We are all Venezuela
The latest round of talks to renegotiate NAFTA took place recently in Ottawa. But while the bureaucrats and politicians met, civil society groups held their own Summit to present people’s alternatives.

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The Spanish government claims it was simply upholding the law, but its violent crackdown on Catalonia’s independence referendum was a huge blunder.

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Twin blows at Puerto Rico
Hurricane Maria struck a devastating blow at the Caribbean island of Puerto Rico, where residents were already suffering from the historic impact of US colonial domination.

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Donald Trump: WAR CRIMINAL?

“Crimes against humanity” include the commission of murder as part of a widespread or systematic attack against any civilian population. Trump’s threat to totally destroy North Korea, if realized, would constitute a widespread and systematic attack against the civilian population of North Korea, which would amount to a crime against humanity.

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Che Guevara: 50 years later

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See pages 4 & 12
What are the facts about poverty in Canada?

October 17 is the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty. Despite claims that economic progress has lifted huge numbers of people worldwide above the poverty line, the World Bank estimated that in 2015, 705 million people were living on $1.90 per day or less.

Here in Canada, nearly five million people currently live in poverty. Vulnerable groups such as those living with disabilities, single parents, seniors, youth, and racialized communities are much more susceptible.

Here are some facts and statistics about the current reality of poverty, taken from the website of Canada Without Poverty (formerly the National Anti-Poverty Organization).

- The social cost of poverty across Canada is a whole lot of money! The Peterson Institute for International Economics estimates that in 2009, Canadian poverty cost $25.7 billion. In fact only those that pay high income taxes are the only people who benefit from the cost of poverty. The majority of those living in poverty have other means of support.

- What are the facts about poverty in Canada?

• October 16-31, 2017

- 2 million seniors receive the guaranteed income supplement—half of which are women. Nearly 60% of which are women. Children living in poverty are twice as likely to live in households relying on social assistance.

- Estimates place the number of homeless individuals living with a disability or mental illness as high as 45% of the overall homeless population.

- 21% of single mothers in Canada raise their children while living in poverty (7% of single fathers raise their children in poverty). Women parenting on their own enter shelters at twice the rate of two-parent families.

- Indigenous Peoples (including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples) are over-represented among the homeless in virtually every urban centre. Among shelter users, 28%–34% are Indigenous.

- In one in five racialized families living in poverty, the head is opposed to 1 in 20 non-racialized families. Racialized women living in poverty are among the most likely to work in manufacturing jobs than other women living in poverty. Overall, racialized women earn 32% less at work.

- Nearly 15% of people with disabilities live in poverty, 50% of which are women. Children with disabilities are twice as likely to live in poverty.

- Four million people in Canada cannot afford their medical care. In Canada, the only industrialized country with a universal healthcare system but without a national pharmacare policy.

- A McMaster University study found a 21-year difference in life expectancy between the poorest and wealthiest residents of Hamilton, Ontario. Men in the wealthiest 20% of neighborhoods in Canada live four years longer than men in the poorest 20% of neighborhoods.

- Estimates place the cost of some economic disparities in the health system to be 20% of all healthcare spending. It has been estimated that 1 invested in early years of a child’s life can save up to $9 in future spending in the healthcare system. Food insecurity households were 80% more likely to report having diabetes, 60% more likely to report high blood pressure, and 70% more likely to report food allergies.

- Almost 20% of the homeless population are youth aged 16-24. Over half of these people were on wait lists for affordable housing during the same period.

In Toronto, 5,219 people were homeless in 2013. Roughly half of these people were on wait lists for affordable housing during the same period.

According to new research, spending $10 on housing and support for high-need chronically homeless individuals resulted in almost $25 of savings to the healthcare, social supports, and the justice system.

In 2016, 39% of food insecure households were 80% more likely to report having diabetes, 60% more likely to report high blood pressure, and 70% more likely to report food allergies.

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Teacher shortage still a problem in BC

One month into the 2017-18 academic year, many BC schools are still struggling with a shortage of full-time teachers. The situation is about to get worse when cold and flu season hits, warns BC Teachers Federation President Glen Hansman.

With the school year already over, school districts and the employers’ association need to get moving on concrete measures to recruit and retain teachers right across BC, said Hansman on October 5.

For months, the BCTF has been proposing ideas, but we haven’t heard from the federal government that will bring into BC the high number of teachers our schools need, said Hansman.

Recruitment and retention strategy, to quickly implement a robust province-wide solutions.

OneCity candidates slam public subsidy of elite private schools

As Vancouver’s by-election campaign for a vacant city council seat and nine school board positions wound down, two candidates for school trustee have raised the huge issue of taxpayer subsidies to elite private schools.

Two decades of chronic underfunding have left public schools across British Columbia without the support they need. The former Liberal government, which was forced to stop by a Supreme Court order, has agreed to restore the classroom staffing levels which had been contained in collective bargaining agreements which they illegally tore up some 15 years ago, with the NDP advocates agreeing that the new NDP government in BC presents a moment of opportunity to make strong public schools a priority.

But the new government is still scrabbling to catch up with the necessary levels of new public investment in the school system, and Vancouver is among districts having trouble filling teaching positions, in part due to astronomical housing costs.

OneCity School Trustee candidates, Erica Jaaf and Carrie Bercic, have pledged to be vocal advocates for ending public funding to elite private schools and returning those funds into public schools.

Despite the urgent demand for more public funding for our public schools, Jaaf points out that across the province, “$43 million of public funding for private schools is expected in 2016.” These elite Group 2 schools are the wealthiest tier of schools in BC, and do not include independent schools for children with special needs, or religious or Montessori schools.

“At a time when parents across Vancouver are being asked to reach into their own pockets to properly furnish their kids’ schools, it’s unacceptable that our public dollars continue to subsidize the wealthiest members of our society,” Jaaf continued.

As a long time public education advocate, Bercic pledged that “a vote for OneCity means a vote for changing public schools.” The failed Vancouver School Board budget of April 2016 showed a funding shortfall of between $21 and $24 million—money which could be better used in the classrooms of the city’s public schools, but which could be diverted from elite private institutions.

“OneCity will work tirelessly at all levels of government ensuring decision-makers know that public voters stand on a moral high ground that private elite schools are getting government handouts,” commented Bercic.

