stand together provides the resolve to not only weather the current storm, but to build a strong foundation of food sovereignty for a more secure, resilient future. We urge the government to move swiftly toward this goal. ■



Sovereignty and the struggle for socialism — the analysis from Ireland

JIMMY CORCORAN

Sovereignty is defined as “the complete independence of a state in deciding all questions relating to its internal life and foreign relations. Sovereignty serves...as a rampart under the protection of which individual peoples are able to build their state, develop their economy and culture, and enter into equal and voluntary relations with other peoples.”

Yet, Ireland's sovereignty has always been compromised. The six-county statelet remains a British colony, while the 26-county state, despite its claims to independence, has never fully escaped the grip of imperialism.

From its inception, the Irish state lacked true economic sovereignty. Even during the protectionist era, the Department of Finance insisted that policy must “travel in line with British thinking.” The Irish industrial bourgeoisie, though initially benefiting from protectionism, failed to build a self-sufficient economy. Rather than empowering the state to drive development, they capitulated to foreign capital. Meanwhile, the agrarian bourgeoisie, large farmers and cattle exporters, wanted tariff-free access to British and European markets.

By the late 1950s, the Irish ruling class had abandoned any pretense of sovereignty. The repeal of the Control of Manufactures Act (1964), the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement (1965), and entry into the EEC (1973) locked Ireland into dependency on British, US and EU imperialism.

Some Marxists dismiss the fight for sovereignty as a bourgeois concern, arguing that workers should focus solely on socialism. They contrast the struggle for sovereignty, which they see as defending one's national bourgeoisie, with the struggle for socialism. But this is a false dichotomy. James Connolly understood that national liberation and socialist revolution were inseparable, hence his leading role in the 1916 Rising. Lenin, defending Connolly from critics who accused him of bourgeois nationalism, wrote:

“To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses...against national oppression, etc. – to imagine all this is to repudiate social revolution.”

The struggle for Irish sovereignty is not a defense of the native bourgeoisie, it is a struggle against them. Since, 1922 the Irish ruling class has entrenched its pow-

er, aligning itself with imperialist interests. Their position within the NATO/EU imperialist bloc is complex. On the one hand they have billions of euros invested abroad, meaning that a section derives profits from the extraction of surplus value from outside the state. They also allow the state to be used as a clearing house for multinational tax evasion and avoidance, from which they benefit. This is not new phenomenon: when all of Ireland was a direct British colony, sections of the “nationalist” bourgeoisie enjoyed the benefits of British imperialist exploitation of other peoples. From “surrender and regrant” during the Tudor conquest to the present day, the leaders of the Irish people have always put their own material interests first.

Some Marxists dismiss the fight for sovereignty as a bourgeois concern, arguing that workers should focus solely on socialism. They contrast the struggle for sovereignty, which they see as defending one's national bourgeoisie, with the struggle for socialism. But this is a false dichotomy.

The 2008 financial crisis exposed Ireland's subservience: the EU forced the state to absorb 42 percent of European banking debt. Meanwhile, the US military uses Shannon Airport as a de facto base, integrating Ireland into its endless wars, without democratic consent. These betrayals reveal a fundamental truth: the Irish bourgeoisie cannot and will not defend national sovereignty.

The fight for sovereignty resonates with Ireland's anti-colonial tradition, offering the left a platform to challenge both imperialism and the domestic ruling class. It gives us an opportunity to raise issues such the nature of the bourgeois state and the necessity for socialism. A subject nation cannot build socialism. Only when the working class holds state power can Ireland be truly free.

As Connolly declared over a century ago: “The cause of Ireland is the cause of Labour.”

The struggle for sovereignty is not a distraction from socialism, it is an essential part of it. ■

Socialist Voice (Ireland)
Slightly edited for context

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"Oppose the war against Iran and call for an immediate ceasefire and regional peace"



Joint statement of Communist and Workers Parties worldwide

Following the unilateral and undeclared military attack unleashed against Iran on June 13 by the criminal Netanyahu government, we witnessed on June 22 the military aggression of US imperialism against Iran, bombing the nuclear facilities at Fordow, Natanz and Isfahan.

The Israeli war on Iran has been continuing relentlessly since June 13 and, in the words of Benjamin Netanyahu, is aimed at regime change in Iran. This and the latest episode of US escalation and military adventurism constitute direct and gross violations of international law and the UN Charter, which ban countries from threatening the sovereignty of other states.

The IAEA has confirmed that the claim by Israel and the US that Iran is secretly building a nuclear weapon is false, and the continuous monitoring of Iranian nuclear activities by the agency has not unearthed any evidence of departure from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) to which Iran is a signatory.

We, the undersigned communist and workers parties:

1. Strongly condemn the US-Israeli military aggression against Iran, backed by the EU and G7 governments. We call for an immediate end to all hostile actions.
2. Declare that the policies and actions of the US and Israeli governments in unilaterally attacking Iran, with the intended aim of "regime change," are illegal and in violation of international law.
3. Consider the war against Iran as the latest military aggression in the region by

the war criminal government of Benjamin Netanyahu, following the massacre of 55,000 Palestinians including 18,000 children in Gaza over the past two years, under the guise that "Israel has the right to defend itself."

4. Note with concern that Israel has also subjected the sovereign neighbouring countries of Lebanon and Syria to extensive and repeated military attacks over the past two years and inflicted massive death and destruction upon the peoples of these two nations.
5. Call upon all peace-loving people in the region to unite for peace, an immediate ceasefire and an end to hostilities. War is the tool of the oppressors to suppress the people's movement and their rights.
6. Declare our support for the struggle of the Iranian people for peace, independence, freedom and social justice, and strongly oppose external imperialist intervention in Iran. The future of Iran can only be determined by its people without any external interference.
7. Express our solidarity with the fraternal Tudeh Party of Iran, its members and with the millions of workers, working people and their families in Iran suffering under the daily bombardment of civilian targets by Israeli forces. ■

Signed by more than 30 parties around the world including the Communist Party of Canada

WPC: Genocide in Palestine, aggression against Iran all part of imperialist plans for Middle East

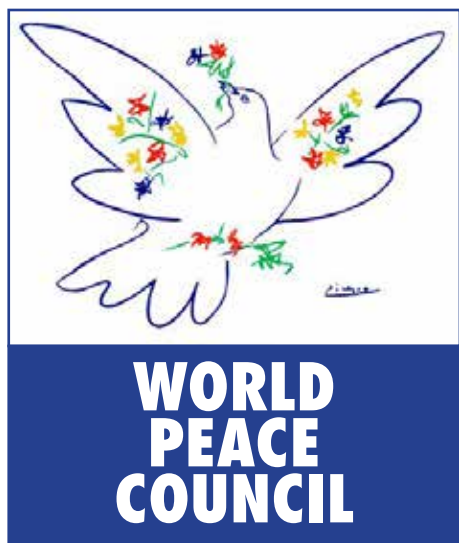
The World Peace Council (WPC) condemns in the strongest way the air attacks of the US Air Force against Iranian nuclear sites under the pretext that Iran is preparing to obtain nuclear weapons. This attack does not only violate every sense of international law, it constitutes a blatant act of aggression.

One week after the unprovoked and ongoing aggression by Israel against Iran we witness a new and more brutal escalation by the US which is setting the whole Middle East on fire. This new open military involvement of the US creates further dangers for the broader region and beyond.

The imperialist plans for the Middle East are advancing and include the genocidal war of Israel against the Palestinian people, the attacks and wars against Libya and Syria with violent regime changes, the attacks and aggression against the peoples of Lebanon and Yemen, and now with the aggression on Iran.

The imperialist narrative has always been false and full of lies, from the non-existing weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, to the threats of fundamentalist forces which were created, funded and used by the imperialists themselves, to the Iranian capacity to obtain nuclear weapons which has been never proved.

