

Turn Left Virez à gauche

Voice of the NDP Socialist Caucus / Voix du caucus socialiste NDP

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MAKE THE NDP BOLD AGAIN:
Yves Engler for Federal NDP Leader

Ford's Push for Privatization: Turning Health into a Commodity

Anne Kamath is standing as a Socialist Caucus candidate for Ontario NDP Executive



As a person living with a chronic health condition in Ontario, I am deeply concerned about the growing erosion of our healthcare system under Premier Doug Ford's government. What once was a proud example of public, universally accessible healthcare is now being slowly dismantled in favor of a profit-driven, privatized system. This shift isn't just a matter of policy; it's a matter of life and death for those of us

who rely on public healthcare to manage our health.

Living with a chronic illness like mine means relying on timely, effective care — care that should be guaranteed by a universal healthcare system. However, Doug Ford's government has been underfunding and privatizing Ontario's healthcare services, pushing us further away from the values of equality and justice that healthcare should embody. Rather than treating healthcare as a human right, Ford is turning it into a commodity to be bought and sold, leaving the most vulnerable to fend for themselves.

Ontario's healthcare system is in a state of crisis, and the root cause is clear: underfunding. Ford's cuts to essential healthcare services have left hospitals, long-term care facilities, and specialized medical services in disarray. Wait times are increasing, essential staff are overworked and underpaid, and those who need urgent care are left waiting. For those of us living with chronic conditions, this delay can mean worsening health, pain, and an overall deterioration in quality of life.

Public healthcare should be built on the understanding that health is a fundamental right, not something that should be rationed based on profit. However, Ford's cuts to healthcare

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We must stand together as Ontarians and demand a healthcare system that is built on the values of fairness, equality, and justice. It is time to resist Doug Ford's privatization agenda and fight for a healthcare system that works for everyone, not just the rich and powerful. The health of our province—and our people—depends on it.

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funding have done exactly that—undermining the system so that it can no longer serve the needs of Ontarians. By slashing budgets and ignoring the real needs of the population, the Ford government is forcing us to accept a crumbling system while profiting off its decline.

Privatization will turn healthcare from a right to a privilege, dependent on your ability to pay. It creates a two-tier system where those with financial means can bypass long wait times and access high-quality care, while the rest of us are left with a stripped-down public system that can no longer meet our needs. This is not a solution; it is an outright attack on the values of equality and fairness that should guide our healthcare system.

The danger of privatization is clear: the more healthcare becomes a business, the more people with lower incomes, like many Ontarians, will be left behind. Access to care will no longer be based on medical need, but on how much money you can afford to pay. Those who rely on public services—seniors, low-income families, and people living with chronic conditions—will be forced to navigate a system where their health is no longer a priority.

The Ford government's push toward privatization is only increasing the divide between those who can afford care and those who cannot. People like me, who live with chronic conditions and depend on accessible, timely healthcare, are the first to feel the effects.

This divide is not just theoretical—it is a matter of life and death. Privatization will make it harder for people like me to get the care we need, when we need it. Waiting lists will grow longer, essential treatments will become more expensive, and those who are already marginalized will be excluded from the care they deserve. Healthcare should not be something you have to fight for based on your ability to pay; it should be guaranteed to all.

What Ontario needs is not more privatization, but more investment in public healthcare—healthcare that is publicly funded, publicly delivered, and accountable to the people. We need

a healthcare system that prioritizes people's health over profits, one that ensures equitable access for all, regardless of income or background. The current trajectory under Doug Ford's government, however, is a move in the wrong direction: toward a system that benefits the wealthy and corporate interests, while leaving the rest of us behind.

The future of Ontario's healthcare system depends on a fundamental shift in how we view healthcare. We must reject the idea that healthcare is a commodity to be bought and sold and reaffirm the belief that healthcare is a human right, not

a privilege. Instead of privatizing, we need to expand and strengthen public healthcare, ensuring that everyone, regardless of their financial status, has access to the care they need.

We must stand together as Ontarians and demand a healthcare system that is built on the values of fairness, equality, and justice. It is time to resist Doug Ford's privatization agenda and fight for a healthcare system that works for everyone, not just the rich and powerful. The health of our province—and our people—depends on it. ■

Photo by milan.ilnyckyj



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Whither the NDP? Bold Re-boot or Insider-led Leadership Race

**Tom Baker is a Central
West candidate for
Ontario NDP Executive**



In the aftermath of a crushing electoral defeat, the federal NDP again finds itself facing an existentialist crisis. Over the last four decades, provincial and federal wings of the party have adopted policies that have replaced most progressive aspects of social democracy with rampant third-wave neo-liberalism. This degeneration has come to a head at this extraordinary historical moment.

The electoral decimation of the party caucus and subsequent loss of party status objectively leaves the working class and increasingly marginalized sectors of the population without any official representation in Parliament. The risk to working people is

particularly acute in the context of Carney's social spending cuts to fund "investment" in the private sector, tax reductions for the wealthy, military expansion and fossil fuel growth.

While the party insiders with some justification blame "strategic voting" for Liberals, the fact is the party leadership has failed to differentiate itself from either of the two Big Business parties. The Supply and Confidence accord, while allowing for some small and belated health care reforms, blurred the understanding of traditional NDP supporters on what class the Liberal party represents.

Perhaps more significantly, the Conservatives essentially "ate our lunch" with their inflation-affordability, "pro-worker" narrative. The NDP campaign did not speak to class inequality and

concentration of wealth that are inherent to the capitalist system and its twin parties in Canada. What the NDP leader had to offer was not attractive to working class people. Consequently these voters largely shunned the NDP.

The NDP leadership race is a battle for the soul of the party. The current third-wave/consultant driven approach is taking the NDP further and further away from any organic connections to social movements and grass roots labour. It was these insiders' kind of politics that brought us to the low point where we now must begin again.

It was evident as early as May 8, 2025 that NDP insiders were trying to fix the leadership race for an establishment candidate by organizing a short race with a high entry fee. Such a race would maintain the status quo and exclude "non-serious" candidates, presumably to deny the membership an opportunity to debate, organize and rebuild.



Socialists and other party activists mounted an aggressive cross-country grassroots campaign to lobby Federal Council members to endorse a leadership contest that provided an opportunity for engagement of all members and potential supporters.

A transparent decision-making process is essential to re-build the NDP as a democratic, community-based, genuine working class party. These efforts were partially successful in that the NDP Leadership Governing Rules now include a six-month long campaign. However, the prohibitory and unprecedented \$100,000 entry fee may exclude some candidates.

On July 7, the NDP Socialist Caucus nominated Yves Engler, a distinguished Montreal based author, journalist and activist as its candidate for federal NDP leader. For more than two decades, Yves has demonstrated his fearless commitment to global peace, democratic accountability,

workers' rights and socialism.

