



HOMES FOR ALL!



Vancouver tenant, Will Munro, writes

Housing needs to be a fundamental human right. Every one of us deserves a roof over our head. We deserve safety, security, and community. We deserve *homes*, not just properties that are bought, rented and sold for profits. As long as housing is a commodity, it will never be a right.

There is a housing crisis in Canada. Vancouver is the worst example, but our mounting problems are not unique. There are 2,138 homeless people in Vancouver, an historic high. Poor people and communities are being driven out by gentrification. Rents are skyrocketing. The average rent for a one-bedroom unit increased 20% last year to \$2,090, more than the monthly wage of a full-time minimum wage worker. At this rate, by 2021, the average rent for a one-bedroom will be \$4,350, more than most people in Vancouver earn. House prices are insane.

Yet elected officials, and their corporate friends, have no interest in solving this disaster. They are far

more concerned with protecting the equity of the wealthy and catering to development companies. Both Vision Vancouver and the BC Liberals receive massive donations from development firms. The Liberals received \$400,000 from 2300 Kingsway Residences, BJW Investments and PWO Investments, all owned by the Wall Family. They also received \$460,000 from Redekop Kroeker Developments and John Redekop Construction. Another \$136,000 came from the Aquilinis. Vision is no better. Last year they received a combined \$286,800 from Holborn Holdings Ltd. (Joo Kim Tiah), Terry Hui companies (Concord Pacific), Aquilini Development, and Wesgroup (Peter Wesik). These groups do not care about us. They only care about their bottom line.

We are in crisis, and we need *real* solutions, now. Homelessness costs more than housing people. The discussion of "affordable housing" only takes us so far, as everyone needs a home, whatever their income.

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Homes for All

continued from front

While wages have stagnated for years, rents are soaring. Landlords evict people and double the rents. We need security of tenure and *real* rent control, tied to the unit, not the tenant.

Vancouver seems like it is constantly under construction, but developers are only interested in profits. Building expensive condos will not solve the housing crisis. Already Vancouver has 25,000 empty units. We need homes that poor and working people can afford. We need to tax the rich to finance good quality social housing.

Canada is the only G7 nation without a national housing policy. The last federal Liberal government abolished support to build homes. Instead of restoring this funding, the government's response to increasingly unaffordable housing in Canada has been weak and ineffectual. We need a real national housing policy.

Forty years ago, there were virtually no homeless people in Vancouver and Canada, and housing was largely affordable. Canada is much richer now, yet paradoxically, housing is now unaffordable. If Canada's enormous wealth was fairly distributed, we could *easily* provide homes for all.

Today housing is not a right. Rights have to be fought for and won. Through action and struggle, we can make housing a right. This would truly provide homes for all.



Kshama Sawant
and Jean Swanson

Jean Against the Machine

Socialist Alternative Vancouver is happy to support Jean Swanson's election campaign for the City Council by-election on October 14. She will not take money from developers or corporations, will take only a worker's wage and will fight to make Vancouver affordable for all.

To find out more and support Team Jean visit:
www.votejeanswanson.ca

Canada's Housing Bubble

Salman Zafar

Housing in Vancouver and Toronto, whether to rent or to buy, is among the most expensive in the world. Additionally, the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation warned that over half of all Canadians live in "problematic" housing markets. There are growing warnings that the housing bubble could burst.

Moody's downgraded the country's six big banks and both the International Monetary Fund and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development have warned about Canada's overpriced housing.

After years of stagnant wages and rising costs, many Canadians are deep in debt. The family debt to income ratio has soared to over 174%, one of the highest in the world. Many homeowners are using their homes to fund their weekly spending.

The Canadian economy relies on the housing bubble, with two-thirds of all GDP based on household spending and residential investment. The impact of a housing burst could be devastating, with a sharp drop in direct employment in housing and further job losses due to reduced consumer spending.

The foreign buyers' tax introduced in BC and Ontario is no solution. After a temporary drop, house prices in Vancouver have reached new highs. After the 2008 recession, governments pumped \$7 trillion into the world economy. Speculators, with this money, have moved into the housing market, treating housing as a commodity to be bought, rented and sold for profit.

Poor and working people in many cities around the world are being priced out of their homes. We fight for homes as a human right.

Pride and Prejudice

Rocco Trigueros



Powerful corporations shape the definition of what it means to be an LGBTQ member today. Following the approval of same-sex marriage, they

Student Life: Costly housing, high fees, low wages, unclear future

University student and worker, Nathalie Yeung, writes

I am well acquainted with the near-impossible balancing act that students are forced to go through: each semester I work to the brink to balance studying, working, volunteering, and, if I am lucky, time for loved ones and my health.

I am luckier than most. A scholarship covers my tuition, while housing costs are reduced due to living with my partner. If not, I would be waist-deep in student debt like 50% of Bachelor graduates, and struggling to find affordable housing amid the worsening housing crisis in Vancouver.

Being a student is enormously expensive. BC's tuition fees have more than doubled since 2002 and average student debt exceeds \$30,000. Meanwhile, median rent for a one-bedroom in Vancouver is \$2,090 and anything under \$1,000 is almost impossible to find in Metro Vancouver. Even in my case, it is challenging to make enough money to cover living expenses, let alone save for the future. With all the time and energy needed to succeed in school, there is little left to earn enough money to live.

The job market is rough. I am fortunate to make a decent income working in a restaurant where tips can exceed my wage, but hospitality jobs are often exploitative and mentally and physically tiring. It has been difficult to cope with work stressors while also maintaining the high marks required for my scholarship. The meagre wages of many of my peers reflect the statistic that 53% of workers under 25 make minimum wage. Typically female jobs (e.g., retail and customer service) pay poorly, with

women being 63% of minimum wage workers. It takes 550 hours of minimum wage work just to pay tuition, three times more than the previous generation, never mind paying for rent and food!

My future is unclear. I am studying psychology and sociology with the goal of pursuing social work. Like many, I will be forced to choose between a job that is fulfilling versus one that provides financial stability. Social workers' essential services, typically "women's work," result in a much lower income than careers requiring equivalent years of schooling and experience.

Between high rent and tuition, low wages and tough job prospects, life after university is often burdened with massive debt and underemployment. We need education that is accessible and a right, not a commodity. We need a rent freeze, low tuition costs and a \$15 hour minimum wage now! That is why I am active in Socialist Alternative.



have introduced themselves as loyal and empathetic LGBTQ allies. At the same time, they sell us their services, products or financial assistance, with campaigns that present what LGBTQ people should consume, live or look like. From banks to alcoholic beverages, constant publicity constructs the ideal queer identity, a submissive consumer willing to do business by taking full advantage of their new social status.