Jaaf and Bercic say they will work tirelessly to hold the government’s feet to the fire on ending education subsidies for the rich.

OneCity School Trustee candidates are one of the many public school education advocates who have pledged to be vocal advocates for ending public funding to elite private schools and returning those funds into public schools.
Trump signals mass genocide

The world watched in horror when Donald Trump vowed to the U.N. General Assembly last year that the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea faces “total destruction,” and that DPRK leader Kim Jong-un “won’t be around much longer.” As Marjorie Cohen and other legal experts warn (see page 12), such a U.S. attack would violate the United Nations Charter. By threatening to launch a pre-emptive war, and to commit genocide and other crimes against humanity, Trump has now escalated the danger. As a demented man ready to become a war criminal. But unfortunately, he also heads the world’s greatest military machine, with immunity against any serious possibility of punishment.

Trump has now escalated the danger. At a dinner photo-op with top military brass at the White House on Oct. 5, he told journalists that this occasion was taking place during “the calm before the storm.” Defending Secretary James Mattis, National Security Adviser H.R. McMaster, Joint Chiefs of Staff chair Joseph Dunford and Homeland Security Secretary John Kelly were all present as Trump directed them to provide “a broad range of military options… at a much faster pace,” and “to overcome the obstacles of bureaucracy.”

The 27 million people who live in the DPRK are not the only potential victims of this impending disaster. Trump’s alleged aggression would bring immediate retaliation, with millions of civilian lives lost in South Korea, Japan and other areas where US troops are stationed. Other countries with pledged to help the DPRK resist a US attack, most likely sparking a wider global conflict.

Make no mistake about it. Donald Trump is not only talking about committing mass murder — he is preparing to launch a war that could kill billions and inflict catastrophic damage on human civilization. The urgent imperative today is to protest this madness, before it’s too late.

No policy shift by federal NDP

The two largest opposition parties in Parliament have chosen new leaders, and the 2019 federal election is effectively underway. The Liberal flip-flops have undermined the progress promised by which won them a majority in 2015, and the Conservatives are now led by Andrew Scheer, who has close links to corporate boardrooms and far-right, racist forces. But the NDP has missed this opportunity to challenge the ruling class dogmas of neoliberal austerity and imperialist “humanitarian interventionism.”

Suddenly, the NDP’s Jagmeet Singh is the first racialized individual to lead a federal party with seats in Parliament. This outcome rejects the colonialist, racist, and neo-fascist narrative that Canada is a country, in which only a white man can vote. But it is also an outrage against the mainstream media and much of the NDP tout Singh as “more charismatic” than Justin Trudeau— in other words, more “marketable” than the current PM.

More fundamentally, in sharp contrast to UK Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn, Singh does not advocate building a powerful movement for progressive social and economic change. His support for a means test for Old Age Security signals that social programs need not be universal. Similarly, Singh’s positive stance on LGBTQ+ rights is simply a reaction to being in a position to gain seats in Parliament. It is in turn recycling the biased narrative against Ontario’s sex-ed school curriculum.

We also note that Singh takes pro-imperialist positions on international issues, issues for which happily the mainstream media are not paying any attention. His support for Canada’s military spending. He is closely aligned with NDP foreign affairs critic Hélène Lavalardiére, who is a vocal backer of the anti-Palestinian Arab Peace Agreement (APA), a foul proposal for which Venezuela’s elected President Nicolás Maduro, and a supporter of NATO’s drive to encircle Russia.

In the meantime, and under Jagmeet Singh, the NDP remains committed to putting a “human face” on capitalism. Working people deserve much better than this “more of the same.”

This Sept. 30 letter from Keith Ellis, Coordinator of the 2017/10/02 Cuba Hurricane Relief campaign, reports on the progress of this important campaign.

Our campaign is off to a good start thanks to a spirit in which suggestions and donations are being taken in an organized way that keeps reminding us of one of Fidel’s frequently repeated dictums: “cada soldado un comandante” (every soldier a commander). This spirit was abundantly evident in a very successful event held last Friday, September 22, in Toronto by the end of which, combined with other events, and including donations received from other parts of the country, we can say that we have so far collected $35,000.00.

We project that this spirit will continue to be manifested here and throughout Canada, as we try to help the admirably courageous Cuban people who themselves are so deeply and intelligently involved in this recuperative effort against the terrible effects of Hurricane Irma.

You will be pleased to know that Venezuela was prompt in beginning to provide its substantial aid to Cuba. President Maduro himself arrived in Havana with one of the first shipments on September 3. Also, very promptly too, Venezuela and Cuba have announced their plans to aid Puerto Rico. Venezuela has proposed a “special plan of support and solidarity.” Cuba has 39 doctors ready to go to help its historically sister island (the phrase “dos alas del mismo pajaro” [two wings of the same bird] was first applied to Cuba and Venezuela when they were both struggling against colonialism).

For us, as human beings, not corrupted or dehumanized by the big media, this response by Cuba and Venezuela will seem to be commendable and inspiring. But don’t be surprised if it further incites the punitive anger of our Minister of External Affairs, Chrystia Freeland. She knows that this is the plan of the moneyed vultures, some of them well-placed in the Trump administration, is to take advantage of Puerto Rico’s heightened crisis, to squeeze the “associate state” to the point of asphyxiation, so that it will offer privatization of its publicly-owned assets at give-away prices as the only exit from theecisis. The Puerto Rican people will thus be further emasculated to the new owners for use and abuse by international vultures. A part of Hillary Clinton’s family benefited in just this way from the corporateسيطر that had taken over the New York banks that must be paid. An interesting proposal aired by President Maduro is to work on Cuba Hurricane Relief campaign, reports on the progress of this important campaign.

The 27 million people who live in the DPRK are not the only potential victims of this impending disaster. Trump’s alleged aggression would bring immediate retaliation, with millions of civilian lives lost in South Korea, Japan and other areas where US troops are stationed. Other countries with pledged to help the DPRK resist a US attack, most likely sparking a wider global conflict.

Make no mistake about it. Donald Trump is not only talking about committing mass murder — he is preparing to launch a war that could kill billions and inflict catastrophic damage on human civilization. The urgent imperative today is to protest this madness, before it’s too late.
To Workers, Peasants and Soldiers!