Immediately, genocide supporters such as former Jewish Defence League head Meir Weinstein, Toronto Sun columnist Brian Lilley and disgraced, anti-Palestinian former BC NDP cabinet minister Selena Robinson tried to hijack the NDP leadership race. They called for Yves, a prominent critic of Canada's role in enabling Israel's crimes, to be excluded from the race to lead the party due to "blatant prejudice against Jews and Israelis."

In response, several well-known figures such as Roger Waters, Linda McQuaig, Sarah Jama, Rabbi David Mivasair, Maher Arar as well as close to 6,000 others signed an open letter to NDP interim leader Don Davies and National Director Lucy Watson.

They warned that any concession to supporters of Israel's ethnic cleansing who were attempting to interfere by promoting political censorship

would effectively undermine democratic debate within the party. Regardless of political differences, every party member should have the right to run — and every member the right to decide.

In a few weeks, Yves Engler's campaign for NDP leader has mobilized over 700 volunteers and given hope to thousands of former and current NDP members. Eight pan-Canadian committees are providing dynamic leadership and coordination.

The NDP's renewal and its road to power lies in the collective determination of workers, youth, seniors, women and all the oppressed to rally behind a new, radical democratic socialist movement. Together with Indigenous, anti-poverty, climate justice, anti-imperialist and trade union activists, we can build an NDP that challenges capitalism and imperialism while promoting de-colonization and economic democracy. ■

CANADA NEEDS PUBLICLY OWNED INDUSTRY: NOT MORE FOREIGN, CORPORATE TAKEOVERS

President Donald Trump has revitalized discussion on an independent Canadian economic policy more than the efforts of the NDP and the labour movement combined. His unilateral imposition of tariffs on Canadian exports to the US like steel and aluminum are behind rising unemployment and falling productivity. These actions do not bode well for the renegotiation of the USMCA trade deal between the US, Mexico and Canada that will take place in 2026. Close to 85% of trade between the US and Canada is covered by USMCA and is still duty free. A drastic rewrite of the agreement towards higher tariffs will have a more profound effect on the Canadian economy than anything we have seen so far.

Canadian industry, labour and our body politic is under attack from the Trump tariffs. The dilemma is that 43% of Canadian voters believed in the April 2025 election that the Mark Carney Liberal enablers of global multinational power will come to the rescue. This is illogical. Why would we look to either the Liberal or Conservative Parties when their leaders have for decades been responsible for the dilemma we now face?

On both National and Provincial levels, they have done nothing to stop the privatization of crown corporations, or the take over of essential industries by foreign based transnational corporations. They have weakened the power of Government and the citizens it should represent by eagerly participating in the Globalist free trade movement through CPTPP, the Trans Pacific Trade Agreement,

CETA, the Canada Europe Trade Agreement, CUSMA, and the World Trade Organization. These agreements, while lowering tariffs, have also strengthened the powers of transnational corporations at the expense of sovereign powers and their ability to pass environmental and labour safety legislation, or stop foreign takeovers.

The Globalist movement started gaining momentum with the PC Brian Mulroney Government, but continued right through the Chretien Liberal Government, Harper's Conservatives and our recent Justin Trudeau Administration. A brief appraisal of the most important Canadian industries underscores this unfortunate trend.

Our oil and natural gas industries are now largely owned by foreign companies. We did have a publicly owned PetroCanada, but this crown corporation was privatized by the Chretien and Harper Governments. Saskatchewan's publicly owned Potash Corporation was sold to private enterprise by the Grant Devine Conservatives in 1989 for the equivalent of two years recent annual profits. A very poor deal indeed.

Canada's nickel deposits are the among the largest in the world, but this resource has never been owned by the people of Canada, and the largest producer in the country is Vale, a mining company headquartered in Brazil. We are the fourth largest producer of aluminum in the world, but two of the largest companies producing primarily in Quebec are



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Caucus candidate for
Ontario NDP Treasurer**

Rio Tinto, headquartered in London, England and Melbourne, Australia, and Alcoa base in Pittsburgh.

In the 1970s, Canada had three large steel companies owned through publicly listed Canadian companies. Not anymore. Dofasco Steel is now owned by ArcelorMittal of India. Meanwhile Canada's oldest steel foundry in Hamilton, Stelco, was acquired by Cleveland-Cliffs in November 2024. Its CEO, Lourence Goncalves, is a good friend of Donald Trump, who cleared the economic path for this takeover.

Our softwood lumber industry is dominated by foreign corporations. BC's Macmillan Bloedel Corporation was taken over by Weyerhaeuser Company, based in Seattle, Washington, in 1999. This take-over was aided by controversial tariffs applied by the US on Canadian lumber, which lowered the value of the industry and facilitated a take-over.

Our world class pharmaceutical company, Connaught Labs, was privatized and sold to Institut Merieux in 1999 and through a series of other mergers and takeovers, is now owned by Sanofi Pasteur of France. During the Covid-19 pandemic, Canadians were at the mercy of foreign pharmaceutical companies to supply vaccines.

Ontario is the industrial

heartland of Canada and its largest export to the US is automobiles and auto parts. Since 1962, with the US-Canada Auto Pact, we had free and fair trade in automobiles and trucks. The rationale was very simple: if the Big Three American auto producers, GM, Ford and Stellantis (Chrysler), wanted to sell their vehicles duty free in Canada, they must commit to production and employment levels in Canada commensurate to their Canadian sales as a percentage of the North American market, roughly 9%. The agreement has lasted through several iterations like NAFTA and the present CUSMA trade agreements.

The US is not subsidizing Canada. Our labour rates and benefits, along with overall production costs, are pretty equivalent to our US counterparts. North American manufacturers have not been in favour of radical alterations that would lead to more expensive cars and a decrease in their competitiveness with Japanese auto assemblers in Canada. Now Trump and his tariff policies are putting Canadian auto manufacturing in jeopardy, and the CEO of General Motors Mary Barra is on record supporting Trump auto tariffs.

Ultimately, tariffs are not the sole or dominant problem for Canada. It is the fact that we do not make the investment decisions here in Canada. The solution must surely be that Canada starts producing all the parts necessary for a complete auto assembly so that we are not so vulnerable to decisions made out of country. We need to produce for our own market as much as possible, and that can only happen with investment in a publicly owned auto manufacturing industry and a massive move towards electrical and hybrid vehicles.

Weakness in the resource and manufacturing industries listed above are becoming more pronounced. We have dismantled publicly owned crown corporations in Canada and bent the knee to transnational corporations with their agenda of greater power

codified in supposed free trade deals. It has been the Liberal and Conservative Governments of Canada that has continually pushed this trend. Does it make sense to trust them to solve it?