These corporations incessantly swallow LGBTQ members' money, rarely returning money to the communities they exploit. They never donate towards shelters for homeless LGBTQ youth, substance abuse counselling, the eradication of hate crimes, educational campaigns addressing homophobia and transphobia, or supporting the development of a healthy LGBTQ

culture separate from our capacity to consume. Of course, they oppose paying higher corporate taxes to provide publicly funded services to tackle the deep inequality and prejudice that is the LGBTQ reality.

Supporting gay rights and making money out of gay people are two very different things. Corporations' acceptance ends where economic class begins. Corporate rainbow flags, colourful necklaces and flamboyant floats during Pride week or congratulatory ads in social media do not change our relation with capitalism, which is simply a business relation. Corporate advertising dominates Pride, sending into the shadows the few real LGBTQ members who are there.

We need to reclaim Pride to continue the unfinished fight for liberation.

Canadian Economy: Trouble Ahead

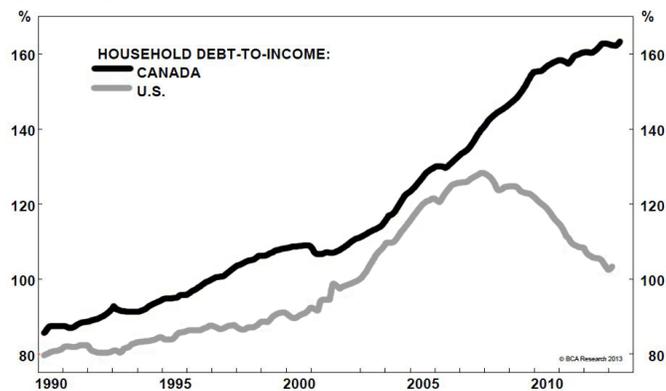
Tim Heffernan

"The only certainty is uncertainty" – recent Financial Post headline

On the surface, things seem to be going well for the Canadian economy – the worst of the recession is over, 290,000 jobs have been created, Alberta's unemployment has declined a little, and the unprecedented construction boom continues, particularly in Toronto and Vancouver. At the same time, GDP is projected to grow by 3.5% for 2017 and 3.6% for 2018, unemployment is decreasing and average hourly wages are going up, if only slowly. The Bank of Canada has increased lending rates twice in three months after being frozen for seven years, indicating that the age of cheap money is coming to an end. This Canadian story fits into the claims of a generally improving global economy.

So why the uncertainty? Essentially, because Canada doesn't call the shots. The domestic economy is open to outside threats such as a Trump-led trade war around NAFTA negotiations, the impact of Brexit's implementation on Canadian exports and the chances of another world financial bubble burst. Globally there are serious concerns about a new crash. Internally, there is the uncertain property market, huge personal debt and the pressure on governments to carry out further cuts.

These vulnerabilities are in the context of the underlying weaknesses of the last 30 years, including low levels of investment and productivity growth, which show no signs of being reversed. Most domestic demand is driven by consumers, based on credit, debt and the high property values. Statistics Canada reported that in 2016 two-thirds of all of Canada's GDP relies on household spending and residential investment.



Even with the recent relatively good news, serious capitalist commentators recognize that there is no chance of a return to the post-war boom of 1945 to 1973. The best that capitalism can offer, if it avoids a crash, is episodic and sluggish growth with stagnant living standards for most, continuing attacks on public services, young people being priced out of decent accommodation, more stressful work for those that do have jobs in this gig economy and a growing inequality between the haves and have nots. Lots of good reasons for a socialist alternative.

Indigenous Women's Inquiry in Crisis

Leslie Kemp



Indigenous people are dismayed at the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. It took years of work to win the Inquiry but it is failing.

Francyne D. Joe, of the Native Women's Association of Canada stated, "The Inquiry spent months getting advice from families and international human rights bodies and this is not reflected in its structure." She called for "a trauma-informed process with a human rights-based approach," instead of the current "legalistic approach" with "multiple bureaucratic barriers to the participation of families" and "the needlessly intense vetting process."

One of the five commissioners, Marilyn Poitras, a Métis lawyer, and several senior staff have resigned. The Ontario Native Women's Association withdrew its support for the inquiry in its current format and approach. The Assembly of First Nations debated either to call for all the commissioners to resign or a complete reset of the Inquiry, deciding on a reset.

The Inquiry is supposed to conduct a deep review on all the causes of violence against Indigenous women and girls. However, it cannot reopen police investigations. It is criticized for its colonial and western legalistic processes, in-fighting among the commissioners, poor communication, slow progress, and creating barriers for victims' families.

The families of those who have disappeared or were murdered deserve much better. It will take more than this Inquiry to tackle the institutionalized racism of the Canadian state and Canada's colonialism. Indigenous people, with solidarity from non-Indigenous people, still have to struggle to eradicate these from society.

Fight for \$15: Good and Bad News

Chris Fofonoff

The fight for a decent minimum wage is scoring big victories, but also stalling. The foremost win is the Ontario Liberals' about-face before the 2018 election, announcing that the province's \$11.40 minimum wage will increase to \$15 an hour by January 2019. Fully 30% of the workers in Canada's largest province will get a raise, 2.8 million people. Premier Wynne also agreed to better emergency leave, vacation time, and shift-scheduling. The \$15 and Fairness campaign and low-paid workers in Ontario, especially around the Workers' Action Centre in Toronto, have much reason for celebration and confidence.

Alberta's NDP government will reach \$15 by the end of 2018. With Ontario and Alberta, half of all Canadians will have \$15 by early 2019. A huge gain.

Minneapolis won \$15 in July when a worker-unfriendly Democratic city council finally reversed their pro-poverty tack and bowed to well-organized public pressure.

However, the advance is not uniform and without interruption, nor should we expect it to be when huge profits, made from poverty wages, are threatened. In the US, the Missouri Republicans lowered St. Louis's minimum wage from \$10 to a sickening \$7.70.

The new NDP government in BC has shamefully retreated on their election pledge of \$15 by 2021, bowing to pressure from the Greens and big business. The half million BC workers on less than \$15 need action now. Workers need better workplace protections, easier unionization and expansion of the rights of particularly vulnerable workers. The NDP-affiliated BC Federation of Labour (BC Fed) has criticized the

new government's foot-dragging, calling for \$15 in a year. Otherwise, the Ontario Liberals will be better on the minimum wage than the NDP!

The NDP are kicking the can with a vaguely defined "fair wages commission." Green leader Andrew Weaver said, "Empowering the commission to determine how and when the minimum wage is increased is absolutely crucial to depoliticizing the setting of minimum wage in BC." The minimum wage is not a sterile, technocratic matter of finding the fairest balance to make everything most efficient – it is political.

