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**Radical approach to world affairs needed**

**Moral Canadian foreign policy could prevent human suffering and death**

By RICHARD WAGMAN

On September 25, Ivan Head, special foreign affairs adviser to Prime Minister Trudeau, announced that Canada would take a more "moralistic" and "left-wing" stand in foreign policy.

Trudeau repudiated this statement as "pure fiction" on October 1, reprimanding Head for holding a press interview without his consent. But before he did so, even the Toronto Star was moved to commend the government in an editorial, on its new enlightened approach to international affairs.

It all sounded like a little too much to expect from the government, but this diversion into fantasy could have a greater significance. Assuming that the need for a radical new approach to world affairs has arisen, we must ask ourselves: what constitutes a truly "moralistic" or "left-wing" foreign policy for Canada?

Even if Ottawa decided to expand our foreign aid programmes or to drop some of our military alliances, would that be sufficient? It is one thing to moralize about our position in world affairs due to a collec-

tive guilt complex, and another thing to pursue policies which will significantly alleviate human suffering and oppression in the world.

Despite Head's announcement, Canada has a long-standing policy of doing business with some of the most oppressive dictatorships in the world, helping to support the powers that be in those countries by maintaining their economic base through commercial trade. Two of the more glaring examples of this have been Canada's annual exchange of trade delegations with the countries of Brazil and South Africa.

Under a new left-wing foreign policy, would this collaboration continue? Or do Trudeau and company still think that economic trade in "peaceful" commodities has nothing to do with our political view of the governments with whom we are dealing?

With our lucrative arms trade, Canada is the world's fifth largest dealer in military armaments. Despite our smug criticisms of the United States, the well-being of our own economy is indirectly dependent on sustained military conflict somewhere in the world.

It was Canadian-made munitions and aircraft which were widely used in the wars in Vietnam and Bangladesh. Would a new left-wing foreign policy maintain this state of affairs, or would it seek to divert industrial production to more peaceful purposes?

The way in which Canada moves whenever a natural disaster strikes is appalling slow. Victims of floods, hurricanes and earthquakes can't wait for our bureaucrats in Ottawa to clear away the red tape before deciding on the details of how relief supplies are to be sent.

**POOR RECORD**

Canada has a poor record for the swift delivery of these supplies, if any are sent at all, as exhibited by our reaction to recent famines in Biafra, Bangladesh, India, Ethiopia and the Sahel region of Africa.

Our token contribution to the emergency efforts in Guatemala after the recent hurricane there typifies our lack of sincerity in answering the cries for help during such crises. And yet it does not say much

for the industrialized sector that Canada is among the more cooperative nations in this respect; most western countries still fail to donate in foreign aid as little as one per cent of their annual GNP.

Once again Canada must be severely criticized for her complicity in the tragic affairs which have befallen the Chilean people. During the three-year government of Dr. Allende's socialist coalition, Canada participated in an international credit boycott of Chile through the Inter-American Development Bank, the UN World Bank and by putting our own credit to Chile under review between 1970 and 1973.

After the CIA-backed military coup toppled the Unidad Popular government, Canada was the first nation to give diplomatic recognition to the illegal junta. When thousands of refugees banged on the doors of the Canadian embassy in Santiago seeking asylum, they were turned away and left to be dealt with at the hands of the generals. Exactly what percentage of the 20,000 Chileans who were murdered and unknown thousands who are now in concentration camps was due to this Canadian

negligence cannot be accurately determined.

Three months after the coup, the Honourable Robert Andras, then manpower minister, agreed to grant landed migrant status to those refugees whose "political beliefs do not lead to violence", pending RCMP investigation of each applicant.

Now that the suggestion has been made to put Canadian foreign policy on the side of morality, some concrete policy recommendations should be forwarded. There appear to be four major policy areas which can be dealt with: foreign aid, diplomatic relations, military production and trade relationships.

Regarding foreign aid, Canada is probably the best equipped nation on earth to act immediately when disaster strikes. We have an armed forces and air force division readily available, the need of which for the purpose of national defence is minimal.

Until recently, our prairie granaries were well stocked with annual surpluses of cereal grains. Our biggest agricultural storage problem has been how to discourage "over-production" of wheat and use up supplies before they rot. This year the situation has reversed to a deficit of supply because of the ill-fated government policy of paying farmers not to produce wheat.



Peter Hsu graphic

poverty in the third world, due largely to underdevelopment, is a major consequence of the agglomeration of vast wealth and power by the multi-nationals. This is not surprising, given the fact that many such companies have annual budgets larger than some of the nations in which they operate.

If the multi-national corporation is an extra-legal, international economic force representing the capitalist interests of our western "democracies", has it a corresponding political counterpart? There is little doubt. In the past decade or so, the CIA has participated in numerous counter-insurgent operations which have helped to install military dictatorships in Brazil, Guatemala, Santo Domingo, the Congo, Iran, Indonesia, Cambodia and Chile. This is only to name a few of its more successful exploits.