Comrades! The Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries, to whom we are addressing these lines, appeal to you in its paper Dydlo Naroda (of September 30) to “be patient”. The paper asks us to “be patient” and urges that power be left in the hands of Kerensky’s government, that power should not pass to the Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies. Let Kerensky rely on the landowners, capitalists and kulaks, let the Soviets that have carried through the revolution and vanquished the Kornilovite generals “be patient”, we are told. Let them have patience until the Constituent Assembly, which will soon be convened.

Comrades! Look around you, see that there is nothing in this countrside, see what is happening in the army, and you will realise that the power of the army and the soldiers cannot tolerate it any longer. An uprising of the peasants from whom the land has hitherto been withheld by fraud is sweeping like a broad river over the whole of Russia. The landowner and landlord cannot tolerate it any longer. Kerosky sends troops to suppress the peasants. The landowners want to quell the landowners. Kerensky has again come to an agreement with the Kerensky generals and officers who stand for the landowners.

Neither the workers in the cities nor the peasants in the country can tolerate this military suppression of the just struggle of the peasants for the land. As to what is going on in the army at the front, Dusbau, a non-Party officer, has declared before all of Russia: “The soldiers will not fight any longer.” The soldiers are tired out, the soldiers are barefooted from obtaining power! Kerensky will suffer no circumstances subverting his power! Dydlo Naroda openly admits.

Go, then, to the barracks, go to the Cossack units, go to the working people and explain the truth to them. Are you willing to “be patient” in order that Kerensky may use armed force to suppress the peasants who have risen for land? Are you willing to “be patient” in order that the war may be dragged out longer, in order that the “poor suffering” Venezuelan people will not have the right to live? If power is in the hands of the Soviets, then not later than October 25 (if the Congress of Soviets opens on October 20) a just peace will be offered to all the belligerent peoples. There will be a workers’ and peasants’ government in Russia; it will immediately, without losing a single day, offer a just peace to all the belligerent peoples. Then the people will learn who wants the unjust war. Then in the Constituent Assembly the people will decide.

We are all Venezuela – An Action Plan for World Solidarity

By Nino Pagliccia

During four days, September 16-19, I was in Venezuela, as one of about 270 delegates (including seven Canadians) invited from 60 countries, representing political, social and trade union organizations. I was representing the Canadian organization Frente para la Defensa de los Pueblos Hugo Chavez at the solidarity meeting “Todos Somos Venezuela” – Dialogo Mundial por la Paz, la Soberania y la Democracia Bolivariana (We Are All Venezuela – World Dialogue for Peace, Sovereignty and Bolivarian Democracy).

However, this was not an ordinary invitation to an ordinary meeting. This was not an occasion for a photo up to be seen with famous Venezuelan people, and the dialogue did not just involve expressing solidarity and so forth. It was an urgent call to the world to roll up our sleeves and work alongside the Venezuelan people anywhere we live.

Why such urgency and such a wake-up call?

There is a concerted plan by the U.S. government to overthrow President Maduro. It is a plan to completely wipe out the Bolivarian Revolution and the governing Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela (PSUV). United Socialist Party of Venezuela. The first attempt was the failed coup against Chavez in 2002. There have been attempts through parliamentary coups and referendums to remove the president “constitutionally.”

Failing all of that, the level of violence, orchestrated by the rightwing Venezuelan opposition, increased reaching a peak in April-July of this year with 120 Venezuelans killed, some burned alive as they attempted to avoid being captured. This tactic was used to destabilize the country and reach international recognition with the aid of corporate media, setting up the perfect excuse for the U.S. government to justify any intrusion in the name of the “poor suffering” Venezuelan people.

Following U.S. threats of military intervention and escalating sanctions, the violence has subsided. But the last round of sanctions of August 25 were applied, amounting to a virtual economic blockade that prevents Venezuela from having access to international financing necessary for its oil industry.

Regrettably, Canada has recently joined the U.S. in applying sanctions to 40 high-ranking Venezuelans including President Maduro.

The sanctions come from governments that want to strangle the Venezuelan economy for the purpose of regime change; hence the call to the meeting “Todos Somos Venezuela” in Caracas.

During the four days we had the opportunity to hear from and exchange with President Nicolas Maduro and Minister of Foreign Relations and current vice-president Delcy Rodriguez, former Minister of Foreign Relations and current Deputy President of the National Constituent Assembly; and Adan Chavez, brother of Hugo Chavez, vice president of the National Constituent Assembly, and United Venezuelan Socialist Party (PSUV) International Coordinator.

The international delegates Evo Morales, President of Bolivia, shared his undivided solidarity with Maduro. Other delegates were Fernando Gonzalez, former “Cuban Five” prisoner and American socialist; and Sonia de Socorro Gomes, president of the Caracas Conffrence.

Coming up soon, December 20 has been designated as the “International Day against Imperialism”, in commemoration of the invasion of Panama in 1903 by the United States. Throughout December, the symbolism of the Christmassis is used to promote a global campaign of peace and solidarity with Venezuela against imperialist aggression, with messages such as “Venezuela wants Peace.”

The work plan is ambitious but it must be done for the sake of justice and to fight back against U.S. imperialism, to defend Venezuela and all of Latin America.

For the Caracas Proclamation and Action Plan, for any action, contact the Frente para la Defensa de los Pueblos Hugo Chavez, Frente para la Defensa de los Pueblos Chavez, de la Vida y la Libertad, 2025/18 Colmena, Caracas, Venezuela. 00212.

(Nocio Pagliccia’s next article about the Caracas meeting will focus on the theme “Socialist and anti-imperialist spirit.”)
Spain's actions deny Catalonia's right to self-determination

The Communist Party of Canada condemns the savage violence of the Spanish government, in its actions tantamount to rebellion, in the Catalan population, in order to prevent a referendum on October 1, 2017 to decide on their right to self-determination. Today, this attack by the Rajoy government is launched against the right of the people of Catalonia, and imposes the de facto liquidation of the Generalitat (the political organization of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia) as a national right of the people, and the rights of assembly and protest, and thus step by step, to drift towards collective bargaining, the right to strike, etc., always justified by “defence of the law.”

The Communist Party of Spain (PCE) also supported the mobilizations to defend the referendum and the independence of Catalonia on October 1.