The first big boost to the fight for \$15 was the victory in Seattle led by Socialist Alternative's councillor Kshama Sawant. Socialist Alternative was central to the victory in Minneapolis. The BC Fed launched the first \$15 campaign in Canada in November 2014. Socialist Alternative was there at the start of the BC campaign and has been active ever since.

While these important gains in Canada and parts of the US have not been mainly through strikes and industrial action, the pressure on politicians shows that the public wants to tackle poverty.

The lesson of \$15 is that struggle pays off. Without all the hours of hard work, the minimum wage would still be stuck at around \$10 – \$11 in most of Canada. However, there is still a battle to win \$15 in all of Canada.



Toronto Airport Workers Fight

Tim Heffernan interviewed Harjinder Badial, Vice President, Local 419



On July 27, 700 members of Teamsters Local 419 started a strike at Toronto's Pearson airport against Swissport, which services some 30 airlines. The workers, mainly ground staff, rejected the company's initial offer by 95%. On August 23, the members voted 98% against a new company offer, similar to the original, but with a \$14 an hour maximum wage for some workers! The main chant on the picket line is: "Respect, Benefits, Wages."

Respect: "They don't treat our members with respect. I mean they think they are at a very high level and all our members are at the bottom. The company hired security guards to sit in the lunchroom for 24 hours simply to watch the employees."

Benefits: "The company introduced an 'hours requirement,' for all employees – you have to complete a certain number of hours to qualify for benefits for the following year. That is designed to limit the participation of the employees in the benefits program."

Wages: "It was the company that raised the issue of low wages, citing the high rate of turnover. Currently we start at \$11.60 an hour. The company offered to increase it to \$14, yet all Ontario workers will be getting \$14 in January 2018 with the increased minimum wage. It doesn't resolve the problem the company was trying to address."

"Our colleagues at Air Canada make anywhere from \$26 to \$28 an hour – at the top end of the scale while our members, doing identical work, make \$20 and change."

Contact at: www.teamsters419.ca

BC's New NDP Government Retreats Already?

Zak Shilling



BC Fed's Irene Lanzinger presents John Horgan, BC's new Premier, with \$15 petition signed by 56,000 people

After 16 years, the BC Liberals are defeated and there is an NDP government. Unfortunately, it is a minority, reliant on three Greens.

Already this has caused a worrying NDP retreat. A key pledge was a \$15 minimum wage by 2021, which was already too long a timeline. The NDP has dropped this deadline under pressure from the Greens.

Although the NDP made some important election promises, it did not run a Corbyn-style campaign with a bold platform and large enthusiastic rallies. The NDP's share of the vote remained the same at 40%. It made gains in Metro Vancouver, but lost seats in the interior, because it did not have a strong jobs program. The NDP's weakness allowed the Greens to make the big gains, doubling their vote to 16%, giving them the balance of power. The NDP and Greens agreed to govern with 44 seats against the Liberals 43.

The defeated Christy Clark clung to power. The Liberals claimed that since an NDP-Green government should provide the supposedly neutral house speaker, they would not have a majority. Then they tried a desperate and cynical shift leftward, suddenly supporting long-opposed policies including \$1 billion for childcare, \$100 a month increase in welfare and campaign finance reform. None of this prevented the loss of the confidence vote and Christy Clark resigned.

The NDP-Green agreement outlines some positive but limited reforms. They have sent Site C dam for review, and promised a poverty reduction plan and electoral reform. Yet, each reform has a catch.

Welfare, increased from \$610 to \$710 a month, is still pitiful. The NDP's promise of 114,000 new homes raises the question: will the homes be in the hands of private investors seeking profits, or will they belong to the people to meet their needs? The NDP will not reverse the huge Liberal tax cuts to the rich, continuing to starve public services of needed funds.

These cautious policies and retreats come when the new government has every reason to be bold. Clark's departure leaves the Liberals preoccupied with a leadership race, resulting in roughly a year without a coordinated opposition.

The retreat on \$15 shows that unions and activists have to step up pressure to force the NDP to take advantage of this opportunity, deliver election promises and create bold and needed change.

Sears Sours on Workers

Tim Heffernan & Chris Fofonoff

In June, Sears Canada announced the closure of 59 stores, killing 2,900 jobs. People might shrug this off as the latest brick-and-mortar store falling victim to internet sales.

However, for Sears workers (mostly non-unionized women) and their families, it is the grim reality of capitalist injustice. Sears said there would be no severance pay for the employees, some with 40 years working for Sears. On top, Sears wants to halt payments for pension, health and dental benefits for laid-off employees, retirees and surviving spouses, "due to a severe cash crunch."

Rose Dalessandro, a Sears worker for 20 years, had to cancel her children's dentist appointments after her severance pay was cut. "I can't pay for them. We're very, very upset." Zobeida Maharaj, after 28 years, has lost her job, her severance pay and maybe her house, as she was going to pay her mortgage with the severance money.

However, the "cash crunch" didn't stop Sears finding \$9 million for bonuses to senior management. Sears stated this is so "key employees [are] motivated with performance indicators and incentives to successfully close stores."

The Sears staff association extracted a paltry \$500,000 from the company for a "hardship fund" to help those in the most precarious financial situations. The Companies' Creditors Arrangement Act allows Sears to treat creditors generously and ensure the managerial staff gets their bonuses, while the lowly workers get little or nothing.

Employment lawyer David Vaughan explained that under "normal circumstances" people who worked for 30 years and are in their 50s and 60s would get 24 months severance pay and be "entitled to \$50,000 to \$100,000 [but will get only] a few thousand dollars."

God forbid that the money that is rightfully due to these workers should eat into the payouts of shareholders and the executives whose sterling business skills drove Sears into the ditch!

The NDP Leadership Race

Jim Sugiyama



After the 2015 election defeat, the federal NDP is at a critical juncture choosing a new leader. For years, the NDP pruned its socialist roots, compromising with neoliberalism. The Orange Wave of 2011 was due to the simultaneous collapse of the Liberal's and Bloc's votes, and Layton's personal appeal. Reality returned in 2015 with the NDP tumbling back to earth, as the Liberals seemed the more radical party.

To challenge the Liberals in 2019, the NDP needs policies and approaches that meet the needs of working people. The party needs to galvanize its dormant grassroots and inspire even wider.

The candidates, Charlie Angus, Niki Ashton, Guy Caron and Jagmeet Singh, have all voiced more radical stances on economic justice, electoral reform and Indigenous Rights. However, three served under Mulcair and did not criticize the weak 2015 campaign. Singh has a weak stance on pipelines and supports means testing for seniors. He has charisma, but is he committed?