The WPC denounces this aggression of the US and Israel, but also NATO and the EU



who are "backstage accomplices" for imperialist crimes in the Middle East.

The WPC calls urgently upon all its members and friends to take action, to take the streets with protests, rallies against the aggression and to express solidarity with the peoples of the region.

We do not accept or tolerate the imperialist crimes and aggression! ■

World Peace Council
June 22



WIDF: Attacks against Iran are the latest act in plan focused on annihilation of Palestine

The Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) expresses its absolute condemnation of the criminal attack carried out against the Iranian capital and other areas of Iran, in violation of international law and the United Nations Charter, endangering the lives of the Iranian people and the entire Arab region.

As an international women's organization that for 80 years, through its affiliated organizations in every region of the world and within the United Nations system, has worked for women's rights, international justice, disarmament and peace, WIDF is deeply concerned and alarmed by this dramatic military escalation unleashed by the Israeli right wing extremist government using the Iranian nuclear program as a pretext, which could have repercussions that can once again plunge the Middle East into a vertigo of blood and destabilization, with catastrophic results for all the peoples of the region and the entire world.

We express our full solidarity with our Iranian sisters and all the women, children and civilians of Iran affected by the treacherous bombings and drone strikes announced and carried out by Israel in close cooperation with the United States, that is causing bloodshed among the population of the territories concerned, including in Israel.

We strongly support the peoples of the region who continue to suffer the brutal destabilization and raise our voices in condemnation of the war machine commanded by Israel and the United States and their allies, while denouncing the cowardice of Western governments that babble unfounded justifications and are slow to distance themselves and break their political, commercial and military relations with Israel and its expansionist and colonialist ambitions.

The attacks against Iran are only the latest act in a destructive plan that has its epicenter in the action of annihilation of Palestine, which the government and army of Israel are carrying out with unprecedented ferocity in disregard of all international and humanitarian law, massacring the civilian population including thousands of defenceless children, women and elderly people.

Civilian structures, health centres, schools are deliberately hit. UN and humanitarian workers operating in Gaza and the occupied Palestinian territories are hit with impunity, in violation of all international law, to prevent them from continuing to operate to help Gaza's civilian population.

No one can sit idly by; no one can remain silent. Silence is complicity.

We demand that the blockade of aid to Gaza's people be lifted! That the massacre of Palestinian people be stopped! Stop the killing of aid workers, health workers and journalists!

We demand that the United Nations intervene to end the extermination of the population of Gaza and that aid can finally reach the exhausted and hungry Palestinian

population unhindered.

We demand that the UN Security Council pronounce a clear condemnation of the Israeli aggression against Iran.

We denounce the attempt by a few predatory states to annihilate the role of the UN, as an organ of all the peoples of the Earth who defend peace and international justice and want to stop barbarism and war.

We denounce the criminal role that Israeli colonial expansion plays in global rearmament, and we denounce the complicity of NATO governments, primarily in providing military support and equipment in the midst of the ongoing genocide, with Israel's current military offensive and its genocidal practice in Palestine.

Ahead of the NATO meeting in The Hague on June 24-25 to decide to drastically increase spending on rearmament, intensify the process of militarization and prepare for war, we call on the international community to intervene to stop and escalation that exposes the entire world to the risk of an irreparable catastrophe, and open the way to diplomacy and shared disarmament actions.

We denounce the criminal role that Israeli colonial expansion plays in global rearmament, and we denounce the complicity of NATO governments, primarily in providing military support and equipment in the midst of the ongoing genocide

We call on the UN to promote an effective and shared peacekeeping operation, aimed at an immediate ceasefire and recognition of the State of Palestine on the 1967 borders, respecting the will expressed by the peoples of the world through numerous General Assembly resolutions.

We firmly call on governments that have signed trade agreements with Israel to rescind them and support the International Court of Justice on its path to stop the genocide in Gaza.

Faithful to the oath made at our foundation 80 years ago – "Never again fascism, never again war!" – we stand by the resistance of the Palestinian people and all peoples who love coexistence, progress and peace, including the forces in Israel struggling against the occupation and war. We participate in the international action of humanitarian and peace movements aimed at reaffirming human rights, international justice, cooperation, solidarity with oppressed peoples and peace.

Humanity is at a dramatic crossroads. Peace is not an option – it is the only condition for human survival and civilization. ■

Women's International Democratic Federation
June 16

Health coalition files formal complaints from 50 Ontario patients, calls for action to stop illegal fees in private health clinics



The Ontario Health Coalition (OHC) was joined by patients from across Ontario in a press conference June 17, as they announced that they have filed formal complaints on behalf of patients charged user fees for health care at private clinics. When the Ford government redirected resources away from public hospitals to expand private for-profit clinics the premier said, "No Ontarian will ever have to pay with a credit card. They will pay with their OHIP card."

In direct contradiction of that promise, the coalition has gathered evidence – including proof of payment and patient reports – from fifty patients that are included in the formal complaint. The OHC has received more than 200 complaints over the last year, noting that these represent only a small fraction of the number of patients who are facing charges of hundreds to thousands of dollars when they go for cataract surgery in the private clinics.

Under the Canada Health Act, patients are supposed to be protected against user charges and extra-billing for medically needed surgeries, diagnostic tests and physician services. Selling queue jumping is not allowed. Patients are to have access to health care based on their medical need, not how wealthy they are.

The federal government is to uphold the Act and require provinces to abide by it in order to receive full federal funding for health care. Under Ontario's laws, it is an offense for any person or entity to charge a patient for an OHIP covered service. No one can make access to needed care contingent on paying for medically unneeded things. Patients have the right to informed consent. Extra-billing, user fees, selling queue-jumping and manipulating patients into paying user fees are not allowed.

"Without question, patients – many of whom are elderly and on fixed incomes – are being exploited. They are being charged hundreds or even thousands of dollars, particularly when they go to private clinics for cataract surgeries," said Natalie Mehra, executive director of the Ontario Health Coalition. "Patients are using up their entire savings, their grocery money, and some have even had to go back to work long after retirement, in order to pay for their surgeries. This should never happen in Canada. We are demanding that the provincial government

finally take action to stop the private clinics and that the federal government enforce the Canada Health Act in Ontario where the Ford government is violating it."

The OHC wants patients to know that everything they need for cataract surgery is covered under OHIP [Ontario Health Insurance Plan] including eye measurement tests, lenses that are unique to their eye, and eye drops, appointments with physicians and follow up. Cataract surgery generally has very good outcomes. No one can charge a patient for cataract surgery, or the medically needed eye exams and eye drops associated with the surgery. Often patients end up paying for things that are not part of cataract surgery.

Often patients are lied to about wait times in order to convince them to pay. Ontario has a wait times website that tracks the actual wait times for every part of the province. Most patients with urgent medical need are getting their cataract surgery within three-and-a-half months and those without urgent medical need are getting their surgery within seven months.

Maureen Munro from London was informed that she had macular degeneration and needed eye surgery urgently or she would lose her vision. She was told that she would have to pay or face two year wait lists (which was not true). She said, "I was informed the cost to receive the surgery would be almost \$7,000. Being as I live alone, I did not want to have macular degeneration, nor lose my quality of life. Therefore, I paid the \$7,000 in 2022. Being a senior on a fixed income, I am still trying to catch up with bills from this surgery."

The OHC outlined the types of complaints that they have received in two separate open letters to Sylvia Jones, Ontario's Minister of Health and to Marjorie Michel, federal Health Minister. They called on the Ford government to reimburse the patients and take action to stop the private clinics. They asked the federal government to take all action possible to enforce the Canada Health Act in Ontario where the Ford government is violating it.