Spain's actions deny Catalonia's right to self-determination

The European Commission called the referendum illegal, and therefore supports the Spanish Government, declaring that this is an internal matter which must be settled in accordance with the constitutional order of Spain. The Commission says that “in today’s times we need unity and stability, not division and fragmentation.”

Most countries have also avoided pronouncing on this crisis. The French and U.S. presidents openly supported the Rajoy government, urging Spain to stay united. Amnesty International has been content to deplore the use of excessive force employed by some police officers in the performance of their duties.

As a matter for the internal affairs of that country, "the question of [Catalonia] is a matter for the Spanish government, according to the Spanish constitution, to deal with and therefore supports the Spanish government is launched against the right of the people of Catalonia, and imposes the de facto liquidation of the Generalitat (the political organization of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia) as a national right of the people, and the rights of assembly and protest, and thus step by step, to drift towards collective bargaining, the right to strike, etc., always justified by “defence of the law.”

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Most countries have also avoided pronouncing on this crisis. The French and U.S. presidents openly supported the Rajoy government, urging Spain to stay united. Amnesty International has been content to deplore the use of excessive force employed by some police officers in the performance of their duties.

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By Bennett Guillaume, in Shanghai

If official media reports are to be believed, Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party and President of the People’s Republic, represents a state that has a profound understanding of Marxism on the part of the country’s leadership was essential. He was the first to emphasize that the abandonment of Marxism would mark China’s CCP “to lose its soul and direction.”

As the CCP approached its 19th national congress in mid-October, it also suggested that the Chinese people, largely because of the professional social and economic changes their society has undergone in recent decades, are in a unique position to further develop those theories first elaborated by the authors of the Communist Manifesto.

I confess to being puzzled by academics, pundits and ordinary followers of the global scene who casually affirm, as though it were a given, that Beijing has abandoned Marxism and socialism. Perhaps this is an unreasonable reaction to such affirmations, since the reason behind them isn’t obscure. China’s is a market economy; there is no doubt about it. But it is large and flourishing, generating the bulk of new employment. The country now boasts 30 of the world’s largest cities, a phenomenon often fabulously rich (and notoriously vulgar in its consumption habits). Inequality, both between regions and social strata, can be striking.

Yet it is undoubtedly worthwhile to listen to what the Party itself says, to consider its own metaphors, and to see how they road to socialism,” and to study its own elaborations on the “Chinese road to socialism,” and to study its own elaborations on the “Chinese Communist Manifesto. Specifically, if socialism and communism are to remain on the agenda, the working class must not have its own self-defence organizations, which effectiveness has been precisely on their democracy and autonomy? This is a theme particularly recognized in China, as in the country under the All Japan Communist Party, the China Federation of Trade Unions and even to a lesser extent in practice. But it is a work in progress, to say the least. Suffice it to point out two things: Chinese workers are often not shy about taking action if they are ripped off; and when ripped off, they are often disinclined to rely on their official representatives.

Impressions of Shanghai

Having recently arrived in Shanghai, I think that some anecdotal impressions might be appropriate to this article. This is the most populous city in the world’s most populous State strikes the worker with its extraordinary energy, obvious prosperity and cutting-edge ambition. Purchases are accomplished in most stores with Alipay (never mind that sheet of old technology known as a bank card, though it remains an option). Commuters are also ubiquitous, as others who have travelled here will know. This city is built to the clouds. Public transport is outstanding, in terms of reach, performance and affordability. One gets the distinct impression that if the Shanghaihians are not self-conscious, they are in alarming numbers, it is not out of desire to get around; the mammouth subway system will deliver one anywhere. Also impressive from a public transport point of view is the metro network built around a considerably simpler vehicular technology. Clusters of brightly coloured cycles abound. For apaltry sum you can take a bike from anywhere and leave it anywhere, provided you lock it up. One can be tempted on this basis alone, to take the Shanghai cyclist’s paradise – except for the fact that car and scooter owners can afford much more impressive machines. To be sure, crossing the street as a pedestrian is possibly the riskiest act one can undertake in this mega-city of around 25 million.

Not only the sharing economy limited to bikes. In this region of regular rain, umbrellas may also be had in subway stations. Just remember to return yours to the rack.

The Kurdistan Referendum: Iraqi Communists call for dialogue

Statement by the Political Bureau of the Iraqi Communist Party on September 10, 2017, on the referendum of the Kurdistan region, calling for an unconditional dialogue on the basis of the country’s constitution.

Since the referendum in Kurdistan was held on 25 September, our country has been facing an extremely dangerous situation that threatens its security and future. It calls for urgent and realistic handling of the national political forces and all those who are genuinely keen to dispel the dangers.

The insistence on holding the referendum unilaterally, despite the rejection it met with on Iraqi, regional, Arab and international levels, and despite the pressing calls for its postponement and the exclusion of the disputed areas from its framework, has given rise to situations that were not difficult to foresee. This is especially so as our heroic armed forces were continuing their great task of pursuing terrorist Daesh, after completing the battle for the Nineveh province and achieving outstanding victories.

Daesh has always expressed respect for the right of peoples, large and small, and has never called for the rights of people and the people of Kurdistan in general, to express their will and assemble. The Party has always suggested since last May that the referendum process should be postponed and away from their aspiration and will, and away from their aspiration for stability, construction and establishing a system of constitutional institutions on the basis of citizenship and not on the basis of quotas.

On the other hand, our party believes that the formula of the federal state can still provide solutions that are satisfactory to all parties, and ensure the rights and interests of the Kurdish people and other social constituencies in Kurdistan and the whole of Iraq, if political will exists among all parties and if the United Nations provides the necessary support.

In order to deal with the referendum crisis and overcome its interactions and repercussions, it is necessary to act on the basis of the public and national interest; the interests and rights of the Iraqi people with all its nationalities and other constituencies, by exerting efforts to:

• Reject escalation in all its forms, and the provocations of what are called “warboys” and advocates of nationalist hatred, completely renounce the logic of violence and military force or hitting at their use, and

see KURDISTAN, p. 11

“Socialism with Chinese Characteristics” ...the state role in the People’s Republic

By Xi Jinping
25 million in forced labour

Some 25 million people toiled in forced labour around the world in 2016, and 18 percent were children - according to two new reports by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Walk Free Foundation.