We have seen that Prime Minister Mark Carney is a washout. Liberal pseudo progressives argue that he needs to be given a chance. But he has had his chance and he is

“President Donald Trump has revitalized discussion on an independent Canadian economic policy more than the efforts of the NDP and the labour movement combined... the Socialist Caucus is concerned that the party is not forming adequate solutions to economic problems.”

taking the Government of Canada and our economy in the entirely wrong direction. Trump has been calling for greater defense spending for NATO members since his first term in office.

Carney has completely buckled here. Infrastructure spending should be on housing, renewable energy projects, aluminum can production in Quebec, and efforts to ameliorate the effects of climate change by producing more water bomber aircraft and forest firefighting battalions, not on military spending, which is the greatest cause of human misery and climate degeneration possible.

He has bowed on every front, including rescinding the Digital Services

Tax to “advance broader trade negotiations with the United States,” a euphemism for “cave under pressure.” He has not retaliated with measures that would really get US attention, like export duties on oil and aluminum, on which the US economy is dependant.

He and Ontario Premier Ford talked about an export tax on electricity to the US, but Ford came back from a meeting with US Secretary of Commerce, Howard Lutnick, with his tail between his legs, totally backed down. At the bequest of the US, we imposed 100% tariffs on Chinese electrical cars and then cry when China counter-imposed a 75% tariff on canola, a move that will dearly cost our farmers.

On all fronts, Mark Carney is a disaster in the making. But when we look at the NDP and their recent track record, the Socialist Caucus is concerned that the party is not forming adequate solutions to these economic problems.

As you read through the rest of this edition of Turn Left magazine at the ONDP Convention in Niagara Falls, you may see that Yves Engler is one federal candidate for NDP leadership discussing these issues in detail. We need to support him and also push our provincial party into getting behind socialist policies here in Ontario. ■



CARNEY'S CUTS TO THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE ARE SHORTSIGHTED

The federal Liberals are keen to aggressively slash the budget, implement tax cuts for the rich, and fund the death cult that is military spending. They intend to do so on the backs of federal service workers. The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) says we can expect "the worst spending cuts in modern history." These cuts will hurt vulnerable seniors and families with children. Unions must join the masses to confront this austerity. We can force the Carney government to provide the necessary mass relief to ongoing and deepening economic disruption.

The Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) predicts shutdowns of programs and longer wait times for government services. The federal government has told ministries to find savings of seven-and-a-half per cent for the 2026–2027 fiscal year, which will rise to fifteen per cent for 2028–2029. The CCPA expects this to comprise about a quarter of public service spending. Help with your taxes, immigration file, employment insurance, and pension payments will be harder to find. This will devastate the quality of our public services.

The excuses for reducing the public service include a bloated workforce and public dissatisfaction. The Liberals claim that now is not the time to expand programs more fit for provincial jurisdiction, such as childcare and

pharmacare. They also see artificial intelligence (AI) as key efficiency tool, albeit with no talk of suitable guardrails. Opposition Conservatives will no doubt blame diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI). I fear both boss man parties will freeze hiring and cut training budgets, which will lower the quality of the public service and disadvantage young workers.

Do you remember how the public service was under threat during the Harper administration? One thing he did was sell out public services to the private sector. Expect more of the same with Prime Minister Carney. Canada's Auditor General has noted that over the past decade key segments of our government such as our public service, emergency management teams and digital government are under resourced. Given the uptick in extreme weather events due to climate change, cuts in departments that deal with emergency management will be devastating. It will be difficult to achieve efficiency gains using AI if the information technology platforms utilized by Shared Services Canada are outdated.

In these uncertain times, we need a more resilient Canada, one that sets optimal conditions for each Canadian to thrive, not just survive. This requires bold leadership and investment in a



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skilled public service. As the Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada (PIPSC) has said, "Ambition without capacity is just talk."

There are many costly consulting contracts. We need measures to prevent non-transparent, costly contracts, such as the one for the ArriveCAN app. A properly resourced public service would lessen its reliance on external consultants. Until the NDP enlarges its operational capacity and restores leadership that effectively promotes a working-class agenda, we must aggressively resist these cuts. Unions must continue organizing, educating, and mobilizing their members and the general populace to fight austerity measures.

Comrades, we are up against a "bankster" intent on implementing the agenda of Canada's most prominent CEOs under the banner of the Business Council of Canada. He must be stopped. Earlier this year, more than 200 advocacy groups forced the Carney government to reinstate a minister of women and gender equality. We need that sort of public sector union and working class solidarity to fight these vicious cuts. ■

Stop Trampling on Indigenous Rights!



The NDP government of British Columbia, the Ontario Tory government, and the Liberal federal government of Mark Carney have all recently hurried through legislation designed to rush major economic development. The new laws speed up regulatory approvals and “consultations” to clear the way for massive fossil fuel, mining and infrastructure projects such as dams, highways and mega real estate schemes.

Major corporations, their bankers and powerful lobbyists have been increasingly impatient with evolving environmental and climate change regulation, as well as the recognized right of Indigenous people to be fully and fairly consulted before bulldozers change lives forever.

For the billionaires who own these companies, our health, safety and

long-term viability are of little concern. For them, profit is king. High profits, as soon as possible, are their overriding goal. They cannot tolerate longer and more thorough approvals, and costly compliance with socially necessary regulations. Liberal, Tory and NDP governments are moving quickly to meet corporate demands, despite the protests and demonstrated interests of workers and Indigenous people.

In British Columbia, The Infrastructure Projects Act is aimed at pushing through “provincially significant” projects. There is no definition of “provincially significant.” That will be left to Cabinet. Premier Eby emphasizes that Bill 15 will help BC capitalize on the global demand for low carbon electricity and drive economic growth by streamlining the approval process, thereby facilitating

Gary Porter is a Socialist Caucus activist and member of the BC NDP

the development of major infrastructure projects, including hospitals, schools, and community centers, which are crucial for the province’s needs.

There are concerns that Bill 15 could bypass Indigenous rights and undermine the process of building relationships with First Nations. Eby has pledged that no infrastructure projects will be built without the consent of, and benefits for, First Nations. He has also apologized to the First Nations Leadership Council for the perception of backsliding on reconciliation

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commitments.

Critics argue that Bill 15 risks undermining environmental protections and assessments, potentially allowing projects with significant environmental impacts to bypass crucial safeguards.

Critics have expressed concern that the bill gives the government broad discretionary powers that could lead to a lack of transparency and public engagement in project approvals.