The coalition has launched a petition campaign, calling on Ottawa to enforce the Act. Copies of the petition and sample open letters, both in English and French, can be downloaded from the OHC website at ontariohealthcoalition.ca. ■

WANT A BIGGER "PEACE OF THE PIE"? Toronto peace group organizing people's hearings on military spending

PV STAFF

Military spending in Canada is poised to skyrocket. At the NATO meeting in Brussels in June, Mark Carney committed to the military alliance's new target of five percent of GDP. For Canada, this means more than quadrupling the existing military budget to around \$150 billion, based on 2024 GDP estimates.

If implemented in all of NATO's 32 countries, this arbitrary guideline (it does not relate at all to projections for defence preparedness) would increase NATO's overall spending to \$2.7 trillion – equal to the entire world's current military spending.

Canada's increase will come at the expense of spending that working people urgently need: healthcare, education, childcare, job creation, environmental protection and climate action, housing, employment insurance and public pensions, social assistance, public transit and others.

For example, \$150 billion could build around 430,000 publicly owned and delivered social housing units each year. That's more than 2 million truly affordable units in the space of five years, which is precisely what is needed to confront the housing crisis across the country.

That amount could also be used to build around 3,600 new schools, or 60 new hospitals, each year. Or it could create in the area of 1.7 million full-time jobs paying \$40 per hour.

But these considerations are ruthlessly pushed aside as Ottawa rushes to endorse and implement NATO's demands. Instead of housing, jobs or healthcare, that money will go into new military hardware, ammunition and weapons of mass destruction (since NATO is a nuclear power), to fuel more aggression, more global insecurity, more war and more destruction.

In an effort to bring the voices of the people into the discussion about military spending – and government spending in general – the Toronto Association for Peace and Solidarity (TAPS) is organizing people's hearings which will allow



representatives of the labour and social movements across Toronto to present their views about what they could do with a bigger "peace" of the budget pie.

The "Peace of the Pie" hearings will take place on September 20, coinciding with the United Nations World Peace Day on September 21.

TAPS is inviting peace, labour, social justice and community organizations to attend the in-person hearings, where presentations will be interspersed with discussion among participants and the audience.

The organizers hope the hearings will also include a final resolution that participating groups endorse.



TAPS will compile a final report and prepare an introduction and conclusion, along with proposed actions which reflect the submissions received. It will be published in print and digital versions, for use in ongoing education, outreach and lobbying efforts. The report will be provided to all participating organizations and sent to local members of government. It will also be available at the TAPS website. ■

For more information on the "Peace of the Pie" people's hearings into military spending, visit peacetocanada.ca

Lack of working-class representation in politics leaves people of Bangladesh vulnerable

■ FROM PG 12

pected direction that any capitalist-directed initiative such as microfinancing would inevitably take.

The relation between Yunus's past and present are inexorably linked. He has indicated a desire to strengthen economic ties with China, including a desire to increase China-bound exports, and has declared support for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh. Both of these are admirable tracks to sustaining national sovereignty and human rights respectively.

However, Bangladesh remains vulnerable to Western imperialist forces. The garment industry is the focal point of Bangla-

desh's economy – it is the world's second largest textile exporter, with \$2.55 billion going to the US in 2022. The ADSM protests and catastrophic floods have led to economic and industrial destabilization. Yunus's power is temporary, and parliament remains dissolved until elections are held, which are expected in June 2026.

The vulnerability lies therein. The Bangladesh economy depends heavily on the US, and it is unlikely that US-based corporations, or any for that matter, will surrender their source of cheap garments anytime soon. Unfortunately, there is a distinct lack of a truly working-class representation in Bangladeshi politics. Hasina and the Awami League led the "Grand Alliance," a big-tent

The Bangladesh economy depends heavily on the US, and it is unlikely that US-based corporations will surrender their source of cheap garments anytime soon.

electoral alliance in which the centre-left to left-wing members of the separate 14 Party Alliance and various right-wing parties come together at election time. The ADSM's celebration of the appointment of Yunus, the inventor of a failed liberal economic experiment, also points to a lack of any class consciousness or working-class characteristic in that movement as well.

The Communist Party of Bangladesh has not been in the Jatiya Sangsad since the 1991

election and its six-party electoral alliance – the Left Democratic Alliance, of which only two member parties are registered – has never been elected since its inception.

The student uprising has quickly made way for neoliberalism to take the reins. Currently, there does not seem to be any signs of any international meddling in the situation, but Bangladesh's position as one of the biggest sources of textiles certainly makes the possibility imaginable. Yunus may placate worried market forces now, but there remains plenty of uncertainty in the years to come. ■

LABOUR

Canadian Hearing Services workers' strike continues

CUPE 2073 members work at Canadian Hearing Services (CHS) have been on strike since April 28. The 206 workers work supporting Deaf, deafblind and hard of hearing Ontarians.

The strike began after employer after the agency only committed to two days of bargaining, called for a No Board before negotiations meaningfully began, and refused to extend the terms of the now expired collective agreement. Picket lines are up in more than 15 cities across Ontario.

"CHS never wanted to bargain. Why else would they call for a No Board before we had a chance to negotiate? They wanted to impose their will on workers and we just couldn't risk that," said Local 2073 President Mara Waern. "They put us in this position. For years, they've eroded the services we offer and chipped away at our membership. But we know what we're worth, and we know how much our services mean to the people we support."

Rogers technicians strike in Abbotsford

Technicians at Rogers in Abbotsford, BC went on strike on June 19, after negotiations failed to deliver a fair contract that ensures equal pay.

The 25 technicians are members of USW Local 1944.

Despite performing identical work to their counterparts in Vancouver and Surrey, the Abbotsford technicians are paid approximately 9 percent less.

"Our members do critical work every day to support Rogers customers, yet the company believes these workers deserve less simply because of their postal code," said Michael Phillips, President of USW Local 1944. "The last time I checked, the service that customers buy in Abbotsford costs the same as in Vancouver, so why are the workers paid less? That's not just disrespectful, it's shameful."

This strike is also among the first to take place under Bill C-58, Canada's new anti-scab legislation that prohibits the use of replacement workers during legal strikes in federally regulated sectors like telecommunications.

"Thanks to this new law, Rogers can't bring in scabs to do our members' work while on the picket line. That levels the playing field and protects the right to strike without interference or intimidation," said USW staff rep Jayson Little.

Forestry workers strike against concessions at LKSM

Workers at La-kwa-sa-muqw Forestry LP (LKSM) went on strike June 6, in response to the employer's demands for concessions. The workers are members of USW Local 1-1937.

LKSM is demanding the ability to bring in non-union contractors to do work that is now performed by union members, both those directly employed by LKSM and USW members working for contractors at the site.

"It is so disappointing that LKSM blatantly threatens [workplace] stability by pursuing concessions once again. The union has been very clear that it will not allow the erosion of USW jobs," stated Jason Cox, USW Local 1-1937's 3rd Vice President.

Local 1-1937 President Brian Butler says the strike has industry-wide implications. "By striking against LKSM our members are fighting for all workers as they strike against these unwarranted concessions. The members know that if they do not fight LKSM's concessions, they will spread to other workplaces."

USW members voted 93 percent in favour of strike action in late March.

Artificial Intelligence and the global working class — how should the labour movement respond?



GRIGORIS LIONIS

Almost every day, dozens of news and analyses about new developments in AI, new applications in production and how it can make people's lives much better are brought to light.

And of course, the workers' movement has to discuss this issue, to shed light on its aspects, to answer the questions raised, to anticipate the future developments.

Hence, a number of questions are raised. What is AI and, above all, what can it do? How will work with AI evolve? Should we be technophobic or technophiles? What should the workers' movement do in the age of AI? How can it be utilized for the benefit of the peoples, for the benefit of workers?

Artificial Intelligence is an umbrella term that encompasses many different technologies and technical solutions, which nevertheless converge on one result: the AI function seems to replace human cognitive functions. Certain processes that until recently required a human mind to perform can now be performed by computer AI systems – translating a text from one language to another, driving a vehicle, building a wall.