NDP membership tripled from March 2017 to 124,000, but there is no sign of a dramatic left surge. In the 2012 leadership election, membership reached 128,000 only to collapse. Will this happen again? Basing the election on new members weakens the influence of party members who actually do the work, and often reduces the election to a popularity contest.

There is not a Corbyn, Mélenchon or Sanders amongst the four candidates. Ashton has spoken most clearly about socialism and the need for more radical policies. Socialist Alternative would welcome an Ashton victory; however, it is not clear she would break with the past failures. The best way to challenge Trudeau and the Liberals is to adopt a bold socialist platform, get rid of the failed NDP inner circle and build a mass movement.

What Makes Me Angry

Larry Hyink

I'm in BC's interior. Smoke is all around but no evacuation alerts, not within 50 kilometres. Hundreds of millions of dollars of homes, livestock, infrastructure and forest have gone up in smoke. Talking heads call it "the new normal." That's bullshit, of course. Really, this is a good day compared to the coming global warming hell.

In theory, Canada has signed the Paris accord, bad old Stephen Harper is toast and we're on the road to solving climate change. Of course, that's bullshit too.

The Liberals and Saint Justin the Cool plan to make Canada carbon neutral. Hallelujah! But wait! To pay for it we need more pipelines, more tar sands oil and more carbon into the air.

Typical of the Liberals. They don't deny global warming, just treat it as a photo op and do nothing. So it was with past Liberal Prime Ministers, Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin, so it is with Justin.

The Liberals aren't about tackling climate change, just about corporate profits. Hundreds of thousands of green union jobs could be created by focusing on wind, solar and geothermal alternatives. We could start paying for this by chopping tax breaks and subsidies given to the fossil fuel industry. We need to get serious and stop fiddling while Canada burns.



Hockey Night in Capitalism

Scotiabank is paying \$800 million for naming rights to the Toronto Maple Leafs' and Raptors' arena – money gained from ripping off customers, pressuring staff to sell unneeded policies, and pillaging Central America and the Caribbean. MLSE, the teams' owner, is already Canada's richest sports enterprise, with an average hockey ticket costing \$368. Both Scotiabank and MLSE deserve no less than a game misconduct – full seizure by working people and fans.

October Revolution: Workers Take Power in Russia - All Power to Soviets

In October 1917, the workers, with support of the poor peasants, took power in Russia. The ruling minority were out of power. For the first and only time in history, the majority of people were in charge of a country.

In the February revolution, as in all revolutions, the mass of people entered the stage of history. February produced unstable dual power divided between the Soviets and the Provisional Government. The Soviets (councils) were democratic and directly elected delegates of workers, soldiers and peasants. The Provisional Government, nominally in charge, was made up of unelected, self-appointed liberal, capitalist and moderate socialist politicians.

February's slogans were "Peace, Bread and Land." Months later none of these demands had been realized: the war continued, the feudal lords still held the land, and the workers and peasants were hungry.

What Sort of Revolution?

In February, the moderate socialists, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries (SRs), a peasant-based party, won a majority in the Soviets. Their road seemed easy to the workers and peasants; elect us and we will deliver the demands of the revolution.

The Mensheviks and SRs thought Russia was too backward, a feudal society lacking in modern industry, to become a socialist society. Their view was that capitalists had to lead Russia, distribute land and develop the economy, while the workers and peasants would be a loyal opposition pushing for democratic and social reforms.

However, the capitalist class in Russia was weak, tied to Russia's feudal lords and the international capitalists. Tied to feudalism, they refused to give land to the peasants. Tied to international capitalism, they continued the war. Fearful of the masses, they refused to mobilize the workers and peasants to end feudalism and foreign domination. The capitalists hated dual power, as it meant that the workers, soldiers and



peasants had some control over the government. They preferred to crush the revolution rather than complete it.

In February, the Bolsheviks were a minority in the Soviets. After Lenin's return from exile in April, the Bolsheviks' program was "All Power to the Soviets." They agreed with the Mensheviks that Russia was backward and mainly feudal. However, they argued that the capitalists were incapable of leading the revolution to deliver the key demands or to develop a modern capitalist country with democratic rights, free

labour unions, land distribution, etc. The Bolsheviks and Trotsky, who joined the Bolsheviks in July, argued that only the working class, with the support of the poor peasants, could finish the February revolution.

As the Mensheviks and SRs failed to deliver, the Bolsheviks patiently and consistently campaigned for "Peace, Bread and Land," and "All Power to the Soviets." The Bolsheviks' leadership in defeating the coup led by Kornilov, the head of the army, resulted in them winning a majority in Soviets across Russia.

Internationalism was central to the Bolsheviks' outlook. The war was provoking a revolutionary mood in Europe; a successful revolution in Russia would turn this mood into revolutions. Workers' governments in Russia and more developed and industrialized countries, such as Germany, could develop a socialist society.

Russian Tinderbox

In autumn 1917 Russia was a tinderbox, with all the unresolved contradictions and tensions at breaking point.

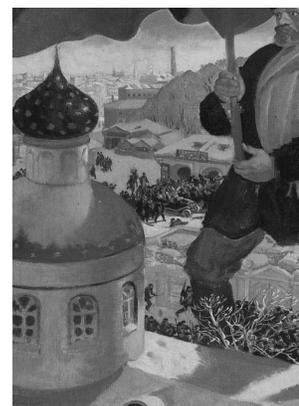
The peasants, tired of waiting for land, increasingly seized land and machinery and sometimes destroyed the feudal lords' mansions. The oppressed nationalities, weary of continued Russian oppression, were beginning to turn away from the revolution to support nationalist leaders, often reactionary and chauvinist feudal lords. As the war dragged on, the army was disintegrating with over two million desertions, refusals to carry out orders and the killing of officers. In the cities, the workers were impatient for change.

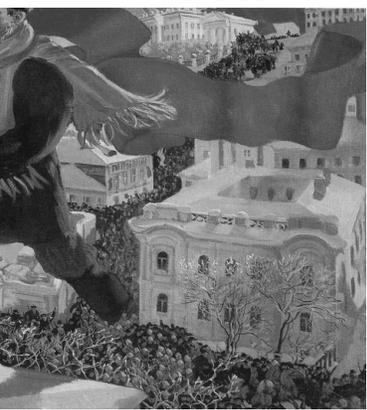
The Provisional Government was unable to act on any of the issues of society and its authority was draining away.