Eby emphasizes social infrastructure and green energy. However, the BC NDP government approved the massive Site C dam on the Peace River primarily to provide power to the fracking industry, plus the Trans Link Pipeline to ship methane (so-called natural gas) to Kitimat for delivery to the U.S. and Asia. When Wet'suwet'en elders led large protests against this pipeline, the NDP Solicitor General signed off on repeated RCMP heavily armed attacks on peaceful, unarmed Indigenous protestors. Recently, Eby approved the Prince Rupert Gas Transmission pipeline over strong objections of Indigenous elders on at least one part of the pipeline.

In a statement, Simooget (Chief) Watakhayetsxw Deborah Good said the decision "isn't the end of the story." She was one of the Gitanyow Chiefs who set up a blockade last August when pipeline construction started, barring any industry-related traffic from passing through. "We'll continue to fight to protect our territory (Lax'yip) with all actions needed, in the courts and on the ground," she said. "From August to November 2024, we denied access for PRGT pipeline construction and we'll be continuing our efforts to ensure no construction happens on our territory," she said.

Grand Chief Stewart Phillip, president of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, said approving the pipeline directly contradicts the government's stated commitment to uphold Indigenous Rights, which was passed into law in 2019 along with B.C.'s Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous

Peoples Act. "There are First Nations who have very loudly stated their opposition to this pipeline and they will continue to do so," Phillip proclaimed. "The Declaration Act and interim approach are being tossed out the window. This is not a government who believes in reconciliation and it could trigger a long, hot summer."

Premier Eby's nice words about green energy and social projects lack credibility. Eby admitted in December 2024 that BC has no chance of meeting previously set greenhouse gas reduction goals as part of the Paris climate change agreement signed in 2016. Well-informed people knew, back in 2019, that these goals would be grossly violated when the gas pipeline to Kitimat and the huge liquefaction processing plant to be built there, were approved. Eby

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and NDP Premier John Horgan before him, established their bona fides as loyal agents of the ruling class, in opposition to all environmental and indigenous activists.

While in Ontario, Bill 5 is now law, the Protect Ontario by Unleashing our Economy Act. It gives Conservative Premier Ford and his cabinet the power to create special economic zones and exempt companies or projects from having to comply with any provincial law, regulation or municipal bylaws. The Act is a direct attack on healthy communities, good planning, clean water and air, species at risk, and the rights of Indigenous people—all to benefit a handful of the government's hand-picked corporate friends.

While the province's press release on Bill 5 is chock full of supportive quotes from mining executives and business organizations, the public response — from many Indigenous organizations and

environmental groups — is one of deep concern. Several hundred Indigenous people protested Bill 5 on the front lawn of Queen's Park on June 2 in defense of their treaty rights.

Several First Nations of Treaty 9, which covers the mineral-rich Ring of Fire in northern Ontario that the government has promised to "unlock" as an economic hub, responded with an open letter to the province. They promised to go to court over the omnibus bill, if necessary. "These lands are not Ontario's to do with as they wish. They are our ancestral lands. We have always been here and are going nowhere," Donny Morris, Chief of Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug, said in the letter. "Whatever Ford and his government might want their base to think, nothing is happening up here without our consent."

Prime Minister Mark Carney tabled the One Canadian Economy Act on June 6. The PM said the bill (now law) will, on the one hand, speed up the approval process of major infrastructure projects, reducing approval times from five years to two, by introducing a "one-project, one-review" approach instead of having federal and provincial approval processes happen sequentially. This legislation gives them the ability to just delete laws from consideration that may be delaying new builds.

The legislation also changes interprovincial trade rules in a race-to-the-bottom system. Rules acceptable in any province will be deemed acceptable in all provinces although it is not clear how the feds plan to skirt provincial powers under section 92 of the Canadian Constitution.

We are in a period of increasing disregard for previously hard-won civil liberties and democratic rights, all in aid of resisting declining rates of profit, at any cost. These Acts are one more sign of the urgent need for labour unionists, rank and file New Democrats, environmental and Indigenous activists, and immigrant rights defenders to come together to fight this trend in Canada and across the western Imperial powers — by any means necessary. ■

Encore aujourd'hui « Socialisme ou Barbarie »



Photo: Geheugen van Nederland

Face aux récentes défaites cuisantes du NPD au Canada et de la SPD en Allemagne, que penser, que faire, comment se relever ?

Si le NPD n'a jamais gouverné, la SPD a eu l'ennemie chance, jouée si mal que les électeurs ont rejeté le gouvernement sortant, accusé d'immobilisme social et à l'égard d'Israël.

Les travaillistes britanniques sont encore au Gouvernement, mais les sondages donnent gagnant le parti d'extrême droite.

Chez d'autres patries célèbres du socialisme, comme l'Italie et la France, on assiste à la quasi-extinction des partis socialistes.

Le parti travailliste israélien, fondateur de l'État et des kibboutz (villages communautaires – communistes) s'est fusionné avec le Meretz (qui était formé par communistes et socialistes de gauche) afin de donner naissance au Parti démocratique. Pourtant,

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malgré cette fusion, la gauche qui auparavant avait exprimé premiers ministres et intellectuels célèbres, serait aujourd'hui, selon les intentions de votes, en 6e position avec juste 8 élus.

En Russie, la fin du communisme (mais il serait plus juste de parler d'une oligarchie de parti) n'a pas conduit à la naissance d'un socialisme démocratique ou d'une social-démocratie, mais à un système à la fois néocapitaliste, despotique, militariste et criminel. Le projet de Gorbatchev a été jeté à la poubelle, d'abord par l'Occident, puis par Eltsine (préféré par les Américains au dernier leader soviétique). L'héritier de Eltsine est justement Poutine, lequel,

sans surprise, a contribué à l'oubli du père de la Perestroïka au profit d'une réévaluation du tyran Staline.

Aujourd'hui plus que jamais, nous avons besoin de récupérer le terme « socialiste ». Cela ne doit pas être une opération nostalgique ou dogmatique.

Il y a déjà de nombreuses années, le regretté dirigeant socialiste italien Francesco de Martino admettait avec amertume que la gauche italienne avait perdu du temps pendant des décennies en se disputant sur les concepts de radicalisme et de réformisme. Un agrand historien et socialiste italien Massimo Salvadori, avait écrit que la social-démocratie allemande, dès le lendemain de la mort de Marx, a été en échec, sans réformes ni

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révolution, chose qui a anticipé (ou causé) l'avènement du nazisme.