The older automation processes – automated industry and traditional robots – worked well in a standard environment that was strictly defined, like a production line. Even there they had little room for flexibility, making their application feasible only in very large volume applications. AI gives these systems a much greater flexibility. After decades of development, human beings have managed to build systems that can now operate in such conditions and replace humans in some of these operations.

These systems use huge computers, purpose-built for the job, and unlike traditional solutions they need to be "trained" with a very large amount of data that is primarily human-generated.

In this sense, these systems actually have a social basis since their "intelligence" is, after all, nothing more than the "distillation" of the intelligence of the people with whose data these systems are trained.

This is why their ability to replace humans altogether is currently non-existent.

However, these systems can – in the way they work – multiply the productivity of labour in such a way to facilitate a significant reduction in the number of workers, as workers with AI systems perform tasks that were previously performed by many more workers.

In the coming years, we can expect rapid development of many such technological systems that can perform processes with a significant reduction in labour power, from robotic drivers performing 90-95 percent of the journey, to robots in the industrial production process.

Will human labour be eliminated with these systems? Speaking of the medium-term future, the answer we give is a resounding NO. These systems lack awareness, judgment and the ability to un-

derstand and respond to truly unexpected developments.

However, the fact that the productivity of labour has soared with the use of such systems, which allow tasks to be carried out with a significantly smaller number of workers, is clear and beyond doubt.

Almost all studies assessing the impact of robots and AI on the workforce conclude that the adoption of robots leads to a loss of jobs in the industries that deploy them. This phenomenon, of course, should not be surprising to anyone, and it is not new. In every phase of development of new technological solutions, the new level of automation has been used to increase the productivity of labour and to replace human labour in one sector, which was then transferred to other sectors.

The difference with AI is the fact that the changes – the automation of production and the tendency to replace human labour – concerns almost all sectors of the economy at the same time. The advent of AI does not concern one sector or another, but instead concerns all work sectors, or at least a wide range of them.

But above all, what influences the effects of the new technological means on work and human relations in general is the social structure itself, capital and the ownership of capital.

Capital is invested with the sole criterion of its self-expansion, its profit in simpler words. Thus, capital investment, the whole of investment in capitalism, is promoted on the basis of profit and the rate of profit, and investment is prioritized on the basis of the expected rate of profit.

With respect to AI and robotics, this observation explains how capitalism will use the new means of production and the increase in the productivity of labour. Investment in the new means of production occurs when the "cost" for the investor is reduced – when either the labour force required in the particular firm is reduced enough to compensate for the increased investment or when the new means of production expands market share, thereby reducing employment in other firms in the industry.

Moreover, as we examine developments within the context of monopoly capitalism, new investments automation, robots and AI have the potential to affect even geo-economic aspects of production. Some of the cheaper labour employed in developing regions of the world may be replaced by automated means of production in the richer, consumer regions.

Apart from the economy, these new technologies are also critical for political and military power. We see new technologies being used in the wars that NATO is waging around the globe, and this fact alone sheds light on why the US and NATO are trying to maintain their technological supremacy while also using types of economic warfare against the BRICS and especially China.

The real question for the workers' movement is not around being technophobes or technophiles.

Under the current circumstances, the conditions for the development and use of AI systems and new technologies in general are determined by the "masters of the earth" – the capitalist ruling classes and their states. Thus, there is no problem with new technologies as such. The problem is that today, and as long as capitalism exists, the exploitation of all these new technologies will be for the benefit of capital, it will be to ensure more profit and a larger rate of profit.

This course of development of the means of production and exploitation by capital means that new technologies, today will not be used to solve workers' problems, but will objectively expand them.

They will lead to deterioration in the working conditions of workers, to a reduction in employment and an increase in working hours. Their exploitation by the state makes the states more efficient in their operation – in heavy taxation of the people, in state repression and the surveillance of workers' struggles. Their exploitation by imperialism produces new, even more dangerous weapons and leads to even greater power.

Thus, it is completely disorienting to think that the problems of the workers can be solved by new technology in the production process and in the country. New technologies are promoted with the criterion of increasing profits and the efficiency of the state, thus having a negative impact on workers.

The real problem, then, is the economic relations in which technology, AI and robotics, is developed and exploited.

We are positive that new technologies have the potential, in a radically different social and economic context – in the context of socialist relations – to play a very important role for the benefit of workers.

In a society free of profit and capitalist ownership, where production is developed to meet the expanded needs of working people, new technologies including robotics and AI can be exploited with drastically positive results.

In production automation can be developed and exploited to substantially lessen human toil and to make tasks simpler for humans. This will lead to a rapid reduction of working time while improving the standard of living and the level of consumption.

At the same time, in terms of social organization, new technologies and artificial intelligence can offer major advances in scientific central planning, allowing problems that were previously much more difficult to solve to be tackled.

The possibilities for forecasting consumption can much better align production with needs, and the possibilities for managing large volumes of multiplying data will greatly assist the scientific central planning of socialism to solve complex production problems.

New technologies can be used to assist education and healthcare services by in-

DHL strike an early test of hard-won anti-scab legislation



CAM SCOTT

On June 8, after a lockout by the employer, more than 2,000 Unifor members at DHL Express Canada went on strike across the country, with a 97-percent mandate from workers. DHL employees in Canada have been without a collective agreement since the end of last year, and in negotiations with DHL since October 2024.

Not only is the German-headquartered logistics company asking for deep concessions from workers – reducing jobs and shifts, declining to compensate drivers for up to 100 kilometres in transit to their routes, and proposing massive layoffs – their previous offer of a 15-percent increase in wages over five years barely keeps pace with the rising cost of living. Unifor is demanding its 2,100 members receive annual pay increases, guaranteed work, access to bathroom facilities, and the upkeep of basic industry standards across many other areas of concern.

DHL Express Canada has tens of thousands of customers and is part of an intricate supply chain involving many other freight companies and intermediaries. This lockout and subsequent strike have the potential to cause far-reaching disruptions, but DHL has assured the press and its biggest customers of “proactive” measures to protect their profits from the cascading effects of the company’s own bad faith bargaining – namely, the large-scale use of scab labour. Days before the lockout, DHL bused hundreds of casual workers into their facility in Hamilton, Ontario, apparently parading them before unionized employees.

This provocative move by DHL exploits the narrowing window of time in which the company can use replacement labour before new federal anti-scab legislation comes into effect on June 20. As per *Bill C-58, An Act to amend the Canada Labour Code and the Industrial Relations Board Regulations*, federally regulated employers will be prohibited from using contractors and casual labour to do union work during a strike or lockout, regardless of when they were hired, and from allowing employees in a bargaining unit to cross picket lines.

Whereas at the beginning of the lockout, DHL workers in Brampton had to manually block scabs arriving by bus, now the employer could face fines of up to \$100,000 a day for this practice. Shamefully, DHL Express wrote to the federal government asking the Prime Minister and the Minister of Jobs and Families to intervene against the new law under section 107 of the Canada Labour Code, which empowers the Minister to “do such things as to the Minister seem likely to maintain or secure industrial peace.” Unifor National President Lana Payne responded in certain terms. “DHL is not the victim here,” she said. “They chose confrontation. Now, instead of negotiating a fair agreement at the table, DHL is running to Ottawa to ask for special treatment to get around a law designed to protect workers and safeguard the integrity of collective bargaining.”

Bill C-58 is the outcome of years of organizing and advocacy by labour, and Unifor has announced its intent to demand strict compliance of the employer with the new law. But amid soaring profits, it remains uncertain whether DHL intends to flout or even test the resolve of the Canada Industrial Relations Board to enforce this progressive legislation. DHL’s annual profit is approximately \$4.6 billion, and the North American branch of its operation accounts for over \$9 billion in revenue.