Defend the Revolution: All Power to Soviets

All the contradictions of dual power and the unfinished revolution were at boiling point. There was a grave danger that the revolution would disintegrate into sporadic peasant uprisings, nationalist breakaways with reactionary governments, army mutinies and workers' demoralization. Lenin urged the Bolsheviks to take power to save the revolution.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Kerensky, an SR, prepared to crush the Bolsheviks, ordering troops loyal to the Petrograd Soviet to the front while moving troops supposedly loyal to the





Provisional Government towards Petrograd.

The all-Russia Congress of Soviets was called for October 25 (November 7 in the new calendar). Would it meet with the workers in power or be surrounded by a ring of anti-Soviet troops? Kerensky sent out futile orders to troops to crush the Soviets, which were defied, and to close the Bolshevik

printing press – again defied.

Mass meetings of workers and soldiers across Petrograd all voiced the view “we can go no farther, we must break a road into the future.” They demanded the Soviets take power and finish the revolution.

The Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, with Trotsky’s leadership, acted to deliver workers’ power. The committee ensured that the soldiers and navy supported the Soviets. Groups of soldiers, sailors and workers’ militias peacefully ensured that the Soviets controlled all key installations in Petrograd – railways, banks, stock exchange, telephone, etc. There was no resistance – the Provisional Government had lost all support among the masses. Even most of the army officers refused to defend it. The Provisional government was arrested without resistance. Right-winger, Nabokov wrote, “The ease with which Lenin and Trotsky overthrew the [Provisional Government] revealed its impotence.”

On October 25, the Congress of Soviets gathered, overwhelmingly delegates of the people: poor men and women, unshaven soldiers in battered boots and coats, workers in worn out clothes, all tired and hungry – for food and change. Immediately the Congress agreed to end the war, give land to the peasants, take control of production and more. The congress did more in hours than the Provisional Government had done in months.

There were many complications ahead, but for the first time in history, the people had power in their hands. The October revolution was the voice of the masses. However, without the Bolsheviks it would have ended in blood, a new coup crushing all those hopes and dreams. The Bolsheviks over the months patiently explained the need to finish the revolution, steadily won support in the Soviets and the army, organized Kornilov’s defeat, and planned and lead the Soviets to take power.



Revolution Unleashes a Social and Cultural Explosion *Aiden Lum Sisler*

The Russian Revolution unleashed an explosion of social liberation, science and culture, lifting previously downtrodden women, workers, peasants and national minorities to new heights.

State oppression of women, gays, Jews and nationalities was abolished. Women had full equality, with abortion available on demand and divorce made easy. Public childcare and laundries were established to end domestic servitude. Sixteen weeks of paid maternity leave was established; the US still has no paid parental leave. Homosexuality was legalized, with recognition of same-sex marriage and gender-affirming surgery started.

The many oppressed nationalities were freed from the Tsarist “prison house,” granted the right of self-determination. People learned their native languages in school. Alphabets were developed for languages previously without writing. By 1924, books were published in 25 languages. Jews were prominent in the new government, in contrast to the once rampant anti-Semitism.

Culture, described by Trotsky as “the totality of the works of humankind,” was open to the millions. The new workers’ state set off a surge of artistic and scientific fervour among the many.

Theatre, once only for the privileged, went to the people. Public sculptures, paintings, murals and banners proliferated. Everywhere was experimentation in art. Universities, schools, museums and art houses opened their doors to the people. The new Public Library in Leningrad quickly became the world’s largest with 4,250,000 books, many from formerly private collections.



The promotion of science and technology alongside the opening of education to all led to many discoveries. Public health programs and services brought positive, cascading and far-reaching effects. The children of illiterate peasants became rocket scientists.

In 1921, the workers’ government, with Lenin’s strong support, ordered the protection of “significant areas of nature.” Soviet ecological understanding led the world, with Vernadsky’s seminal book on the interdisciplinary study of life, *The Biosphere*, published in 1926.

While Stalin’s betrayal of the revolution trampled underfoot these early gains, the achievements demonstrate some of the possibilities when humanity is unshackled from the oppressive conditions of capitalism.

The Rising of Women

Leslie Kemp



On January 21, the biggest single-day protest in US history took place. A half-million people participated in the Women's March on Washington and at least another three million people at 400 events across the US. This massive outpouring onto the streets was in direct response to the election of a misogynist to the most powerful office in the world. Donald Trump's countless sexist and demeaning comments and boasts about his sexually-abusive behaviour outraged millions of women and men.

This colossal protest was worldwide, with five million women and men marching. The signs proclaimed *I'm with her*, *A woman's place is in the resistance*, *The power of the people is stronger than the people in power*, *Power to the Pussy*, *There is no force equal to a woman determined to rise* and *The Future is Female*.

These protests raise the question: is a new broader movement afoot? Women (and men) were not simply protesting, they were demanding change. They called for immigration, healthcare and environmental reforms; workers', reproductive and LGBTQ rights; and racial and women's equality.

Many of these reforms and rights were near the top of the political agenda in the 1970s. Yet decades after winning reproductive rights in many countries, after formal employment equity policies and other reforms to improve women's lives were put in place, women are still struggling. Women's economic position lags far behind men's. They earn less money and work in more part-time and precarious jobs. The burden of household work and caring for children and other family members falls disproportionately on women, made worse by cuts to public services. Women continue to face sexual harassment, violence and objectifying of their bodies. Over three decades of neo-liberalism has reduced living standards, while

increasing austerity and inequality.

Capitalism challenges and chips away at reforms claiming they are too costly. Capitalism relies on the double oppression of women: as workers and as women. The dogma of neoliberalism argues that the market, not democratic planning, delivers benefits. It is an insidious plot to minimize taxes on the rich and safety regulations, and privatize public services. The rich benefit at the expense of the rest of us, leading to a massive global growth in inequality.

Women are pushing back and a new feminist movement is taking root based on mass movements that fight for social change. Mainstream feminism – the individual-based feminism of breaking the glass ceiling to corporate power – is no answer.

Protests and strikes in Poland last year forced the government to retreat on its proposed anti-abortion laws. In Brazil, at least 20,000 women demonstrated and went on strike this year. The struggle against femicide was a central theme of marches across South America, under the slogan of "Ni una a menos" ("Not one fewer"). Women's Day marches in Iceland, Greece, Hong Kong, Pakistan, Italy, Norway, Australia and Germany saw tens of thousands of women marching in the streets.

In Ireland and Belgium, socialist feminism is growing with ROSA (Resistance against Oppression, Sexism and Austerity) fighting for women's reproductive rights and reforms. In Ireland, the constitution bans abortion.