“Global Estimates of Child Labour” and “Global Estimates of Modern Slavery,” estimated that overall, 40.3 million people are victims of “modern slavery,” which includes forced labour and forced marriage.

Far more women and girls experience forced labour, making up 58 percent — 9.2 million — of the 16 million in forced labour in the private economy. Some 50 percent of women and men in forced labour also were in debt bondage, in which personal debt is used to forcibly obtain labour. This proportion rises above 70 percent for girls, forced to work in agriculture, domestic work or manufacturing.

Forced labour is most prevalent in Asia and the Pacific, reaching four per 1,000 population. The European region (including Central Asia) has the second highest proportion, with 3.6 per 1,000 people aged 15-17 years old, followed by the Arab States (2.2) and the Americas (1.3).

According to the ILO report, children make up 18 percent of victims of forced labour exploitation, 35 percent of those in state-enforced forced labour, and 21 percent of victims of commercial sexual exploitation. Overall, the report estimates 152 million children involved in child labour globally, with 73 million of them in hazardous work that is dangerous to their health and safety. The figure represents a decline from 2012, part of a larger trend in lowering the number of children engaged in labour in the 21st century. However, this decline has slowed dramatically in recent years.

General strike in Catalonia

Catalonia came to a near-standstill on Oct. 3 as workers staged a general strike in protest at police brutality during the Oct. 1 independence referendum. Almost 900 people were injured when riot police unleashed tear gas and rubber bullets in an attempt to stop the referendum, which was deemed illegal by the Spanish government, from taking place.

On Oct. 1, some 300,000 people took to the streets of Barcelona, after the Spanish government and separatist groups urged workers to go on strike on partial or full-day, in protest at the harassment of workers and the victimisation of union members. The BFAWU has since launched a campaign to emulate the tactics of campaigns for better pay and conditions for fast-food workers in the US and New Zealand. The union wants a £10 an hour minimum wage - now adopted as Labour Party policy - and an end to zero-hour contracts.

Striking workers told the Morning Star newspaper they hoped for workers at many more branches to join a “second wave” of action.

Shen Batmaz, a worker at Crayford restaurant in Cambridge and Crayford branches. “This is the first wave, it starts with a handful of workers from two stores, then the next wave hits and it’s going to be quite a few more of us,” she told the Star. “Then it will just keep growing and growing. We want this to become a movement for all workers on low pay who can’t afford to live.”

Mike Jackson, from the legendary Lesbians and Girls Support the Miners group, told the rally he had “been waiting 30 to 40 years for this moment.”

Matt McCarten, whose Unite the Union activists from as far as Saskatchewan CPC

Macron slammed for arrogance

French president Emmanuel Macron has been criticised after he was filmed confusing disgruntled workers of preferring to stop “bloody chaotic” rather than job, weeks after he called critics of his policies “slackers.”

On October 4, during a visit to a company in south-west France, Macron made the comments while clashes were occurring outside the premises between police and striking workers, a move against his economic policies.

“Instead of kicking up bloody chaotic, we should be better off going to see if they can get a job offer,” he said.

The move has been condemned by a union leader in the region that was seeking new workers. “Some of them have got nothing to lose,” he said. “It’s not that far for them to go.”

He made the remarks to a regelmale employee, who had mentioned the aluminium foundry’s difficulties in finding workers.

Macron, a former investment banker, is often accused of being out of touch with ordinary people and a “president of the rich” because of his proposed cuts to France’s welfare state.

Clémentine Autin, of the leftist France Unbowed party, said: “It shows a great class contempt. He can’t stop coming out with unfair comments targeting the masses.”

In early September, days before a union-led protest against his goutting of labour laws, he said in a speech that he would not back down “to slackers, cynics and extremists.” The remark became a rallying cry, with protesters coining slogans such as “Slackers of the world, unite!”

Scab pilots at Avianca

Since a strike by Avianca pilots left the Colombian airline scrambling, thentiation’s Civil Aviation department ruled on new measures permitting foreign pilots to operate for the next three months.

Members of the Associated Pilots of the Colombian Association of Aviators Civilians (ACDAC) have been on strike for Sept. 20 to demand salary and benefits on par with the airline’s pilots in other countries.

The union reacted with indignation at the news, with cries of foul play at the company’s move.

ACDAC said, in a statement with this decision, once again the Colombian state is on the side of the company that violates labour rights and not on the side of the rights of workers.

With this decision, according to MACDAC, the union’s president, the strike was launched due to a violation of the collective agreement by the Avianca administration, which allows workers 60 days to strike by law. The union estimated more than 300,000 passengers and approximately 3,500 flights have been cancelled.

Czech unions threaten strike

Czech public sector unions threatened on October 4 to call for a nationwide strike unless the government agreed to raise wages before parliamentary elections taking place on Oct. 20 and 21. The government has said it would not agree to the demands.

Some members benefit from a robust economy that saw overall average income rise to their fastest pace in a decade in the second quarter. They are demanding a 15 percent pay hike for teachers, and 10 percent for other state workers, saying the changes should be in place by Nov.

Large-scale union protests are unusual in the Czech Republic - the last public sector worker walkout took place in December 2010. Josef Stredulka, chair of the Czech Chamber of Trade Unions, said members had decided to take action after the three-party coalition government failed to reach an agreement on the pay increase.

“The Nov. 1 line is unacceptable for us,” he told reporters. “We don’t have a problem with a strike.”

Stredulka added that Czech teachers and other highly-qualified employees in the Czech Republic is the benchmarking level of all of companies in the OECD club of developed economies. Despite recent pay jumps, average earnings in the Czech Republic are less than a third of those in neighboring Germany.

Dockers fight greedy bosses

A campaign by the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) to stop dockworkers from being greedily exploited has been launched.

The ITF (International Container Terminal Services, Inc) that they have to change the way they treat their workers in Indonesia, Madagascar - and beyond.

In Indonesia, children have been forced to drop out of school because ICTSI - one of the world’s most profitable stevedoring companies - is targeting their parents for joining their union’s fight for a living wage.