In spite of new tariffs and trade uncertainty, DHL Group posted noteworthy revenue and earnings growth in the first quarter of 2025. “We have successfully handled tough situations in the past,” boasts a media brief naming the 2008 financial crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic.

In fact, DHL made enormous profits during the pandemic, as consumer patterns shifted from in-store to online shopping and necessitated home delivery. DHL also used this period to double down on casualizing practices for which it had previously faced legal trouble, tipping its fleet towards contract workers and owner-operators rather than company drivers. These drivers wear DHL uniforms and display DHL trademarks on their vehicles, but even having assumed the costs of maintenance and ownership themselves, are still facing significantly reduced pay.

The last five years have seen record profits for delivery companies like DHL, and have also coincided with the further restructuring and global dispersal of customer service in pursuit of less stringent labour laws.

Yet at the same time as DHL relies upon the flexibility of customer service in order to weaken union representation, they are intent to do away with work-from-home accommodations as they increase surveillance and automation of in-house call centers in Canada. This follows recent trends in call centres represented by various public and private sector unions across the country, where workers are finding themselves forced back to distant offices or facing layoffs. Here as in the trucking industry, companies rely upon discrepant immigration statuses and general precarity to oblige workers to unacceptable terms.

Unifor represents many types of workers at DHL, from drivers and couriers to warehouse and office workers, and the company’s one-size-fits-all, low-ball proposal insults their various needs even as it fails by the most basic industry standards. As of this moment, DHL remains headstrong, with its Canadian CEO Geoff Wall pledging to shut down operations entirely before Bill C-58 takes effect on June 20.

Timing is everything, and where private companies like DHL are instrumental in the longer plot to dismantle public postal services, the fight of Unifor members in the private sector has the potential to buttress the demands of CUPW as well. With more forceful labour laws just around the corner, the fight of DHL workers for a fair deal could have ramifications for the entire shipping and logistics industry in Canada, and serve as a test of hard-won legislation for the labour movement as a whole. ■



Union calls on MPs to reject dangerous airline deregulation plan

The Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) is urging Members of Parliament to reject the Competition Bureau’s latest report on airline competition, warning it poses serious risks to Canadian jobs, public safety and national sovereignty.

The report calls for increased foreign ownership of Canadian airlines and the elimination of anti-cabotage rules to allow foreign carriers to operate domestic flights within Canada. Anti-cabotage rules are used to restrict foreign companies from providing domestic transportation services within a country.

CUPE, which represents 18,500 flight attendants, says the report’s proposals would lead to job losses, lower safety standards and greater control of Canada’s airline industry by foreign interests.

“This is not about giving Canadians more affordable air travel – it’s about handing over control of our skies to Wall Street and foreign corporations,” said CUPE National President Mark Hancock. “Canadians want safe, reliable and affordable service, not a

race to the bottom.”

Despite years of deregulation, the airline industry in Canada has seen the opposite of increased competition and more affordable fares. Instead, Canadians have seen increased airline consolidation, service cuts, and skyrocketing fares, especially in remote regions.

“Workers in this industry know that the Competition Bureau’s recommendations ignore reality in Canada, and they ignore the importance of a Canadian-owned and operated air network, particularly in times of crisis and emergencies, whether it’s evacuating people during wildfires or delivering essential goods,” said CUPE National Secretary-Treasurer Candace Rennick. “We can’t afford to hand over that control.”

CUPE is calling on the federal government to shelve the report and instead invest in building a strong, public, Canadian-owned air transport system that ensures safety, accessibility and good union jobs across the country. ■

QC labour fed warns that Bills C-2, C-5 trample over Indigenous, migrant and labour rights

PV STAFF

Quebec’s second-largest labour central, the Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN) warns that Prime Minister Mark Carney is playing a “dangerous game” with his government’s recently passed Bill C-5, *The One Canadian Economy Act* and Bill C-2, *The Strong Borders Act*.

With respect to C-5, the CSN is concerned that the fast-track legislation (which the Liberals themselves fast-tracked through Parliament) tramples on the rights of Indigenous people, migrants and workers.

As with several provincial governments, Carney argues he is responding to Donald Trump’s trade war by introducing legislation to move quickly on approvals and funding for large-scale development projects. But the CSN warns that Carney is using the Trump threat as cover for severely limiting debate and consultation on policies which “copy the Conservatives’ agenda” and which need further examination.

“The use of closure to pass Bill C-5, an anti-democratic maneuver supported by the Conservative Party of Canada, opens the door to irreversible mistakes, as environmental groups and Indigenous peoples were quick to point out,” noted the labour body in a June 19 press release.

CSN President Caroline Senneville asked, “If C-5 is so good for workers, why not take the time to study it with the people who represent them?”

Throughout Quebec, there is concern that Ottawa will use legislation like Bill C-5 to push approvals for pipeline projects through Quebec, despite widespread opposition from the people there. There is similar concern about projects relating to the critical minerals sector which is specifically targeted by the legislation, and which was part of the discussions between Carney and Trump at the recent G-7 meeting in Kananaskis.

Maintaining such discussions and concessions in private is unacceptable, says the CSN. “While C-5 will be gagged in Ottawa, negotiations between Prime Minister Carney and President Donald Trump are continuing in the utmost secrecy.”

Under these veils of secrecy, the CSN is worried that Ottawa will bargain away key economic interests or play them off against one another in regions across Canada. Senneville called on the prime minister to provide quick and transparent information. “Can our prime minister assure us that he will resolve the long-standing softwood lumber dispute, that he will protect supply management as provided for in the new law, Quebec culture and our aerospace industry, as well as the steel and aluminum industries? Should we fear concessions in these sectors to save the automotive industry in Ontario?”

Migrants, immigrants and refugees at risk

The CSN is also concerned about migrant rights, noting that Bill C-2 seems to have come straight out of Trump’s playbook. “The Carney government is presenting this bill as a response to border security issues – we are playing the US president’s game,” said Senneville.

“Migrants, immigrants and refugees are being associated with criminals. C-2 significantly tightens the rules for accessing asylum in Canada and grants extraordinary powers to the government to suspend, cancel or massively modify immigrants’ documents when ‘the public interest warrants it’. This could open the door to arbitrary deportations, as we have seen recently south of the border, and greatly politicize migration issues.

“Do we really want to model our immigration system on what Donald Trump is doing? Is this really what Mark Carney is proposing?” ■

"National security" has always masked attacks on democratic movements

■ FROM PG 3

movements. Today, CSIS fabricates ‘foreign interference’ scandals targeting Chinese Canadians while ignoring blatant US meddling in Canadian affairs. These agencies are not neutral: they serve ruling-class interests, break laws with impunity, and criminalize dissent.

“From the War Measures Act and the October Crisis to G20 mass arrests and CSIS covert operations, ‘national security’ has always masked attacks on democratic movements. Bill C-2 continues this tradition. It cannot be amended; it must be withdrawn entirely.

“In addition, we demand the abolition of CSIS, the CSE and the RCMP; full status for all migrants, an end to deportations, and withdrawal from the Safe Third Country Agreement; protection for workers asserting labour rights, regardless of immigration status.

“Bill C-2 proves the ruling class unites behind repression as capitalism’s crises deepen. The Liberals, despite promises to reject Conservative policies, are now accelerating austerity, militarism and expanding police powers. The expansion of surveillance and border militarization serves Canada’s monopoly corporations, whose short-term profits depend on deeper US integration, sacrificing sovereignty and working-class interests.

“The Communist Party calls upon the labour movement, Indigenous nations, migrant justice groups, civil liberties defenders, women’s organizations, students and all democratic forces to build a united front against Bill C-2. Only mass resistance can defeat this police-state legislation.” ■

Capitalist relations are repeatedly proven to give rise to economic inequality

■ FROM PG 12

satisfaction of its own needs, it follows that capitalism, in Marx’s words, ‘establishes an accumulation of misery corresponding with accumulation of capital’.