Souvent réforme et révolution, modération et radicalisme, ont été interprétés de manière dogmatique et en opposition l'un par rapport à l'autre. Marx enseigne que le socialisme, s'il veut changer la réalité, ne doit pas être juste philosophie et idéal, mais aussi scientifique. Un exemple banal mais très clair me vient à l'esprit. Face à un rhume, un médecin, décide d'un traitement pour ainsi dire modéré, léger, progressif. Si, en revanche, son patient souffre d'une gangrène ou d'un cancer a, il optera pour un traitement drastique donc radical. Dans les deux cas, l'objectif est le même : guérir ou au moins améliorer la qualité de vie de la personne.

Une socialiste d'aujourd'hui doit être à la fois réformiste et radicale, parfois les deux, parfois penchant davantage pour l'une ou pour l'autre. En fin de compte, les grands leaders de la gauche mondiale que nous regrettons, bien que très différents les uns des autres, avaient en commun le fait

d'être des réformistes radicaux : le social-démocrate non marxiste Olof Palme, le communiste démocratique Alexander Dubcek, le socialiste marxiste Salvador Allende, et plus loin dans le temps, la marxiste libertaire et révolutionnaire Rosa Luxemburg et le marxiste réformiste mais anti-bolchevique) Gianciacomo Matteotti. Tous ont tentés de transformer la société capitaliste en une société juste. Malheureusement, chacun d'entre eux a été stoppé par la violence des forces réactionnaires, fascistes (comme dans le cas du meurtre de Matteotti), capitalistes et impérialistes (comme le coup d'État au Chili) ou soviétiques (comme dans le cas de Dubcek le seul parmi eux à ne pas avoir été assassiné, mais néanmoins écarté du pouvoir par la force militaire).

La tragédie du socialisme tout au long du XXe siècle a été celui d'avoir été vaincu, tant dans sa version réformiste que dans sa composante révolutionnaire.

Mais nous ne devons plus considérer ces pères reversés comme des perdants, mais comme des modèles.

Nous ne devons pas nous

sentir orphelins de leur disparition. Nous ne devons plus vivre dans le traumatisme, la peur et le choc causés par la brutalité et violence des forces réactionnaires. Certes, aujourd'hui, les leaders politiques qui nous inspirent sont très rares, tels que Lula et Sanchez. En revanche, je ne considère pas Maduro et Ortega comme des modèles, juste parce qu'ils sont anti-américains. Ils s'accrochent au pouvoir uniquement le pouvoir et emprisonnent leurs anciens camarades coupables de dissidence. Il n'y a pas de socialisme sans liberté, car le socialisme est la démocratie la plus élevée et la plus étendue. Peu de gens savent que c'est Marx lui-même qui a utilisé le terme social-démocratie pour distinguer son idée de démocratie à la démocratie libérale. Ce n'est pas un hasard si les disciples de Marx, à savoir le réformiste Bernstein et l'orthodoxe Kautsky, avaient fondé, en 1863, le 1er parti marxiste de masse, sous le nom de Social-démocrate. Exactement 30 ans plus tard, la grande révolutionnaire marxiste, Rosa Luxemburg fonde le Parti Social-démocratie de Pologne.

Aujourd'hui, à côté de Sanchez et Lula, nous avons sur

d'autres personnalités inspirantes, tels que les américains Senders, avec son programme à la fois audacieux et réaliste et le sociologue Erik Olin Wright (l'un des promoteurs du concept d'« utopies réelles », c'est-à-dire d'un radicalisme réformiste). Ce dernier explique comment le modèle social-démocrate scandinave des années 60 a atteint un niveau d'excellence, dans lequel le pouvoir social (celui des citoyens) occupait la première place dans la hiérarchie décisionnelle. En deuxième position venait le pouvoir politique (qui œuvre à l'amélioration des revendications du premier) et en troisième position, le pouvoir économique, ou plutôt le grand capital. Aux États-Unis la hiérarchie des pouvoirs est renversée, plaçant le pouvoir économique à la première place et le pouvoir social à la troisième. En fin, dans un État providence, le pouvoir politique occupe la première place, mais avec le risque d'une dérive paternaliste, bureaucratique et clientéliste.

Olin Wright vante également le modèle des crèches au Québec, appelées CPE, car elles ne sont ni privées au sens strict du terme, ni publiques. Il s'agit d'une sorte d'OBNL gérée avec la participation active des éducateurs et des parents. Les coopératives sont également intéressantes en tant que propriété collective et autogérée.

En effet, l'un des chevaux de bataille du socialisme était autrefois la participation des travailleurs à la gestion de l'entreprise, même lorsque celle-ci restait privée. Mais ce projet fut brutalement stopé par la Réaction, notamment avec l'assassinat de Palme.

Mais il y a d'autres batailles à récupérer : la réduction du temps de travail à salaire égal (fait de récent en Espagne par Sanchez), le droit au logement, l'endettement des étudiants, l'enrichissement avide et

injustifié des milliardaires. Taxer ces derniers de manière plus décisive, limiter les privilèges d'autres cadres dirigeants, redonner plus de temps libre aux travailleurs est avant tout éthique, mais aussi avantageux pour l'économie réelle, car cela permet d'injecter des ressources pour l'achat de biens produits par des artisans, coopératives, entreprises individuelles, petites, moyennes ou familiales.

Je donne un exemple : la réduction du temps de travail améliore la qualité de vie du travailleur d'un point de vue psychologique et économique. Il se réapproprie d'une portion de temps libre, pour lui-même et moins de temps où il est exploité ou aliéné, dans l'obligation fatigante du travail. Pendant ce temps libre, il peut se consacrer à sa famille, à la

“En effet, l'un des chevaux de bataille du socialisme était autrefois la participation des travailleurs à la gestion de l'entreprise, même lorsque celle-ci restait privée.”

consommation de produits culturels (par exemple, aller au cinéma), à la socialisation (organiser une fête, aller dans un pub), au sport, à de petites excursions et donc au tourisme local. Cela signifie qu'une grande masse de travailleurs, si on augmente le pouvoir salarial en diminuant son horaire de travail, disposera de plus de temps libre et argent qu'injectera dans l'économie réelle et locale. Voici une autre grande leçon du socialisme scientifique : le riche (de plus en plus riche) il ne sait plus quoi s'acheter, car il a déjà tout ce qu'il veut, alors il consomme des biens qui sont absolument inutiles pour lui. Le pauvre, en revanche, n'a pas le temps libre nécessaire, ni le salaire adéquat, pour acheter les choses dont il a urgemment besoin.

Il y a aussi la question de la

paix et du climat, qui n'est pas un idéal abstrait, mais la nécessité, de vivre dans un monde où l'humanité n'est pas en danger.