ICTSI is systematically undermining the wages and conditions of workers like Able in Jakarta, forcing workers into long, unsafe overtime simply to earn a living wage. Union members have been denied overtime by the company, and many are now small. They do basic expenses, resulting in workers taking children out of school and being evicted from their homes. ICTSI is punishing these workers for standing up.

ITF general secretary and chair of the ITF dockers’ section, Paddy Crumlin, stated: “ICTSI is a rogue company, and it’s driving down conditions. Enough is enough. The ITF and its member unions are holding it to account. So far we’ve re-considered its aggressive treatment of workers stops here.”

The ITF is calling on ICTSI to immediately stop targeting union leaders with collective agreement that guarantees workers a fair wage – without having to choose between a living wage and the threat of violent attacks on their homes.

Macaroni made the comments while clashes were occurring outside the premises between police and striking workers, a move against his economic policies.

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Two Storms hit Puerto Rico: Maria and Colonialism

By W.T. Whitney Jr.

Fans of socialist Rosa Luxemburg looking at Hurricane Maria’s assault on Puerto Rico may react with nausea at the sight of million of people in 1902 when Mt. Pelee erupted in Martinique, a French colony, and casually described it as “the wrath of the earth,” who with “faith unshaken — in their own wisdom — gave all turned to Martinique [to] help, rescue, dry the tears and curse the havoc — working human hands.” They had plundered and murdered in colonies like Martinique and she would have certainly opposed in trying to comfort the survivors.

Currently that accusation applies to U.S. words and deeds in the wake of two recent hurricanes — particularly Hurricane Maria — that left Puerto Rico in shambles.

Food, water, and medical supplies were almost exhausted nine days after Maria hit. Lack of diesel fuel to power generators caused electricity shortages such that in hospitals air-conditioners and therapy devices weren’t working. Patients dependent on respirators were dying. The entire electricity grid is destroyed. Puerto Ricans are in the dark and without refrigeration to preserve food or means for communication. Recovery is measured in months or years.

The die was cast in 1920 when the U.S. Congress passed the Merchant Marine Act of 1920 which is passed on to the Puerto Rican people. Karl Marx wrote in his book ‘Capital’ that it’s impossible to understand the relationship between ideas and actions of the people; therefore, it’s impossible to study the relationship between ideas and actions of the people. I think it’s impossible to understand the relationship between ideas and actions of the people.

But workers on the island may learn from their recent experience, says Puerto Rico’s Communist Party.

“People’s wrath provoked by the criminal negligence of the [island’s] government before Maria’s arrival will only increase with each broken promise, each example of government impotence and each slap in the face.”

Rosa Luxemburg writes in: “A day will come when another volcano lifts its voice of thunder … And only on its ruins will the nations come together in true harmony. I do not mean that this is one day, but that one deadly foe – blind, dead nature.”

Castro leads tributes at the House of Guillermia’s movement

Cuban President Raul Castro led commemorations for the 50th anniversary of the death of his comrade Che Guevara on October 9.

The ceremony was held at the mausoleum of the Argentinian-born “Heroic Guerrilla” in the central city of Santa Clara, the day before the anniversary of his 1967 execution in Bolivia.

Santa Clara was the site of the last battle in the Cuban revolution in 1958, when two columns led by Che and Camilo Cienfuegos attacked the city, derailing an armed train carrying troops sent by dictatorial Batista. Almost 60,000 residents of the province attended the ceremony.

Vice-President Miguel Diaz-Canel reiterated Cuba’s defends of US imperialism, despite more than half a century of economic blockade.

“It is the example of Che grows huge and multiplies in our people, who will not surrender and will always defend the revolution,” he said, insisting: “We decide on the necessary changes in Cuba.”

Referring to recent bizarre allegations of “ sonic attacks” USB, staff, Diaz-Canel said: “These events are clear evidence of what Che alerted us when he said you cannot rely on the least on imperialism … These are difficult times. Powerful interests of domination and consent prevail, there are frequent wars of intervention, danger grows of a nuclear war.”

He continued to order the government to continue its efforts to denationalize and regime-change policies against legitimately established governments” — a clear reference to recent opposition riots in Cuba as well as political left 124 people dead.

The processes taking place in Latin America are an evident expression of those colonising plans and, in our case, express the weight of interests of a political and economic recolonization that opposes the way to brutal capitalism.”

Syrian Foreign Minister calls to defeat terrorism, scale up reconciliation

Amidst the coverage of Donald Trump’s inflammatory speech to the 72nd session of the UN General Assembly, the voices of other world leaders went largely unheeded in Washington, America. We print here an excerpt from the speech by Wael Amr, Syrian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

As we meet again, our world is facing mounting challenges and dangers on a daily basis, and a persistent standoff between two sets of forces: forces that seek to control and dominate nations and their riches, by turning back the clock, re-establishing a unipolar world order, fuelling chaos and war, and violating international and humanitarian law, and forces that work tirelessly to create a more balanced, secure, and just world that respects the sovereignty of the states and the right of peoples to exercise self-determination and build their own future.

As we meet again, many people continue to pay dearly and sacrifice their lives, security, stability and livelihood, as a result of the policies of certain countries. These countries falsely believe that they could use terrorism as a tool to satisfy their interests, manipulate their ill-conceived agendas, which do not serve the interests of any people, not even their own. No people has suffered at the hands of more terrorism than the Syrian people who, for six years now, has fought against terrorists pouring from all over the world, especially from the region and beyond.

For more than six years, Syrians have faced one of the worst and have made great sacrifices to defend their country in the face of a terrorist onslaught. These terrorist atrocities, marked by the brutality, which has spared no one and nothing, targeting innocent people, cities, and cities, and cultural heritage. Despite it all, Syria is determined, more than ever, to eradicate terrorism from every part of the country, without exception, thanks to the sacrifices of our army and the steadfastness of our people.

Since the beginning of the war, our state policy has followed two main tracks: combating terrorism, and working hard towards a political solution that stems the bloodshed and restores stability.

On the counter-terrorism, the Syrian Arab Army along with its supporting forces and allies are making daily achievements, clearing out territories and uprooting terrorists. However, the threat of this plague persists, making daily achievements, uprooting terrorists. However, the threat of this plague persists, claiming the lives of the Syrians on a daily basis, and depleting the country’s resources. We must all understand that terrorism and underlying Takfiri extremist ideology will continue to spread like a tumour throughout the world and haunt all of us unless everyone of us genuinely will to cooperate to confront it together. Any such endeavour must respect the sovereignty and of states and the interests of the people, and must lead to the illusion that this can be used as a tool for political gains and narrow interests.