Economic historians like Piketty and Zucman who carefully track the trajectory of capitalism demonstrate empirically, again and again, that capitalist socio-economic relations give rise to economic inequality.

While the distribution of wealth in advanced capitalist countries is not captured perfectly by the Marxist class distinctions, class-as-ownership-of-capital goes far to explain how wealth is distributed.

With two-thirds of all wealth concentrated in the top 10 percent of households and an estimated 89 percent of all capital-as-stocks held by the bottom 90 percent, it seems reasonable to conclude that the capitalist class resides within the top 10 percent of wealthy households.

It should be just as clear that the bottom 50 percent – with 3 percent of the wealth, and nearly all of that in personal real estate and other property – survives on income from some form of compensation; its members work for a living.

Thus, as one might anticipate from reading the 1848 Communist Manifesto, capitalist society today – 177 years later – remains substantially divided between those who create the wealth by working for a living and those who own the means of wealth creation and, therefore, gain most of their wealth from that ownership. Capital – whether it coalesces as factories, banks or other enterprises – concentrates wealth at the top.

Between the bottom 50 percent and the top 10 percent of households is a contested field of largely income earners – workers

First Nations denounce drive to weaponize economy and introduce economic terrorism



■ FROM PG 3

trayal of it,” said Temagami Chief Shelly Moore-Frappier. “We are painted as barriers, and the government is trying to force our compliance. Let me be clear, weaponizing the economy to repress First Nations rights is economic terrorism. It is coercion, plain and simple. It has not place in a country that claims to stand for justice.”

Ramon Kataquapit, Ontario First Nations Young Peoples’ Council member from Attawapiskat First Nation, said this is an opportunity for youth to rise and stand up for their Nations. He is among a group of collective youth councils starting a movement called Okiniwak, which means the Warrior Peoples’ Movement.

“This will grow across Canada. We’re the generation to make change. A lot of our older generations are scared, they’re traumatized from a life of fighting,” said Kataquapit. “But not to worry, because we’re here. We will continue your fight and ensure our peoples and lands are strong, healthy and prosperous for generations to come.”

Anishinabek Nation Grand Council Chief Linda Debassige said First Nations need to stand in unity across Turtle Island to show their strength and support one another.

“The Indian Act, residential schools – those were all things designed to silence us and make us fearful of the government. It still hasn’t worked. We’re still here. We cannot continue to live in oppression and feel powerless over things that we can change. There are 343 seats in Parliament – but there are hundreds of thousands of Anishinabek people. We can create the change we need.”

These legislative efforts reflect and facilitate corporate-led development strategies that pose sweeping risks to broad sectors of society. This means that there is a strong basis of unity for building an escalating fightback that can defeat these bills and open the path to democratic development which respects and meets the needs of Indigenous peoples, working people and the environment. But for this to happen, the labour, environmental and progressive organizations need to ally with Indigenous people and communities who have taken a lead in this struggle. ■

With files from Union of BC Indian Chiefs and Chiefs of Ontario
Photos: PBICanada.org

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WITH SPEAKER GERALD HORNE

Gerald Horne is a Professor of History and African American Studies at the University of Houston. His research has addressed issues of racism in a variety of fields including labor, politics, civil rights, international relations and war. Dr. Horne is the author of more than thirty books.

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DOORS OPEN 6:45 PM
EVENT START 7:00 PM

LOCATION
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600 CAMPBELL AVE,
VANCOUVER, BC

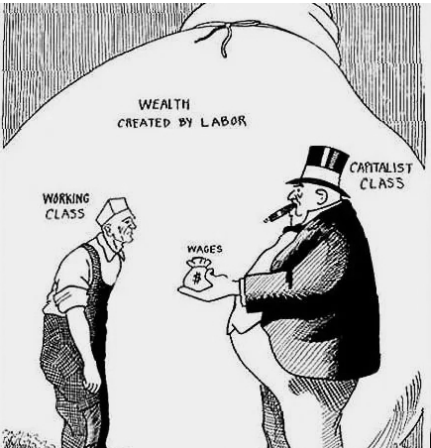
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SUNDAYS | GAZA SOLIDARITY RALLY

2 PM at the Vancouver Art Gallery. Join Palestine solidarity groups every Sunday to protest Israel's siege of Gaza.

VANCOUVER

JULY 12 | RADICAL LABOUR HISTORY

7 PM at the Centre for Socialist Education, 706 Clark Dr. Discussion on "Fishing, Lumber and Longshore Organizing" as part of Radical Labour History of BC Summer Series.

VANCOUVER

JULY 25 | FASCISM & THE UNITED FRONT

7 PM at the Centre for Socialist Education, 706 Clark Dr. Discussion on "Fascism, the United Front and the 7th Congress of the Communist International".

VANCOUVER

JULY 26 | MONCADA DAY

7 PM at the Russian Hall 600 Campbell Ave. Moncada Day celebration featuring speaker Gerald Horne. Sponsored by CCFA Vancouver.

WINNIPEG

JULY 27 | END THE BLOCKADE

1-2 PM at the corner of River and Osborne. Join the Manitoba Cuba Solidarity Committee for monthly action calling for an end to the US blockade of Cuba.

TORONTO

JULY 5 | DISABILITY PRIDE MARCH

1-5 PM starting with rally at Queen’s Park and then a march to Grange Park for celebration with food and music.

TORONTO

JULY 6 | PV BBQ FUNDRAISER

1-5 PM at 58 Albany. Enjoy food, drinks and fun at this fundraiser for People's Voice. Sponsored by Omar Latif and Public Sector Workers clubs.

TORONTO

JULY 26 | MONCADA DAY

3 PM at Steelworkers Hall, 25 Cecil St. Celebrate Moncada Day with a BBQ, music, speeches. \$20 admission. Sponsored by CCFA Toronto.

HAMILTON

AUG 8-10 | PRIDE

Pier 4 Park. Celebrate Pride and stand up for 2S/LGBTIQ+ rights. Join the Communist Party and PV contingents.

OTTAWA

JULY 17 | CUBA SOLIDARITY PICKET

4:30 PM at the US Embassy, 490 Sussex Drive. Join Ottawa Cuba Connections for monthly action to call for an end to the blockade and the return of the Guantanamo base to Cuba.

OTTAWA

JULY 27 | PUENTES DE AMOR RALLY

11 AM at the Cuban Embassy, 338 Main St. Monthly action in solidarity with Cuba, calling for an end to the blockade and the return of the Guantanamo base.

Awared-winning novel explores rot at heart of colonial power in 19th-century Newfoundland

The Adversary
Michael Crummey
Penguin Random House, 2023
REVIEW BY JENNY FARRELL

Michael Crummey's *The Adversary*, winner of the 2025 Dublin Literary Award, is a dark, atmospheric novel that probes the brutal complexities of early colonial Newfoundland through themes of power, class and survival. Set in a remote coastal community marked by hardship and hierarchy, the narrative interrogates the moral and human costs of empire, patriarchy and capitalist extraction.

Set in the early 19th century, Newfoundland is portrayed as a frontier colony defined by British imperial rule, the Church of England and struggling settler communities. References to the King's army and Hanoverian military root the story in an era of imperial expansion. Fears of "American marauders" and sentinels on watch reflect historical tensions – borderland anxieties and the spectre of US aggression.