Il n'est pas nécessaire d'avoir un diplôme en économie pour faire quelques calculs et savoir, sans tomber dans un antimilitarisme rhétorique et banal, que les centaines de milliards dépensés pour les guerres, puis les autres milliards nécessaires pour reconstruire, soigner les malades et les traumatisés, sont des ressources considérables qui sont une fois de plus soustraites à l'économie réelle et aux besoins objectifs et primaires des personnes et des populations. Avec tout cet argent, qui en plus est public, il ne tombe certainement pas du ciel, les pays du monde devraient coopérer contre les pandémies, le changement climatique, le terrorisme, le crime organisé et les trafiquants de drogue et d'êtres humains. Il y aurait des logements, des écoles, des parcs, du travail, des services pour tous, pour les émigrants comme pour les citoyens, en Afrique comme dans les communautés

autochtones du Canada.

Guerre, impérialisme, réchauffement climatique sont guidés par les nouvelles élites politiques néolibérales et néofascistes.

En substance, plus que jamais, les politiques de droite sont coûteuses, inégalitaires, néfastes et anachroniques.

En revanche, le projet socialiste (écologiste et démocratique) est plus que jamais nécessaire, responsable, humaniste. Le slogan de Rosa Luxemburg « Socialisme ou Barbarie » date du 1915, au début de la 1ère guerre mondiale et seulement 6 ans avant la fondation du parti fasciste par Benito Mussolini. Socialisme ou Barbarie, est plus actuel que jamais. ■

Time to Put Economic Democracy on NDP Platform

I recently learned about another hit to democracy. This time, however, it wasn't Mark Carney ignoring the public's desire to stand up to Donald Trump or oppose Israel's genocide. Instead, it was a further drop in the private sector unionization rate.

According to labour relations professor David J. Doorey, "Collective agreement coverage in Canada's private sector today (15.5%) is lower than it was in 1940 (16.3%), before Canada had enacted 'modern' Wagner-style collective bargaining legislation."

Public sector unionization is above 75% so the overall unionization rate is 29%. Still, it's dropped precipitously from 38% in the early 1980s.

A central function of unions is to increase workplace democracy. Through collective bargaining, unions offer workers some way to fight for a fair share of the fruits of their labour. Similarly, unions provide workers with some space and protection from arbitrary employer action. In fact, collective worker action is the current most effective device at adding some democracy to the un-democratic modern corporation. Corporations, especially non-unionized ones, are highly authoritarian structures where workers have little democratic control.

The business community

Yves Engler is a Montreal-based author and candidate for federal NDP Leader



is open about this. In the Financial Times John Hunt labelled "work organisations... the most undemocratic of modern institutions" while Michael Skapinker called "corporate life ... inherently undemocratic." Instead of workers having democratic control over their workplaces, a centralized top-down authoritarian structure prevails. Workers have little to no say; they are simply told what to do.

In place of democracy, the corporate structure is based upon the one dollar = one vote system. Shareholders have voting rights depending upon how many shares they own. Aside from the power of unions, workers' concerns are largely left out of the equation (in non-unionized workplaces, workers have some rights depending upon laws, specific individual attributes etc., though the strength of labour laws is largely dependent on union power).

For those who face inhuman working relations but believe in people's inherent ability to manage their own lives, this system is hard to accept. But capitalists aggressively

oppose conceding their power over decision-making. And the dominant ideological institutions rarely discuss why we elect political leaders but not those who run our workplaces. Why, if we pride ourselves on living in a democratic society, are workplaces undemocratic?

Most people spend 40 hours a week at work; this is close to 25% of their waking hours in an undemocratic structure. Why? More importantly, what are the larger societal ramifications of the undemocratic corporate structure of one dollar = one vote?

Besides disproportionate power over "their" workers' lives, large shareholders have an excessive amount of power within the political system. Through their ownership of shares, these people buy political parties, own the media, fund think tanks, organize themselves in business lobby groups, amongst other things. In short, they try to mould societies' political, cultural and economic structure to their benefit. Central to countering this force are unions. It should thus come as no surprise that countries with higher unionization rates tend to have more vibrant political democracies and socially progressive governments.

YVES ENGELER FOR NDP LEADER

Canada needs a mainstream voice to challenge capitalism and imperialism, and champion decolonization, de-growth, and economic democracy. Yves will fight to:

- Abolish Billionaires
- Declare a National Housing Emergency
- Shut Down the Tar Sands
- Land Back
- End Complicity in Gaza's Annihilation
- Get Canada Out of NATO



Join the movement:

yvesforndpleader.ca



Conversely, our neighbour to the south highlights what can happen when the organizations of the working-class collapse. Donald Trump's rise is at least in part connected to the US unionization rate dropping below 10%.

In some Scandinavian countries, the unionization rate is around 70%. Also, in countries like Sweden and Germany, workers have some shop-floor decision-making. Workers have a direct role in shaping company policy.

But, we need to go much further in terms of challenging capitalism's one dollar, one vote nature. In my bid to lead the NDP I'm raising the slogan "Economic democracy not capitalist tyranny".

Economic democracy is based on the principle of one person, one vote decision-making in all parts of the economy that rely on social labour, a vision of society that will appeal to most NDP members. ■

YVES ENGELER FOR NDP LEADER

**It's time
to do
everything
differently.**

Take Action!
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THE EVOLUTION OF MARK CARNEY

When top global banker Mark Carney replaced Justin Trudeau as Prime Minister and Liberal leader, he promised a new government. By all accounts, Carney has delivered. In the process, a rather unflattering light has been cast on the Liberal Party of Canada.

On March 9, 2025 when he assumed political office, Carney's first act was to cancel the federal carbon tax on consumers (without raising it on polluting corporations). Next, he dumped the proposed increase in the capital gains tax for very high-income folks. More recently, the P.M. pulled the plug on the planned digital services tax – one of the only ways to make foreign big tech companies pay for consuming much of the advertising market here.

The decline in the govern-

ment's tax income leads inexorably to cuts in the federal public service where more than 10,000 jobs were lost last year alone. In early July, Carney announced sweeping 15 per cent spending cuts as part of a budget review. Not

targeted are the military and NATO. To the contrary, breathtaking increases are in store to pay for fighter jets, guns, munitions and a new fleet of submarines. The deployment of more Canadian soldiers in Europe is a big part of the plan.

But this may be insufficient to appease U.S. President Donald Trump. Now with elbows down, Carney proceeds gingerly toward talks with Washington to re-negotiate the Canada-US-Mexico Agreement. Removal of retaliatory tariffs by Ottawa signals acceptance of punishing



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“Carney announced sweeping 15 per cent spending cuts as part of a budget review... But why now? Because the crisis-racked system has less room for maneuver. The corporate rulers believe they can get away with making the working class pay for their insidious agenda.”

American levies on steel, aluminum, copper and cars.