As socialists, we celebrate a hundred years since women textile workers in Petrograd walked out of their factories on International Working Women's Day and sparked the revolution that ended Tsarism and led to the ousting of capitalism and landlordism across Russia. We know that women's equality will never be won under capitalism. Socialism is necessary to deliver women's rights and a decent standard of living for all of us. The rising of women means the rising of us all. Like Russian women a hundred years ago, it is bread we fight for, but we fight for roses, too.

Socialist Alternative Canada is part of the Committee for a Workers' International (CWI), organizing in 45 countries around the world.

We are involved in struggles for better wages and basic union rights; to protect the environment; for women's rights; and against war, racism and oppression.

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Jobstown is Innocent, Paul Murphy centre

Québec Solidaire Makes Gains

Martin LeBrun

With the provincial election a year away, recent polls show disillusionment with the Liberals and the Parti Québécois (PQ) – parties of big business, corruption and austerity. Polls show a historic rejection of Québec’s traditional parties: Liberals 31% and PQ 22%, compared to centre-right Coalition Avenir Québec 28% and new left party Québec Solidaire (QS) 15%.

Since QS elected Gabriel Nadeau Dubois (GND), a well-known activist of the 2012 mass movement, as its male spokesperson at its May congress, the party has gained thousands of new members and leapt in the opinion polls.

The congress voted by over 60% against a pact with the PQ. Yet many in QS’s leadership, including GND, continue to be interested in an alliance, despite three congresses rejecting the idea. Instead, these leaders should examine why QS only has three elected deputies, has yet to break out of its white-collar, intellectual base, and is not stepping up its involvement in everyday struggles.

Manon Massé, QS’s female spokesperson, takes part in grassroots struggles, such as fighting for a \$15 minimum wage, but this has to be the orientation of the entire party if it is to become an alternative to corporate politics.

Québec’s militancy continues. In March, 175,000 construction workers held a three-day general strike against attacks on overtime and seniority before being legislated back to work.

The PQ’s rightward shift has opened a huge opportunity for QS to win significant support from workers who previously backed the PQ. To seize this, it will require stepping up campaigns between elections and rallying workers, feminists and youth into a unified left-wing party. If QS adopted Corbyn’s and Mélenchon’s approach of bold radical class-based policies and strong campaigning, this would unify and strengthen Québec’s movements and give them a political voice in elections.

Lessons from Jobstown, Ireland

Interview with Paul Murphy, Irish Socialist MP

Chantal Ide and Fred Collins, Alternative Socialiste and Leslie Kemp, Socialist Alternative Canada, talked with Paul Murphy at the CWI European School this summer

After a protest against water charges in Jobstown, a working class area of Dublin, the state charged 17 people with false imprisonment. On June 29, the first jury trial of 6 people, including Socialist Party MP Paul Murphy, delivered a not-guilty verdict. .

Q: What was the impact of Jobstown on the movement against austerity? What are the long-term implications of this?

“It would be a bit naive to say the attacks on Jobstown and the attempted criminalization of protest didn’t have some impact. It is a very polarizing issue in Ireland. There are sections of better-paid workers who do think what happened in that protest was ugly. But the other side, and it’s the dominant side, partly because of the not guilty verdict, is a reinforcement amongst people of an understanding of how the state operates, how the media operates. The water charges struggle is the big, big turning point in the redevelopment of class consciousness, the development of the left, and the Socialist Party as the leading force in that.

“Jobstown is a key point in elevating consciousness even further with a deeper understanding of how rigged the system is against ordinary people and how you need to campaign in order to win. The dominant sentiment of people in response to Jobstown is it’s “them and us” – they tried to beat us, they tried to punish us because we beat them on the water charges – but we beat them. It reinforces a sense of class division, the need for class politics, etc. On the whole, it was positive.”

Q: Was it revenge?

“It was revenge but it was also something more calculated. All the pillars of capitalist rule in Ireland were being undermined or under threat. The establishment political parties went from having 80, 90% of the vote 20 years ago to having less than 50%. The political parties have been undermined, the church has been dramatically undermined, the police have been undermined, the media has been undermined. And then you have this mass movement of civil disobedience. This is very scary for the establishment.

“They fear this could be the start of a broader movement. They look around the world and see big left movements. They know that in Ireland the real threat comes from the Socialist Party. And so it was revenge but also it was calculated to try to stop us before we develop more momentum. Our job is to make them pay for that by making gains. We are identified as a very capable enemy of them and of their rule. We need to build a party and a movement, if we want to end their rule and have a left government with socialist policies.”

Charlottesville Reawakens Resistance – Drive out Trump

Patrick Ayers, *Socialist Alternative US*



Over 40,000 people marched in Boston against the “alt-right,” just days after the racist demonstration in Charlottesville, which culminated in the murder of Heather Heyer. Anti-racist actions have swept the US, demanding the removal of statues and monuments to the Confederate slave-owners’ government.

In Durham, North Carolina a crowd of hundreds, both black and white, tore down a statue, winning support across the US for their daring. Since then, many local governments have taken down monuments, sometimes in the dead of night. The response to Charlottesville shows the potential for building a massive opposition in the streets to both the far-right and Trump.

Trump’s refusal to condemn the racist demonstration in Charlottesville has convinced millions of the need to drive his bigoted administration out of office.

In July, Trump and the Republicans were severely defeated, several times, in their attempt to gut the healthcare system, a major blow to their agenda. At the same time, the crisis within Trump’s administration continues, with many members leaving or being forced out.

After Trump refused to condemn Charlottesville, a number of CEOs left Trump’s two business councils and Trump had to dissolve them completely. Trump has also faced public opposition from within his own administration.

Trump, more isolated than ever, is unpredictable. He remains incredibly dangerous and capable of whipping up further attacks, but also provoking further mass opposition.

The ruling class does not control Trump, but they hope members of his administration will keep him

in check. The crisis in North Korea, itself under an unpredictable and threatening leader, is especially worrying. The humanitarian crisis around hurricane-devastated Houston is another challenge.

The investigation into ties between Russia and Trump’s election campaign continues, and will be a source of potential crisis. While 40% of the population supports impeachment, it is unlikely to happen at this stage, partly because it is difficult to impeach. The ruling class are unwilling to go down that road at this stage as they fear a crisis of their system more than anything else.

However, if political tensions in the US continue to escalate, impeachment could begin in the streets, long before the timid, corrupt and billionaire dominated establishment do anything.

There has been an explosion of people interested in socialism with the Democratic Socialists of America growing to 25,000 members, Sanders continuing to be the most popular politician in the US and Socialist Alternative gaining support.

Socialist Alternative US: socialistalternative.org

Venezuela's Revolution in Danger

Leslie Kemp from Venezuelan CWI reports

The revolutionary gains of the Venezuelan working class are under threat. Redistributing oil wealth reduced poverty and improved health and education. These gains were defended in 2002 by the masses against the capitalists’ attempted coup.