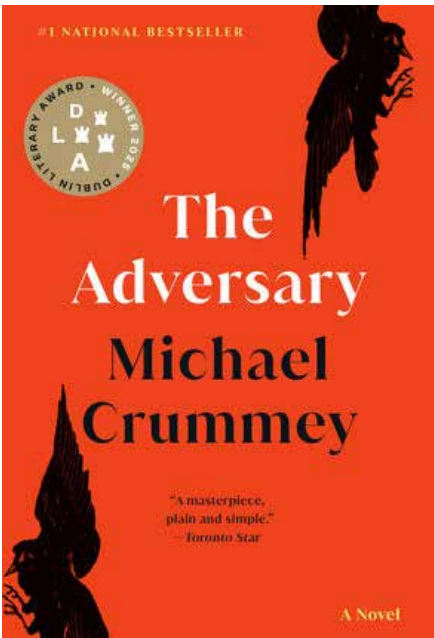
At the novel's core is a scathing critique of the colonial capitalist class, embodied by Abe Strapp and his cunning rival sister, the Widow Caines – a twisted echo of Cain and Abel. Both represent elites who extract wealth through the exploitation of land, labour and the dispossessed. Crummey explores how economic power is sustained through social violence and dependency, mirroring broader patterns of imperial inequality. The unforgiving Newfoundland landscape – its storms, sea, and plagues – reflects the social order's cruelty and relentless demands. The cold is not only environmental but internalized, creating a sense of inevitable entrapment.

Among the novel's most compelling elements is its attention to female perspective, particularly through the Widow Caines. A figure of resilience and manipulation, she supports the poor selectively but ultimately serves her own capitalist ambitions. Though nominally a Quaker, she corrupts that community's egalitarian values for personal gain. Her betrayal of Solemn, motivated by a private vendetta, reveals how class overrides gender. Other women – healer Mary Oram, teacher Relief Picco and servant Bride Lambe – see through her ambitions and embody moral clarity.

Crummey also gestures toward Indigenous presence and colonial racism, with references to the Inuit ("Esquimaux"), Beothuk ("Red Indians") and the Haitian former slave Dominic Laferrière. While most characters reflect the period's racism, Captain Truss's lack of prejudice and respect for Indigenous people offers a counterpoint. Though subtle here, this reclamation of dignity aligns with Crummey's broader project of challenging historical erasure.

Crummey's use of 19th-century English and regional Newfoundland expressions immerses readers in the time and place. This textured language reinforces the novel's central concern: the rot at the heart of colonial power, embodied in the ruling class's excesses and depravity. One such scene unfolds in Abe Strapp's mansion, the Big House, transformed into a brothel-casino-salon and exemplifies the complete moral degradation of the colonial masters, combining drunkenness, gambling, sexual exploitation and nationalist posturing.

The scene of Inez Barter's humiliation – a moment best left unspoiled – exposes the complicity of bystanders and the normalization of cruelty. The scene evokes the work of Chingis Aitmatov, where degradation and inhumanity are mirrored



in people's treatment of animals and the weak. Equally disturbing is the "mumble a sparrow" contest – a grotesque, bird-biting competition that serves as a microcosm of colonial violence and social degradation. Here, violence becomes entertainment, a perverse test of masculinity, exacting a deep moral cost on both participants and spectators.

These vignettes strip away the veneer of civility, revealing a culture of cruelty and consumption. Women are commodified, innocence debased, and pleasure extracted from pain. Crummey's bitter satire lays bare the violence at the core of empire and capitalism, where power depends on degradation and the erosion of ethics.

However, resistance, too, is present in *The Adversary* – largely subdued and perilous, often met with harsh, public punishments designed to crush dissent and instill fear. One brutal whipping towards the end of the book, meant to enforce obedience through terror, marks a turning point. The local community, previously passive onlookers, are now outraged by the injustice and cruelty, transforming the scene into a catalyst for collective defiance. This eruption of resistance reveals a common yearning for justice and dignity, even in a society where defiance is dangerous and often devastating. Through this episode, Crummey underscores how resistance, however quiet or fleeting, persists beneath the surface of oppression, offering hope amid relentless brutality.

The novel's title, *The Adversary*, is deliberately ambiguous. It stands as a symbol of capitalist colonialist class interests and the myriad agents who serve them, crushing human nature, empathy and goodness in their wake. Crummey centres the story on the Widow Caine, Abe Strapp and those caught in their orbit, offering a nuanced, often female-focused exploration of exploitation, complicity and resistance.

Crummey acknowledges the novel's darkness, admitting the world he portrays is "probably a lot darker than the reality of the time." But he justifies this by pointing to contemporary parallels: "What I decided I was going to do was take the worst of the world as we have made it and compress it all down and have it play out in this tiny community in Newfoundland 200 years ago." His horror at rising authoritarianism – particularly in the United States – informs the novel's urgency.

The Adversary is thus more than historical fiction. It is also a modern parable, challenging readers to confront the legacies of empire, the dangers of capitalist power and the possibilities of resistance. It warns that the adversaries of justice – greed, violence and apathy – are not confined to the past, and that reckoning with history is also a reckoning with the present. ■



Camp Naivelt celebrates a century of tradition and community

Camp Naivelt, meaning "New World" in Yiddish, was founded 100 years ago by the members of the United Jewish People's Order (UIPO) to provide a summer retreat for working-class Jewish families. Over the decades, Naivelt has grown into a vibrant community where generations have gathered to celebrate Jewish culture, creativity and progressive values. For many, Naivelt is more than just a summer camp – it's a place where life-long friendships are formed, memories are made, and traditions are passed down.

Naivelt is honouring this incredible legacy with a culminating celebration on the weekend of August 23-24. The celebration will include a series of exhibits, performances, music, food and activities for people of all ages and backgrounds, bringing together Naivelters to celebrate and reflect on the journey of this beloved camp. As well, a commemorative anniversary booklet will be created as a memento of this milestone. ■

For more information, please contact
naivelt100@winchevskycentre.org



Key question with AI is one of ownership of means of production

■ FROM PG 8

creasing their efficiency, and not as a cheap substitute for working people as is the case today.

After all, the current enormous potential of the new means of production reflects nothing other than the same, ever deepening social division of labour, its social character. The new productive forces "cry out" for the need to change the relations of production, they cry out that capitalist relations are now more mature than ever. They cry out for the need for socialism.

Today, the workers' movement must move forward using its economic theory as a beacon. It must move forward with a clear understanding of the effect of the means of production on labour and on the balance of power.

This means realized that both arguments which capitalist propaganda highlights are equally ineffective. Robots and AI are not "demons" to be exorcised, and nor is technology the problem. At the same time, the exploitation of robots and AI by the state and capital will not solve our problems in the workplace and society – instead it will multiply them. The advent of robots and AI does not make "the economy" better in general, it just benefits the capitalists to whom they belong.

Under the current circumstances, the international workers' movement must fight and oppose capitalist laws that seek to exploit the new technologies at the expense of the workers.

Labour needs to elaborate a framework of demands that lights up the social reality, explaining that it is not technology but the capitalist owner that is the problem, and anticipating in good time the impact of new technologies in the various sectors and in their country.

The need to drastically reduce working time while increasing workers' wages and improving working conditions must be at the epicentre of labour struggles. These struggles today will also pave the way for the great social changes that workers around the world need. ■

Excerpted and slightly edited from a paper delivered at the 2024 symposium of the International Workers' Institute



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Report on obscene US wealth inequality is a call to replace capitalism with socialism



GREG GODELS

Gabriel Zucman is a French-born economist who teaches at University of California, Berkeley and the Paris School of Economics. Zucman’s academic specialization is in wealth inequality, using tax data to track the stratification in wealth in the US and the rest of the world. A student of famed inequality expert, Thomas Piketty, he is an important figure in the World Inequality Database.

His most recent findings expose a gross obscenity, a level of wealth inequality in the US that should shame every politician, every mainstream-media commentator, and every cultural influencer who fails to make recognition of this travesty central to their message.

Discussed in some detail in an article by Juliet Chung, appearing in the April 24 Wall Street Journal, Zucman’s most recent findings draw little attention from the other corporate media.

Zucman claims that the wealth of 19 households in the US grew by one trillion dollars in 2024, more than the GDP of Switzerland. That top 0.00001 percent of households accounted in 2024 for 1.81 percent of all the wealth accumulated in the US – nearly 2 percent of all US wealth is held by those 19 households.

