

...TO END THE WAR THERE?

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of Canada as an alternative. Even the few lower class males who may be eligible for landed immigrant status are not likely to have access to information of this possibility. Most anti-draft information is disseminated on university campuses, written by middle-class students, and deals with involved and quite complex legal problems. Lower-class people in the U. S. are not geographically mobile or knowledgeable, remaining very close to their ghetto neighbourhoods for most of their lives. One of the basic "alternatives" to this closed world is, naturally, entrance into the United States Army and the front lines in Vietnam. Hence, for every middle-class white American draft evader or war objector residing in Canada, there is one more poor, usually non-white American in Vietnam.

The estimates for American draft resistors residing in Canada ranges from 5,000 to 50,000. Although these young men have kept themselves out of the military and Vietnam, they have not escaped the continental system which invoked the selective service and which brought about the Vietnam war. Because of Canada's satellite economic status, it is by definition an integral part of the imperial system which exploits youth manpower in the U.S. and elsewhere. Canada is in transition from a purely extractive colonial economy providing raw materials for industry in the U.S., to an industrialized branch-plant satellite economy, controlled from the U.S. Canada is undergoing rapid industrialization as subsidiaries of U.S. companies are increasingly set up across the border to take advantage of tax breaks instituted by the Canadian government and cheaper labour costs. The border might keep out the draft, but it does not keep out the economic system which utilizes the draft to protect itself.

With industrialization, the shift from the exploitation of the traditional working class to the simultaneous exploitation of youth is taking place with the rapid growth of universities and technical schools to service the new branch-plant corporations. Rather than insure that the needs of all Canadian citizens are looked after, the universities simply strengthen the corporate structure. Once in Canada, the new immigrant has the same choices open to him that face Canadian youth. It is clear that the life choices of youth in Canada are predetermined by class background and the needs of the economy, as they are in the U.S. The choices are unemployment, colonial employment in the extractive industries, colonial student labour, and for the "privileged" who complete university, technical or managerial work in the new branch-plant corporation. The channeling function of Canadian Universities is geared not directly to the need of the military-industrial complex as in the States, but to the needs of the Canadian satellite economy, which ultimately feeds that same U.S. military machine.

Canada is not often thought of as a country with large military expenditures. Certainly in comparison to the U.S. which appropriates over 80 billion dollars a year of its budget for "defence" purposes, this is true. However, its 1.7 billion dollar military budget puts Canada in eighth place amongst the powers of the world.

Whose economy?

U.S. intervention in the Canadian economy is the major problem that Canadians face, and indirectly, this affects the people of Vietnam. American companies are given privileged positions in the economy. The powerful elite in Canada prosper by this relationship, the American industrial elite profits by this relationship, the average Canadian citizen in turn works for low wages and is cut off from the material wealth of this country which is rightfully his. U.S. monopolies have concentrated in the Canadian metropolitan areas. Industry, selfishly concerned with extracting the largest profit possible, invests in areas with already accessible transportation systems and large labour forces showing no concern for the social and economic needs of the Canadian people. Thus, although the U.S. business sector controls over 60 percent of Canadian industry, 64 percent of U.S. - controlled labour is within 300 miles of Toronto. It is no wonder that 33 percent of the Nova Scotian population earns less than 3,400 dollars a year and yet is expected to pay outrageous consumer prices. The domination of Canadian wealth by the U.S. affects others besides Canadians. Because of this relationship, Canadian companies have more than willingly supplied the U.S. with material for use in Vietnam. It is not surprising that those seeking profit in Canada do not oppose their American counterparts, but on the contrary sit back and watch the country and its people being plundered with the equipment produced by their companies.