The collapse of oil prices has devastated Venezuela. It imports 80% of consumer goods so there are severe shortages of food and other consumer goods. Inflation is at over 700% (3,000% for food) and poverty and unemployment are rampant, inflicting untold hardship on the people. This tragedy could have been prevented if the Chavez government had completed the “Bolivarian revolution” begun in 1999.

Contrary to the Western media, Maduro, who became President in 2013 on Chavez’s death, has made many concessions to the capitalists. They demand price increases, limits to workers’ participation, payment of the public debt and opening the economy to foreign capital.

Maduro lost his majority in the National Assembly in late 2015 to the MUD (the right and far-right coalition). He called for a Constituent Assembly in May 2017 to strengthen his grip on power. However, this Constituent Assembly has nothing to do with developing organs of workers’ power. This relies on workers’ councils, which arise from the strong independent struggle of the workers

European Socialist Resurgence

Bill Hopwood from European CWI reports



Jeremy Corbyn's election campaign shocked the establishment. Both Prime Minister May and Labour's many right-wing MPs thought the election would finish Corbyn, as he began it trailing by 20%. His inspiring campaign, with a radical manifesto and huge public rallies, took the campaign to the people, ignoring the media. He stormed to 40% of the vote, the most votes for Labour since 1977, and nearly defeated the Tories. Young people overwhelmingly voted for Corbyn. May and Labour's right-wing are humiliated. Now Corbyn needs to defeat the right-wing MPs who collaborate with

themselves. Measures from above can never achieve this, especially not by a government, which at the same time is seeking deals with the ruling class.

The Constituent Assembly elections in July took place amid a campaign of threats and violence from US imperialism and the MUD. Capitalist governments around the world said they would refuse to recognize the results. MUD called for a boycott of the elections and on the day threatened voters, blocked access to voting centres and even organized a terrorist attack in Caracas. In the weeks of street violence, over 120 people have died.

The millions of people who voted in defiance of imperialism and the MUD shows there is still the potential to defeat the counter-revolution, if the working class leads the resistance. This is what the bourgeois and imperialism fear.

However, the triumph of the counter-revolution in Venezuela is a real possibility. If the Maduro government was applying genuinely socialist policies, giving power to the working class and poor, ending corruption and the sabotage of the capitalists and state bureaucracy, it would be relatively easy to defeat the counter-revolutionary plans and save the Bolivarian revolution from defeat and bureaucratic degeneration. However, this is not the case.

Workers and the poor, who pushed the revolution forward in the past and defended it against the attacks of imperialism and counter-revolution, must mobilize and organize independently to defend their revolutionary gains.

the ruling class, by mobilizing the 550,000 members.

In France, Mélenchon and his party Insoumise nearly upset the establishment. Coming from nowhere, he gained nearly 20% of the vote, only 600,000 votes short of reaching the second round of the Presidential elections. As with Corbyn, Mélenchon had a radical platform, held mass rallies, and did well among young voters. In the second round of the Presidential elections, between the ultra-right Le Pen and the right Macron, most people either didn't vote or voted for no candidate. Already Macron, the victor, faces mass opposition.

In the Spanish state, the establishment is in crisis. The new left party, Podemos, soared to the third largest party in the parliament in the 2015 election. This provoked a crisis in PSOE, the former workers' party, with the membership moving left. Sánchez's landslide victory for the PSOE leadership is a major defeat of the party's bureaucratic leadership and the ruling class.

Elections are not the only sign of the emboldened left. Podemos came out of mass protest. In Ireland, the ruling class is reeling, suffering defeats in the ballot box, on the streets and in the courts. In Hamburg, 76,000 people protested against the G20 summit in July.

This leftward shift is due to material conditions: loss of good, full-time jobs; rising personal debt; increasing cost of living while services are cut; and widespread austerity. The impact of the collapse of Stalinism, now nearly 30 years ago, is fading as a new generation takes to struggle.

The balance of forces has changed with millions of workers, youth and sections of the middle classes turning to the left looking for a solution to this intolerable situation. Sanders, Corbyn, Mélenchon, etc., are part of similar movements which influence each other across borders.

These new movements and parties are inexperienced and will make mistakes, some tragic such as Syriza in Greece. However, the pressure for radical change to end neoliberalism, and a rising tide of class consciousness and protest will continue to grow. The CWI is part of these struggles and argues for socialist solutions to the crisis.

Westray Mining Disaster

Murray Hancock

The Westray Mine explosion of May 9, 1992 killed 26 miners in Canada's worst industrial disaster since 1958. Westray is part of the long history of mining disasters across Canada and characteristic of Nova Scotia's place on the periphery of the Canadian economy.

The mine opened in 1991, funded by the Nova Scotia government, and operated by Curragh Resources, a private company based in Ontario. The company failed to ventilate the mine tunnels properly, and disabled the shaft's methane detectors because "they kept going off." Miners often worked over 12 hours each shift, and the coal was only "stonedusted," to reduce flammability, during overtime hours. Management insisted that the miners only had to stonedust sporadically to save time and money. There were many warnings of the dangers, all ignored.

The Nova Scotia government was sued by the victims' families for bankrolling the project, but the province was protected from lawsuits under the misnamed Workers' Compensation Act. Curragh Resources was charged with operating an unsafe workplace, but the violations were considered "non-criminal" and not subject to jail time. When the Nova Scotia government finally launched an inquiry, the Curragh's owners refused to testify, and faced no consequences. Westray is a reminder of Nova Scotia's history of chronic unemployment and poverty.

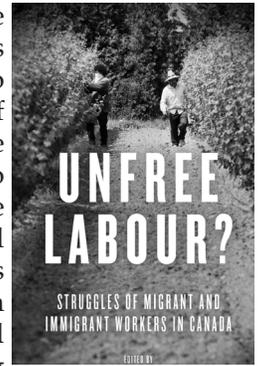
A new coalmine, Donkin Mine, opened in Nova Scotia this year and already has many safety violations. Companies continue to overlook safety concerns in the name of profitability, while the government turns a blind eye. When disaster inevitably occurs, the laws protect the owners and they walk away free.



Unfree Labour?

Book Review by Jim Sugiyama

Unfree Labour? tells the experiences and struggles of temporary workers, who are shackled by the refusal of residency or citizenship. The bosses exploit all workers to make profits. These unfree workers – Seasonal Agricultural Workers, Live-In Care Providers and Lower Skills Occupation Pilot Project – are super exploited and used to attack working conditions of many. They are mainly women and racialized groups, and have very little protection from union membership or laws, such as minimum wage or the Employment Equity Act.