On the political side, the Syrian government has spared no effort since the early months of the crisis to seek a political solution to this crisis. However, the set of forces: forces that seek to control and dominate nations and their riches, by turning back the clock, re-establishing a unipolar world order, fuelling chaos and war, and violating international and humanitarian law, and forces that work tirelessly to create a more balanced, secure, and just world that respects the sovereignty of the states and the right of peoples to exercise self-determination and build their own future.

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The Syrian government reaffirms its commitment to the Geneva process and further progress on that track. This process has yet to bear fruit in the absence of a genuine national opposition that can be a partner in Syria’s future, and as countries with influence over the conflict continue to block any meaningful progress.

It is truly unfortunate that these countries that block a solution in Syria are members of this inter-national organization, including members of the Security Council.

The Syrian government has always insisted that any solution in Syria must respect Syria’s non-negotiable principles which are a red line for all Syrians. These include the complete eradication of terrorism, the territorial unity of Syria, the sovereignty of the state, and rejection of any external interference in political decisions regarding the internal affairs. Only Syrians have the right to make such decisions, whether now or in the
Nepal Communist parties to merge

Special to P1

Nepal’s two main communist parties agreed to merge on October 28, 2017, a year later than the scheduled elections this year. The Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Centre) announced their merger in Kathmandu on Monday.

The new alliance hopes to win a landslide two-thirds majority in the 275-member lower house, overthrowing the New Constitution party currently governing in coalition with the Maoists.

The island continues to be a beacon to the global south, with its spirit of internationalism and unswerving resolve to make Che’s vision of “another world is possible” a reality.

Che, a qualified doctor, dreamed of a world in which medical practice was free and universal healthcare, education and social care, despite all the difficulties imposed by the US blockade.

The US has certainly put Cuba’s sovereignty to the test, with the blockade, the Bay of Pigs invasion, subversion, assassination attempts on its leadership and regime change attempts, the deliberate introduction of denouge fever onto the island, as the groups have carried out terrorist attacks, killing over 3,400 Cubans. But Cuba has defied all the odds and successfully resisted these attacks from its superpower neighbour.

n the face of international condemnation. Notably, on November 1, 2016, the UN general assembly will vote for the 26th consecutive year on Cuba’s resolution to end the blockade. One hundred and ninety-one countries are expected to vote in favour, with only the US and Israel to vote against, following US President Donald Trump’s new hard line on Cuba.

Cuba’s report to the UN notes how the blockade has cost the country over $822 billion, or 60 per cent of GDP, in lost trade and investment.”

The parliament has not sat since 2016, although a special session was called in 2017. But the Prachanda government has been accused of numerous rights abuses, including human rights groups.

The New Christian – which likely went to Haftar’s forces – would, of course, have contravened the UN arms embargo, established with the backing of the US and Britain in February 2011. The West’s support for Haftar is dangerous for three reasons.

First, the US and Britain continue to arm “warlord” whose forces have been accused of numerous war crimes by human rights groups. Second, the West’s backing for the field marshal is undermining attempts at national reconciliation.

“Support by Western special forces, particularly French, to General Haftar has made it more difficult to reach a compromise with him because he thinks he has no important external backing and therefore does not need to compromise with the unity government,” Mattia Toaldo, a Libya specialist at the European Council on Foreign Relations, told the Middle East Eye.

Shamefully, one has to read the Middle East Eye and the US magazine The Atlantic to find out about the support Britain has given Haftar. The British media has a similarly woeful record when it comes to Britain’s involvement in the Syrian war, with the New Statesman reporting in 2017 that British intelligence services had been working covertly with Saudi Arabia and the US to funnel arms to rebels.

If people really knew, the war would be stopped tomorrow. But of course they don’t know and are not going to learn. British prime minister David Lloyd George’s reaction after listening to a communiqué during the Western Front during the first world war.

In the summer of 2015, diplomatic relations were re-established between the US and Cuba, with former president Barack Obama’s rapprochement – but the blockade remained in place.

Trump’s arrival in the White House has led to the blockade being tightened. In the last few weeks, the US diplomatic staff in Havana by 60 per cent and expelled the last of 10 accredited diplomats from Washington. US hostility to Cuba is again on the ascendency.

Throughout the last half century, and the diplomatic relations, the last few years, Cuba’s position has remained the same; the blockade must be lifted and respect Cuba’s sovereignty.

Che’s words from an ABC interview in 1964 remain pertinent. When asked: “What would you like to see the United States do, as opposed to what you want?” Che replied: “Nothing. Nothing in all respects. Nothing for or against us. Just leave us alone.” (Ollie Higgins is the campaigns officer for the Cuba Solidarity Campaign in the UK.)

Continued from page 6

This backing is confirmed by Wehry, who notes “the French, the British, and the [United States] sent special operators who were varying levels of intelligence and front-line support” to Haftar.

Middle East Eye’s scoop about the West’s relationship with Haftar followed another expose from the website that reported the British Special Air Service (SAS) was fighting ISIS in Libya, alongside Jordanian special forces.

More recently, Middle East Eye reported that leaked 2014 emails between the United Arab Emirates ambassador to the US and the then US national security adviser Susan Rice seem to indicate that the United States knew about illegal arms shipments to rebels in Libya “from the UAE.”

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“Support by Western special forces, particularly French, to General Haftar has made it more difficult to reach a compromise with him because he thinks he has
People's Voice deadlines
November 1-15 issue: Thursday, Oct. 19
November 16-30 issue: Thursday, Nov. 2
December 1-31 issue: Thursday, Nov. 23
Send submissions to PV Editorial Office, 706 Clark Drive, Vancouver, V5L 3J1 <pvoice@telus.net>

Images of a city in turmoil

City on Edge contains hundreds of photos from the archives of the city’s two daily papers, the Province and the Vancouver Sun. The images go back to the early 20th century, after the theft of lands home for thousands of years to local Coast Salish peoples. One of the first shows some of the aftermath of the infamous anti-Asian riot of September 1910 in Vancouver. The Komagata Maru incident is also highlighted, with photos of the 300-plus voyageurs of Indian and White origin who were denied entry to “white” Canada in 1914.