In comparison to Canada's role as a "neutral" shield for U.S. military exploitation, her military support is miniscule. However, our military sales to the U.S. for use in Vietnam deserves some documentation. In 1964, when there were 23,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam, Canadian military sales to the U.S. were listed as 161.5 million dollars. In 1967 there were 525,000 U.S. troops fighting in Vietnam and by then the figure had risen to 370 million dollars. Millions of dollars in equipment and materials are not included in these figures since they are considered "unofficial" categories. Regardless of these facts (more will be supplied) the Honourable Paul Martin stated in January 1968, "...it is the Government's policy not to export military

equipment to Vietnam...". The following is a statement made in Washington by a Pentagon spokesman, "...the bulk of military equipment Canada has sold to the U.S. will be used in Vietnam...". Does it make any difference if Canada transports material directly to Vietnam for U.S. use, or, if it gets to Vietnam via the U.S.? In the year 1966 alone, the year after the major U.S. build-up in Vietnam, Canadian exports of copper, bronze and brass scrap to the U.S. increased by 574%.

Most of us at least feel uneasy about the war in Vietnam. For the most part that uneasiness is provoked by the opposition of increasing numbers of people throughout the world to American policy in Vietnam. Yet for many people it is more than just an emotional response — it is also an awareness that American involvement in Vietnam is illegal; the American presence there directly contravenes the Geneva accords and international law.

But if American involvement is illegal, how and why did the U.S. interfere in the process of self-determination in Vietnam? Was it a mistake, an error in judgement on the part of those who rule America? Looking at the facts: the investment of several billion dollars in the war effort in the early fifties becomes more than just an accident. This policy was the outgrowth of two stark economic facts: the first was, as President Eisenhower pointed out, the need to maintain the present level of trade with Japan, which could only be sustained through the preservation of the "free enterprise" system in Southeast Asia; the second was the need to find an outlet for the massive production of the American defense industry in which one-sixth of the U.S. labour force is employed. The American solution to these needs was a policy of limited war.

Yet Vietnam is not an isolated event — it was not the first nor the last situation in which U.S. foreign policy has used aggression to further its own economic needs and interests. American history is filled with examples of the economic domination and the consequent military oppression of underdeveloped nations. In recent times the results of extended interference can be seen in the revolutions and violent rebellions of South America, Africa, and most clearly Southeast Asia. The continuing arms shipments to the Middle East reflect overproduction in the ever-growing military-industrial development complex.

Closer to home, we can look at the American influence on the Canadian economy. The most obvious example of this is the U.S. (English Canadian) control of Quebec's economic and cultural base which has led to near revolutionary action to prevent the disappearance of the French Fact in Canada. In our own Atlantic region we have suffered from economic underdevelopment which is the result of American control of our economy. The complicity of the Canadian Government in its sales to the U.S. of arms shipments destined for Vietnam while a supposedly neutral member on the I.C.C., and its policy of "quiet diplomacy" are a clear reflection of the U.S. domination of Canada. It is a process precisely called imperialism.

Our opposition to the war in Vietnam then, is not only a moral question but also a political one. We are voicing our opposition to the American imperialist system and the way in which it affects us daily. We support the national liberation front in Vietnam for self-determination. They are the leading force in the struggles for freedom — struggles in which we all must take part.

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The Vietnam war is playing havoc with the U.S. economy. Consumer costs have increased every year due to the Vietnam war. The money of the U.S. people is used to fight the Vietnamese, and then the people are asked to cooperate in the fight against inflation. The Canadian branch-plant economy is directly affected by what happens in the U.S. Thus, Prime Minister Trudeau has asked the Canadian people to tighten their belts so we too can fight inflation. To be sure it will not be industry that suffers but the Canadian labour force.

Not a vacuum

It was originally stated that Vietnam cannot be looked at in a vacuum. The reason should now be obvious. Just as the people of Asia, Latin America and Africa (the Third World) are suffering from U.S. imperialism, i.e., the increasing domination of foreign capital by U.S. monopolies, so are the people of Canada. Canada is not characteristic of the classical imperialized country; however, imperialism has not changed its nature, control is simply more subtle and elaborate. The U.S., with the help of Canadian capitalists, has permitted the proliferation of manufacturing industry while the unending outflow of capital is maintained. This is made possible by U.S. control of the dynamic sectors of the Canadian economy. For example, the statistics for 1963 show the U.S. controlling and owning 59% of mining and smelting, 74% of petroleum and natural gas and 60% of manufacturing. Canada is caught in a vicious cycle. The profit extracted by the U.S. is transformed into further investments which serve to strengthen U.S. imperialism with a concomitant decrease in the relative position of Canadians.