In 2012, Canada admitted over 50,000 workers under the above-mentioned programs, ten-fold more than the number of refugees that year.

They pick crops, raise the children of the rich, toil in restaurants, process food and clean workplaces. Employers use them to drive down costs. As the government provides them with no social protection, they are extra cheap. These workers are completely precarious, their continued employment dependent on maintaining good health and being in the good graces of employers. If injured or sick, defiant or fired, they are not entitled to EI or sick leave, and face deportation to their homelands.

Labour is a major export of many countries struggling under the ravages of global capitalism that Canadian corporations contribute to and benefit from. Both their leaving and their remittances, estimated to be \$636 billion worldwide in 2017, help sustain their home economies and ease pressure for social change.

The bosses exploit unfree labour and then whip up racism against them. Unions need to unionize these workers and the NDP should say all workers have rights to stay in Canada. "Good enough to work, not good enough to stay," is unacceptable.

Kinder Morgan continued from back page

any boost to production, price or jobs. The main jobs produced will be fighting fires, building dikes and dealing with other climate disasters. A sustained campaign needs to explain that Kinder Morgan providing lasting jobs in Alberta is a pipedream.

If court cases, blockades and persuasion are not enough to stop the pipeline, then economic pressure is necessary. A major oil spill in Vancouver harbour would be a disaster for jobs and the economy – Vancouver would come to a standstill. To prevent this huge damage, a one-day standstill in Metro Vancouver is entirely appropriate. Imagine if the

Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, the BC Federation of Labour, the NDP, and the Mayors of Vancouver, Burnaby and other municipalities called for a one-day shutdown of Metro Vancouver. The economic pressure on Trudeau would be huge.

This is a high stakes battle between the fossil fuel industry and the Federal and Alberta governments against virtually all of BC's people and organizations. Trudeau is willing to lose MPs in Vancouver for this. The campaign needs to ensure the cost of this pipeline time bomb is much higher than a few Liberal MPs, so high the government has to retreat from this economic and ecological insanity.

ABOUT SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE

The Movement Brought Us Back Together

Aiden Lum Sisler



After a year of intense and democratic discussion, Izquierda Revolucionaria (IR), with organizations in the Spanish state, Mexico and Venezuela, has reunified with the Committee for a Workers' International (CWI). Delegates at a special CWI World Congress in Barcelona this July voted unanimously in favour of unification.

The fall of the Soviet Union strengthened the grip of neoliberalism globally and propelled many traditional workers' parties to become openly capitalist or disappear entirely. The changed world provoked a major debate within the CWI. A minority, including IR at that time, refused to accept the reality of the collapse of Stalinism and its impact on the workers' movement and split from the CWI.

IR, engaged in mass and student work in Spain, increasingly questioned the political analysis behind the split. After more than 20 years apart, when IR honestly examined the CWI's policies and approach they found that their experiences of struggle had led them to similar conclusions. They were impressed with the CWI's work in mass struggles, including electing Kshama Sawant and winning \$15, participating in the Sanders' movement, the victory against water charges in Ireland and the activity around Corbyn in Britain.

Over the last year, there has been a transparent and open discussion, which revealed a clear political basis for unification. This is, unfortunately, a rarity among leftist organizations. The merger highlights the ability of revolutionary socialist organizations with roots in the working class to draw similar conclusions based on active struggle.

Retying the knot of IR with the CWI, creating a strengthened revolutionary force, is an historic step towards the liberation of humanity.

What We Stand For

- An end to poverty wages; raise the minimum wage to \$15 per hour
- A 35 hour working week without loss of pay
- A living income for those unable to work
- Reverse the cuts and privatization of public services
- Fully funded, high quality, free public education from early childhood to university
- Massive public investment in clean energy, mass transit, health care, education, affordable housing
- Phase out the tar-sands and nuclear power
- Higher taxes on the rich and corporations
- Democratic unions run by and for the members, with elected union officials paid the same wages as those they represent
- End discrimination – full equality for all
- Equal rights for immigrants and refugees
- The right to self-determination and self-government for all Indigenous peoples, and respect for historical treaties and resource rights
- Scrap NAFTA and other exploitative trade deals
- Democratic public ownership of key sectors of the economy
- A socialist transformation of society to allow for the democratic planning of the economy based on the interests and needs of the overwhelming majority

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HOW TO STOP KINDER MORGAN



Standing Rock Coming to Canada Soon

Bill Hopwood

Trudeau is determined to push the Kinder Morgan pipeline through to Vancouver harbour to feed diluted bitumen onto 400 super tankers a year. The pipeline will leak and spills are almost certain, threatening the ecology of the land and water. The pipeline will accelerate global warming. Yet increasing climate disasters, including BC's worst year for forest fires, have no impact on Trudeau.

BC's new NDP government will boost the resistance to this expensive ecological disaster for BC and the world. The NDP's election platform stated that it "will use every tool in our toolbox to stop the project." However, the NDP will not delay or refuse permits for Kinder Morgan's construction, fearful of being sued.

There are 21 court cases by First Nations and others objecting to the pipeline. The new government will seek intervenor status, supporting the challenges. It has appointed Thomas Berger, a respected judge, as a legal advisor. The government will not allow construction on public land, at least until after the court cases. These are welcome steps. However, the courts do not always defend Indigenous rights, as the Site C dam decision demonstrated. The court cases do provide time to build the resistance that can stop the pipeline.

There will be camps and blockades similar to Standing Rock with over 21,000 people signed up to resist. The province's, First Nations' and Metro

Vancouver municipalities' elected governments must fully support these blockades, ensuring supplies, toilets, etc. Elected leaders should stand on the lines, willing to be arrested. However, as the municipalities and the province largely pay for policing, they should instruct the cities' police and the RCMP that there should be no arrests for non-violent civil disobedience against Kinder Morgan. The agreement between the RCMP and BC states that the RCMP will implement "the provincial policing objectives, priorities and goals as determined by the Provincial Minister."

It is crucial to counter the argument that the pipeline will provide much-needed jobs and boost the Canadian economy, as Trudeau is painting this as BC versus Canada. The pipeline will provide construction jobs for two years, but using the \$7.4 billion, and rising, to build homes, insulate buildings and provide renewable energy would provide far more and longer-term jobs. The pipeline will provide only 50 permanent jobs in BC and 40 in Alberta. A drop in the ocean compared to the thousands of jobs at risk.

Alberta's job losses are because the price of oil has halved in three years to around \$50 a barrel. Trudeau falsely claims that the pipeline would boost the price of tar sand bitumen to near world oil prices. However, bitumen's low price is because it costs much more to refine. The pipeline will not provide

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