The bulk of photos in City on Edge span the early 20th century, showing an astonishing range of labour battles, including successful campaigns against the Canadian National Railways and the CPR. Pioneering struggles for women’s equality and LGBTQ rights are well-represented, and colonial resistance by indigenous peoples becomes increasingly visible over time. Each decade saw waves of increased participation as the Operation Solidarity fightback against the right-wing Social Credit government in 1937, APEC protests in 1997, the Occupy movement of 2012, and opposition to the Vancouver 2010 Olympic bid, most of which faced police repression.

Not every photo in this eclectic collection is a winner. Why include a photo of a lone “protester against protests”? But the author has picked a fascinating and diverse set of images. Many more are displayed as part of a show based on the book, at the Vancouver Museum, where the photos are archived.

This reviewer has one minor criticism of this excellent publication - the complete lack of any reference to the Communist Party or the Young Communist League. The CPC and YCL were deeply involved in organizing around many of the struggles, and if even an “independent” community archive, they saw their role as well-represented. This may be an unfortunate oversight, or it may simply reflect the corporate media’s reluctance to admit the existence of Communists in Canada.

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Trump Threatens Genocide, Crimes Against Humanity in North Korea


Donald Trump threatened to “totally destroy North Korea” in his address to the United Nations General Assembly on September 19. That threat violates the UN Charter, and indicates an intent to commit genocide, crimes against humanity, the war crime of collective punishment and international humanitarian law.

Moreover, a first-strike use of nuclear weapons would violate international law.

By threatening to attack North Korea, Trump is endangering the lives of countless people. In the past, he has indicated his willingness to use nuclear weapons and Kim Jong-un has threatened to retaliate. The rapidly escalating rhetoric and provocative maneuvers taken by both sides has taken us to the brink of war.

Trump’s threat prompted North Korea’s foreign minister Ri Yong-ho to state, “Given the fact that this [threat] came from someone who holds the highest US office, this is clearly a declaration of war.”

Ri added, “Since the United States declared war on our country, we will have every right to make counter-measures, including the right to use the US’s strategic bombers even when they are not inside the airspace border of our country.”

Such a move by North Korea would violate international law. But that does not justify US law-breaking.

Two wrongs do not make a right. Moreover, the use of military force by either country would prove disastrous.

Peaceful dispute resolution

After two world wars claimed millions of lives, the UN Charter was adopted in 1945 “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.” The Charter mandates the peaceful resolution of international disputes without the use of force except in self-defense or with Security Council authorization.

Article 2 requires that UN members “settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.” Peaceful means are spelled out in Article 33: Parties to a dispute may agree to settle their international disputes by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or courts, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

In 1953, after one-third of North Korea’s population was decimated, the United States and North Korea signed an armistice agreement. But the US never allowed a peace treaty to be adopted. Instead, North Korea has repeatedly advocated the signing of a peace treaty to formally end the Korean War. To this day, 30,000 US troops continue to occupy South Korea.

By stating the intention to totally destroy North Korea, Trump has threatened genocide.

The US has also refused to pursue the “freeze-for-freeze” strategy suggested by China and Russia. Under this plan, North Korea would freeze its nuclear and missile testing, and the US and South Korea would end their annual, provocative joint military exercises. Vassily Nebenzia, Russia’s ambassador to the UN, said this path would offer “a way out” of the current situation.

Instead, the US has engineered punitive sanctions against North Korea, which have only strengthened the latter’s resolve to develop usable nuclear weapons. Since 1953, North Koreans have lived in fear of annihilation by the United States.

UN Charter prohibits threats and preemptive force

Article 2 of the Charter states that all members “shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.” Trump’s threat to totally destroy North Korea violates that mandate.

In addition, the preemptive use of force violates the Charter.

The only exceptions to the Charter’s prohibition of the use of force are self-defense or approval by the Security Council.

Self-defense, under Article 51 of the Charter, is a narrow exception to the Charter’s prohibition of the use of force.

Countries may engage in individual or collective self-defense only in the face of an armed attack. In order to act in lawful self-defense, there must exist “a necessity of self-defense, instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberation,” under the well-established Caroline Case.

North Korea has not attacked the United States or another UN member country, nor is such an attack imminent.

Moreover, the Security Council has not authorized any country to use military force against North Korea. The council resolutions that establish sanctions against North Korea end by stating that the Council “decides to remain seized of the matter.” That means that the Council, and only the Council, has the authority to approve military action.

Both Trump’s threat to use military force against North Korea and the mounting of a preemptive strike would violate the Charter.

Crime of genocide

By stating the intention to totally destroy North Korea, Trump has threatened genocide. The crime of “genocide,” as defined in the Rome Statute for the International Criminal Court, is committed when, with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, any of the following acts are committed: killing members of the group, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, or deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its destruction in whole or in part.

Trump’s threat to totally destroy North Korea violates that mandate. That would amount to genocide.

Crimes against humanity

Under the Rome Statute, “crimes against humanity” include: the commission of murder as part of a widespread or systematic attack against any civilian population; or persecution against any civilian population; or persecution against any religious character, as part of a widespread or systematic attack against any civilian population.

Trump’s threat to totally destroy North Korea, if carried out, would destroy, in whole, the national group of North Koreans. That would amount to genocide.

The Fourth Geneva Convention, which North Korea has not attacked the United States or another UN member country, nor is such an attack imminent.

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First-strike use of nuclear weapons violates international law

In its 1996 advisory opinion, “Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons,” the International Court of Justice (ICJ) determined that “the threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules and principles of international law applicable in armed conflict, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarinan law.”

The ICJ went on to say, “Moreover, the Court cannot conclude whether the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be contrary to international humanitarian law in an extreme circumstance of self-defense, in which the very survival of the members of the community, or their religious, ethnic, or ethnic or religious character, as part of a widespread or systematic attack against any civilian population.”

That means that while the use of nuclear weapons might be lawful when used in self-defense if the survival of the nation were at stake, a first-strike use would not be.

Donald Trump’s apocalyptic threat against North Korea violates international law. It also imperils the lives of untold numbers of people. We must urge Congress to prevent Trump from launching a catastrophic war.

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