Carney is more worried that Trump may seek to scuttle CUSMA, which keeps tariffs relatively low on most items of cross-border trade. Naturally, no consideration is given to encouraging international working class political action to counter protectionism and nationalist demagoguery.

In the meantime, by employing the dread of Trump as a convenient tool, the federal government is fast-tracking long-desired big economic schemes like there's no tomorrow. Bill C-5 is the incarnation of rapid development of energy, mining and infrastructure projects without Indigenous consent and shorn of environmental protection.

An authoritarian twist is added to the mix with restrictions on foreign students and immigrant workers, and a plan for bubble zones to exclude protests against genocide. An absurdist wrinkle is Carney's call for “a Zionist Palestine”. It is designed to make more palatable to conservatives his pledge to vote at the U.N. for

the creation of a Palestinian 'state' -- in which its residents would have no protection against a demonstrably genocidal monster.

A major feature of Liberal absolutism is the repeated use of Section 107 of the Canadian Labour Code to interfere in collective bargaining. Eight times since 2024 the Liberal minority government has directed the Canadian Industrial Relations Board to order striking employees back to work with the prospect of binding arbitration.

Workers on the docks, on railroads, in the postal service, along with Air Canada flight attendants have seen their right to strike curtailed. While the CUPE airline cabin crews defied the order, summoning tremendous public support that helped to extract a better pay offer from management, the brazen attack on labour rights remains. It belies Carney's claim to be a 'democratic' alternative to the Pierre Poilievre-led Conservatives.

More of the same pungent odor emanates from the files on Indigenous and environmental issues. Ottawa continues to resist the call by the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal (issued nine years ago), linked to the demand by First Nations, to end discrimination against Indigenous children through the underfunding of the on-reserve child welfare system. Add to that a wide array of land disputes.

In the face of raging wildfires and tempestuous floods, instead of transitioning away from fossil fuels, Carney seems content to rely on the market to solve the problem. Gone are the paper-thin environmentalist promises of Trudeau, and his Minister of Climate Change, Steven Guilbeault. The new boss is planning to divert billions in tax dollars to subsidize ineffective carbon capture and storage, to build an east-west energy corridor laden with oil and gas pipelines, and billions more to beef up the military, a major global polluter. The displacement of tens of thousands of northern residents fleeing out of control fires, and the millions breathing down-wind smoke is only sure to increase.

None of the above is out of character for Mark Carney or the Lib-

eral Party. It is simply become more blatant. The agenda of social cuts, bigger war spending and the assault on democratic rights simply responds to the demands of the business giants; it meets the requirements of the capitalist system.

But why now? Because the crisis-wracked system has less room for maneuver. Moreover, the corporate rulers believe they can get away with making the working class pay for their insidious agenda.

Unfortunately, the NDP leadership made things significantly worse. Their actions reduced the capacity of the workers' movement to resist attacks. By propping up the Liberal minority government of Justin Trudeau for over two years, by voting

in parliament for successive pro-war, pro-pipeline budgets and anti-labour measures, the NDP tops ceded the space on the 'left' to the Liberals; it allowed the latter to move steadily to the right at virtually no political cost. The Carney regime adopted policies of the ultra-right wing Pierre Poilievre without having to look over its shoulder at the subservient NDP.

It is abundantly clear, now more than ever, that in order to survive, the NDP must turn sharply to the Left. Championing that option boldly is the campaign to elect the Socialist Caucus candidate for federal NDP leader, Yves Engler. ■



At Ontario NDP Convention: Vote for Leadership Review



At every Ontario New Democratic Party Convention there is a vote on whether to express confidence or non-confidence in the party leader. Such a vote will take place at the convention in Niagara Falls, September 19-21, probably on the Sunday morning.

As we did last winter, the Socialist Caucus now urges delegates to vote non-confidence in Marit Stiles and to ask for a Leadership Review.

There are three main reasons to do so:

1. The Leader expelled young, disabled, Black, social justice fighter, Sarah Jama, MPP for Hamilton Center, from the NDP Ontario Legislature Caucus in October

2023. Sarah's 'crime' was to denounce Israeli apartheid, the occupation of Palestinian lands, and to call for a ceasefire in what has become a relentless genocide. This clearly put the ONDP on the wrong side of history.

2. On December 21, 2024, delegates to the 2025 ONDP Convention opened an e-message from the Administrative Committee that effectively cancelled the gathering, bypassing the provincial Executive. This action precluded grassroots members from setting an election policy platform and deciding on the appeal by Sarah Jama against her undemocratic exclusion. The Ontario election occurred on February 27, nearly two months after the scheduled ONDP

convention. The time frame was tight, yes, but for the sake of democracy it was quite doable.

3. The ONDP election platform was unfocussed and weak. The result was disastrous. The party finished a distant third in the popular vote with four fewer seats than in 2022, retaining Official Opposition status mainly due to the vagaries of the First-Past-the-Post system. Since then, the decline of the NDP has been precipitous; it is now reduced to 12 per cent support according to the latest opinion polls. The need for a bold challenge to the failed capitalist system is urgent. A good way to push it forward, and to uphold democracy in the NDP, is a leadership review right now. Let's do it! ■

Defiant CUPE Flight Attendants Uphold Right to Strike

10,517 Canadian Union of Public Employees flight attendants working for Air Canada won a pitched battle in their struggle for a collective agreement. A tentative agreement was reached after an historic and courageous fight that inspired labour unionists and their allies across the country. CUPE urged their members, early on August 19, to return to work, pending a ratification vote on the tentative deal.

On August 5, over 97 per cent turned out to vote, with a resounding 99.7 per cent supporting a strike mandate. They suffered years of falling real wages as a result of their expired 10-year-old contract and prolonged negotiations. There had not been a strike of “cabin crew” in 40 years. Air Canada failed to negotiate fairly on issues like unpaid work and poverty wages. The entry level flight attendants’ pay has risen only \$3.00/hour in over 25 years. Seventy per cent of the workforce is female.

Hours of unpaid work are performed by flight attendants before and after each flight. That includes: (a) boarding and deplaning, [b] critical safety checks, as mandated by Transport Canada, [c] assisting passengers with special needs, and [d] preparing the cabin. Wages are paid on “block time” [i.e. take-off, to landing], not when staff report to work. This amounts to some 35 hours of unpaid labour per workers, per month. A CUPE TV ad asks: Where is all the money going from this unpaid labour?

The CUPE Flight Attendants’ website states: “We are proud to put on the uniform and help keep the public safe on their journey, but the days of doing it for free or for poverty wages must end..... We are standing together for respect and a fair contract that matches the professionalism and dedication we bring to work every day”.

The strike began on August 16. Aware of the federal government’s long record of strike-breaking in federally regulated industries, Air Canada asked the government to crush the Charter rights of underpaid flight attendants.