Other conclusions drawn from the WSJ article:

- Total US wealth in 2024 was \$148 trillion.
- The share of total US wealth held by the 0.00001 percent of households was, by far, the greatest since 1913, when the US income tax system originated.
- JP Morgan Chase estimates that there were 2,000 billionaires in the US in 2024; 975 in 2021.
- The top 0.1 percent of households constitute approximately 133,000 households and each holds an average of \$46.3 million in wealth, accumulating \$3.4 million a year since 1990.
- The next 0.9 percent of households – approximately 1.2 million households – were each worth \$11.2 million and grew by \$450,000 per year in the same period.
- The cumulative 1 percent of households account for 34.8 percent of total US wealth in 2023.
- In capitalist counterpart countries, the 1 percent account for 21.3 percent of the total wealth in Britain, 27.2 percent

in France and 27.6 percent in Germany.

- The top 10 percent of US households hold 67 percent of all the wealth in the US.
- The top half of US households have secured 97 percent of all US wealth.
- Consequently, the other half of US households (about 66 million households, about 166 million citizens) shared only 3 percent of all the wealth accumulated in the US.

These data underscore the fact that the US is a radically unequal society, with wealth concentration increasing dramatically as one ascends the class ladder.

What conclusions can we draw from the Zucman/Wall Street Journal report?

First, it is important to distinguish wealth inequality from income inequality.

Income inequality is a snapshot of the remuneration that an individual or household might receive in a given period. For example, a sports figure or a celebrity might receive a huge compensation package for two or three years of success, but otherwise fall dramatically in income and end with modest wealth.

Wealth, on the other hand, is inheritable and cumulative. In a capitalist society, it is possible to have income without accumulating wealth, but it is almost impossible to have wealth without effortlessly gaining income.

Among the employed, income is always contingent. Wealth, to the contrary, is owned and can only be alienated by legal action.

While income is empowering, accumulated wealth imbues its owner with both security and degrees of power and influence proportionate to its quantity.

Thus, wealth is a better measure of personal or household economic status than income.

For those academics and media pundits who prattle on about “our democracy,” it must be pointed out that over half of the US population is effectively economically disenfranchised from the political system. With so little accumulated wealth (3 percent of the total wealth), they cannot participate meaningfully in an electoral system driven by money. They lack the means to contend for office, as well as to affect the choice of candidates or the outcomes.

Even if the bottom half of households were to pool their resources, they could not match the

financial assets readily available to the top 1 percent in order to dominate political power.

Cold War intellectuals constantly heralded the formal democracy – the rights to participate in electoral politics – enjoyed by citizens in the advanced capitalist countries. They assiduously avoided mentioning citizens’ actual means to participate in any meaningful way, influenced by the vast and telling inequalities in those means. Clearly, the bottom half of all US households have little means of engagement with politics, apart from casting an occasional vote for limited options, for which they have little say in determining.

Further, the next 40 percent of households have between them, in diminishing amounts as they approach the bottom half, just 30 percent of US wealth to express their political prerogatives. No doubt that provides the false sense of political empowerment that the two bourgeois parties prey upon.

The victory of form-over-substance in the legitimization of US social and political institutions is surely threatened by the reality of wealth inequality – a reality that empowers the wealthy over the rest.

The fact that the top 10 percent of US households have a grip on 67 percent of the wealth makes a mockery of “our democracy.”

Talk of “oligarchs” or “the 1 percent” – so popular with slippery politicians or internet naïfs – actually masks the rot behind our grossly unequal society. Neither “evil” nor “greedy” people can explain the travesty recorded by the Zucman data.

Instead, it is a system that produces and reproduces wealth inequality. While wars, economic crises, or the militant action of workers and their allies may temporarily slow or set back the march of wealth inequality under capitalism, the system continues to regenerate wealth inequality. That system is called “capitalism.”

As Paul Sweezy explained most clearly:

“The essence of capitalism is the self-expansion of capital, which takes place through the production and capitalization of surplus value. Production of surplus value in turn is the function of the proletariat, i.e., the class of wage earners who own no means of production and can live only by the sale of their labour power. Since the proletariat produces for capital and not for the



Bangladeshi student uprising’s shift from grassroots to technocracy has left the future uncertain

MANJIT TOOR

Looking back at mainstream news coverage of the resignation and subsequent flight of Bangladeshi Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina in August 2024 and the dissolution of parliament for elections following weeks of student protests, one gets the impression that this was a revolutionary act. And, from certain perspectives, that is not entirely wrong.

The most recent numbers from 2022 found that unemployment of recent university graduates stood at 28 percent in a country where the overall rate is 3.5 percent, or 2.6 million. This number is likely to have worsened in the last two years.

Frustrated youth began with peaceful protests against the 30-percent quota of civil service jobs that are reserved for the relatives of 1971 Liberation War veterans. This civil service quota system had been struck down by the High Court after protests in 2018, only for the Supreme Court to reinstate it in June 2024.

Police and pro-government factions unleashed violence onto the protestors causing around 10,000 arrests, 7,000 injuries and 266 deaths. Popular riots ensued in response, culminating in Hasina’s resignation and departure to India.

However, it is important to understand that this is not the working-class uprising that mainstream media would suggest. While the germ for such may have been present early on, a lack of any coherent political vanguard resulted in the protests becoming quickly co-opted by the local bourgeois compradors and, potentially, international imperialists.

The protests themselves were very much born out of a grassroots concern among Bangladeshi youth for their futures. Organized by the Anti-Discrimination Students Movement (ADSM), demonstrators – whose prospects look bleak due to a lack of good, guaranteed jobs – peacefully took to the streets to air their rightful grievances.

The response from police and pro-government groups, however, was anything but. Rather than dissipate in the face of violent push-back, the students stood their ground and fought back, creating a month-and-a-half’s worth of street clashes. Hasina insisted she was not willing to leave Bangladesh until familial pressure sent her to exile in India for the second time, the first being in 1975 following the assassination of her father and then Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. She says she will return once fresh elections are called.

This has left Bangladesh in the hands of a caretaker government, and at the potential mercy of exploitation.

An interim government has been installed with Nobel prize recipient Dr. Muhammad Yunus at its helm. Yunus was endorsed by the ADSM leaders as their choice for the caretaker government’s Chief Advisor and has since been sworn into that role. Hasina’s fall and Yunus’s ascendance placated enough of the ADSM protestors into going from seizing the Jatiya Sangsad (National Parliament), PM’s residence and the offices of the ATN TV channel to voluntarily cleaning up the parliament building and returning looted weapons.

Yunus’s claim to fame comes from his work as the founder of the Grameen Bank and as the innovator of microfinancing, once heralded as the solution to global poverty via the distribution of “microloans” to those too poor to access traditional bank loans.

This appeals to the petit-bourgeois feel-good idea of welfarism: lend a small lump sum (microloan) to an individual borrower and have them pay the sum back (with interest) over a period of just a few years via regular installments – a small loan for small businesses and people to stimulate local economic activity into snowballing into national economic activity.

Over a decade later, the results have proven to be grim. The cooption of this philanthropic endeavour by rent-seeking national bourgeois financiers – funded by global development banks including the World Bank, the European Investment Bank and the US International Development Finance Corp. – has instead re-created the same material conditions that microfinancing sought to end, trapping third-world denizens including thousands of women into crushing debt and causing some to resort to suicide as the accumulated interest rates become impossible to bear any longer.

Yunus disavowed what his creation has become and has long since left the Grameen Bank. However, the lack of foresight, unabashed idealism and inherent liberalism that went into microfinancing as a poverty alleviation strategy cannot be separated from him. It was his grand solution to the poverty question, which would marry the worlds of banking and social justice: a form of welfare where the private sector, infused with public cash, would uplift the working class and peasantry now so that they could pull their own bootstraps later. The project has not so much failed as turned toward the ex-