The Canadian government has and is continuing to allow and promote U.S. investment in Canada. American capitalism is the real problem the Vietnamese face and the real problem Canadians face. To speak of eliminating or even alleviating our problems of inflation, unemployment, poor housing, regional disparity, etc., without attacking U.S. imperialism is ludicrous. The very fact that the majority of Canadians do not is simply symptomatic of our colonial mentality. We must cease swallowing the rhetoric of our Government and corporate elites. Mr. Benson, our Minister of Finance, states in his white paper on tax reform that "The government proposes changes under a new system that would be fairer to small shareholders and that would stimulate Canadian ownership of Canadian business", while Trudeau as did Pearson before him pushes for continentalism. For Mr. Benson to ask for our belief is an insult to our intelligence. The integration of Canadian capital into the American-based multinational corporations is the basic cause of our present ills and further integration will simply make more severe our condition of servitude.

The War Goes On

The situation in Vietnam today is worse than it ever was. The U.S. continues to carry on its genocidal war. The people of Vietnam are being used as guinea pigs by the U.S. as they experiment with so-called "special warfare". This idea of "special warfare" was originated by General Maxwell Taylor. It is simply an extension of western racism but instead of whites fighting Asians, Taylor has merely incorporated the creed of John Foster Dulles which was "let Asians fight Asians". However, as President Nixon attempts to win public support for the Vietnamization Program (an utterly impossible adventure), the U.S. continues involvement in perhaps the most barbaric undeclared "war" in history. The U.S. continues the use of concentration camps (hamlets are barbed wired and armed with militiamen), napalm (it burns unremittently and cannot be extinguished), chemical warfare (innocent peasants have been paralysed), B-52 bombing of villages and peasants (B-52 raids alone have torn 2½ million holes in Vietnam which now serve as breeding grounds for malarial mosquitoes), etc.

The U.S. now works with and through the Thieu-Ky regime in Saigon, a government as well known as the preceding fascist-oriented Diem regime for its corruption. All freedoms have been eliminated and there is no question that without U.S. military support this government would be swept away. Thousands of the country's leading religious leaders, lawyers, students, peasants and intellectuals have been imprisoned by this puppet-government for simply mentioning the word peace. These people and those more centrally involved in the war for liberation — men, women and children — are subjected to the most atrocious of tortures by the South Vietnamese with U.S. advisors, by their own admission, looking on. Numerous examples have been documented, from the ripping open of bellies of pregnant women to the use of electric torture where wires are attached to the breasts of women or testicles of men. It is no wonder that Bertrand Russell has written, "I know of few wars fought more cruelly or more destructively, or with greater display of naked cynicism, than the war waged by the United States against the peasant population of South Vietnam. It is a war which epitomizes the indifference to individual freedom, national sovereignty and popular well-being, which is so characteristic of the world-policy of the military and industrial groups controlling the United States".

The policy of President Nixon is no different from that of Johnson. He has had ample time to make necessary changes, and his November Vietnam speech has provided proof that the U.S. government intends to pursue its goal of domination and control. This is why the peace movement is so necessary and must with increased intensity be a social spur against the Nixon government. It is now time for Canadians to take a stand with the concerned people in the U.S. and elsewhere against this war. We have tried to show how Canada not only aids U.S. imperialism but, at the same time, is affected by it. It should be understood that those people who do not make the decision to take a stand, rather than remaining uncommitted, are tacitly sanctioning U.S. policy, which is, contrary to their belief, a moral commitment.