Just 12 hours into their strike, federal Liberal Jobs Minister Patty Hajdu invoked Section 107 of the Canada Labour Code to impose binding arbitration, compelling the Canadian Industrial Relations Board to issue a return-to-work order. CUPE

defied the order and continued the strike, inspiring trade unionists across the country. Flight attendants and their leadership stated they had no intention of backing down.

On August 19 after four days on strike, both parties announced that they had arrived at a tentative agreement. Air Canada unrealistically indicated it would start resuming flights within a day.

While unpaid labour is ended, the magnitude of the union win is unclear. CBC reported that pay for pre-boarding and post-landing work will be 50 per cent of the regular wage, to increase 5 per cent each year of the agreement. The union justly demanded 100 per cent of the normal hourly wage.

The National Union of Public and General Employees (NUPGE) stated in a news release: “Flight attendants showed extraordinary determination in the face of immense pressure. They stood together, reclaimed their voice, and won recognition for the value of their work. This moment affirms that when workers are united, they have the power to achieve real change... By standing strong and reclaiming their voice, they’ve achieved a breakthrough that ends unpaid work and raises standards for all workers.”

While we await full details and the ratification process, the guarantee of “ground pay” represents a powerful step forward in ensuring dignity, fairness, and respect for flight attendants and for workers across Canada. The tentative agreement may signal a transformational change for workers in the industry.

Clearly, CUPE is not the only union under attack. In fact, the Liberal government has invoked Section 107 of the federal Labour Code eight times since 2024! What about the anti-scab law that the NDP secured while propping up the Liberal minority government of Justin Trudeau? Well, thanks a lot Liberals, but there are no scabs to stop when a strike is ended by order of the Canada Industrial Relations Board.

On August 1, 2025, after 18 months of on and off again negotiations with Canada Post, postal workers voted NO to the so-called “best and final offer” in the



Elizabeth Byce is an activist in the NDP Socialist Caucus

government-forced vote. With over 80 per cent of 55,000 Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) voting, nearly 70 per cent said “No, these offers won’t work,” according to the union’s National website. The employees have spoken. Despite a steady barrage of attacks by management, postal workers stood together in a strong act of solidarity. They told Canada Post they will not back down and want to negotiate a just settlement. The parties returned to the table on August 20.

Postal workers were on strike for five weeks last fall, until hit by Section 107. They remain ready to fight again for better working conditions and real improvements in service for all Canadians.

As National President of CUPW, Jan Simpson, wrote: “The moment is bigger than a vote. It is about protecting the principle of free and fair collective bargaining. It’s about ensuring workers, not the government or employers decide what’s acceptable. It is about telling those in power that workers cannot be bought, intimidated or sidelined.”

Despite all the talk in the mass media about how an interruption of postal service is terrible for business, and how Canadians deserve better, management’s response to the union’s invitation to return to the bargaining table was prolonged silence. Lurking behind that wall is the prospect of major cuts to service, layoffs and the privatization of large segments of Canada Post.

Prime Minister and Liberal leader Mark Carney is showing the true nature of capitalist rule in economic hard times. The rights to bargain and strike exist -- until workers actually use them. The corporate elite, and their former top banker Carney, are elbows-up against labour while making concessions to Donald Trump and the ruling rich. They plan more spending on the military, on NATO and on pipelines that doom the world to environmental catastrophe. ■

The Campaign for Socialism and Democracy in the NDP

The Socialist Caucus is presenting a team of candidates for Ontario NDP Executive. Here's our chance to build a more democratic NDP that fights for socialism.

DIRKA PROUT **President**

Dirka has represented the NDP three times in London North Centre, now London Centre. She is a sought-after public speaker, was a Co-Chair of the Federal NDP Women's Commission from 2018 to 2021, and is a former President of the London West ONDP.



COREY DAVID **Vice President**

Corey is a socialist from Scarborough and a member of the Amalgamated Transit Workers, Local 113. Corey has ran for Toronto City Council, has volunteered for multiple campaigns and is a Provincial Council Representative for the Scarborough South West EDA.



BARRY WEISLEDER **Vice President**

Barry is a retired secondary school teacher and union organizer. For over fifty years, he has promoted socialist policies and greater democracy within the NDP. He is co-chair of the Socialist Caucus and the Yves Engler for NDP Leader campaign.



JULIUS ARSCOTT **Vice President**

Julius Arscott is a socialist and member of the NDP from Toronto-Danforth riding. He is President of OPSEU SEFPO Local 532 and a former executive board member of the union for 3 consecutive terms. Julius has championed mass action to achieve working class power.



JOHN ORRETT **Treasurer**

John Orrett is a retired District Chief and worked 32 years with the Toronto Fire Services. He is a 50 year member of the NDP. As Treasurer he wants to build membership and revenue through social activism, resistance to capitalism, and greater democracy in the party.



JAYCEE LESPERANCE **LGBT Committee**

Jaycee (They/Them) is a lifelong Windsor resident, participant in marches for labour, LGBT rights and Palestine, member of NDP Socialist Caucus and UFCW local 175. He is currently 38 years old and lives with his wife and cat.



DAMON BALDWIN-FOX **Indigenous Peoples Rep.**

Damon is a 21-year-old Anishinaabe activist and an advocate for Indigenous and marginalized communities. Damon is running to amplify the voices of youth, Indigenous peoples, and workers across Ontario. He has also worked on several NDP election campaigns.



ANNE KAMATH **Persons Living with Disabilities**

Diagnosed with a chronic illness in 2020, Anne has focused much of her energy on advocacy, particularly within the pro-Palestinian movement, where she fights for human rights. Her activism is driven by a deep commitment to social justice and equality for all.



TOM BAKER **Central West**

Tom is a retired public sector veterinarian who resides and agitates for social and economic justice in Hamilton. He first joined the NDP in the late 1960s and has advocated for socialism since then. He has provided leadership on numerous riding association executives.



RUBINA CHOWDHURY **Metro Toronto**

Rubina has worked for the Toronto Rape Crisis Center and the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty. She has demonstrated dedication to achieving equity for marginalized groups in the city through her work in help crisis, harm reduction, and advocacy.



HANS MODLICH **Metro Toronto**

Hans has been a proud, left-wing NDP member for more than 60 years, and advocates for full rent control, transit planning, and reductions in military spending. Hans opposes NDP head office's imposition of trusteeships on riding associations.



MILO CLARKE **Member at Large**

Milo has been an NDP member since the age of 13, and is the current LGBTQ+ representative for the Mississauga-Lakeshore NDP. They have been a strong advocate for socialist and progressive values and will bring those ideals to Ontario NDP Executive.