Given this state of affairs, it has been suggested that some political institutions are mere fronts for economic institutions, as it is the economic factor which actually controls the means of production and the distribution of wealth in society. This may be especially the case in many emerging nations whose political history as sovereign states is very recent, and whose various governments have been determined or maintained by the strength of their armed forces or by external military intervention.

**RESOURCE DEPOT**

Even though Canada itself serves as a resource depot for American industrialists and is largely controlled by US interests, we have our own multi-national corporations, each with its own finger in the international pie. The activities of Weston Foods (in South Africa), Falconbridge Mines (in Namibia), Bata Shoes (in Kenya), Alcan Ltd. (in Jamaica) and the Canadian chartered banks (in the Caribbean) give some indication of the role which Canada plays in the vast network of imperialism.

**NEW SPHERE**

In what way can a new Canadian foreign policy alleviate the hardships suffered by local communities abroad, in which branch plants of our multi-nationals are operating? The fact that South African blacks perform forced labour in apartheid work camps owned by Weston Foods presents serious problems to Canadian politicians dedicated to the sanctity of private enterprise.

As certain essential raw materials become increasingly scarce due to resource depletion (e.g. petroleum), the western world will become increasingly eager for the control of such resources. Since many natural resources available for export are located in third world countries, it will be much easier for the western powers simply to invade. "Dollar" imperialism through multi-national corporations and CIA-backed puppet governments are just a glimpse of what could come to pass in a new and more ruthless era of colonial exploitation.

**LIFE OR DEATH**

Faced with this very real life-or-death situation, many countries in the third world have chosen the path of revolution, some successfully. But as long as western capitalism exists, with its multi-national corporations and para-military organizations seeking to provide new markets for profit maximization and new bases of power, the inherent class antagonisms which provoke revolutionary struggle will also continue to exist.

Liberal-minded reformers will be quick to point out the need for conciliation and a reduction in excessive abuse so as to avoid a third World War. But history moves on, and the economic exploitation of one group by another continues to divide mankind.

By the end of this century the world may plunge itself into the bloodiest conflict yet known to man. The social structure of human civilization must undoubtedly undergo fundamental changes if we are to survive.

**PROFIT MAXIMIZATION**

The multi-national corporations, based in the industrialized countries (primarily the United States), tend to operate irrespective of the domestic laws or needs of the individual countries, in a bid for profit maximization through the control of world markets. Deprivation and mass

**World policies guarantee mutual destruction**

By GEORGE WALD

Following are excerpts from Wald's address to the 20th World Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, in Tokyo. A professor of biology at Harvard, he won the Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine in 1967. Excalibur reprints these excerpts from the Toronto Globe and Mail.

Human life is now threatened as never before, not by one but by many perils, each in itself capable of destroying us, but all interrelated, and all coming upon us together. I am one of those scientists who does not see how to bring the human race much past the year 2000. And if we perish, as seems more and more possible, in a nuclear holocaust, that will be the end not only for us but for much of the rest of life on the earth.

We live—while that is permitted us—in a balance of terror. The United States and the Soviet Union together have already stockpiled nuclear weapons with the explosive force of 10 tons of TNT for every man, woman and child on the earth. You might think that enough, but we are now in the midst of a further escalation on both sides, replacing every single nuclear warhead with multiple warheads and devising new and more devastating weapons.

My country at present is making three new hydrogen warheads per day. The Soviet Union keeps pace with us. We are told that our security—strange thought!—lies in Mutual Assured Destruction—MAD. It is well-named. The bomb that destroyed Hiroshima, and ended by killing about 100,000 persons, was a small one by present standards, with the explosive power of about 15,000 tons of TNT.

One of my friends was in a position about 10 years ago to look up what we then had targeted upon a Russian city about the size of Hiroshima. It was in the megaton range, several hundred times as large. Why? What for? One can only destroy a city; one can only kill a person. It is insane, but the insanity of the practical and calculating persons who run our lives. It is insane—unless one holds an arms contract. Then it is business, and the bigger the better.

The United States now budgets about \$22-billion a year on new arms. A rapid rate of turnover assures that this business will go on. Our arms sales abroad doubled in 1973-74 over the year before—\$8.5 billion, about \$7-billion going to the Middle East. When early in 1971 the Joint Economic Committee of Congress asked a general from our Department of Defence how much military hardware the department then held that had been declared surplus, mainly to be sold as scrap, he replied \$17 billion worth.

The nuclear arms contracts alone are worth about \$7 billion a year; \$7 billion

talks more loudly than any number of humanitarian declarations, or terrified people, or children facing extinction. That money is real, hard cash. Where it changes hands, those consequences are out of sight, hence out of mind—mere abstractions.

**BIG HUNGER**

But arms, and war, and nuclear weapons are only part of the crisis. The big hunger is now upon us, the great famines that scientists have been predicting for years past—hunger among the poor in the developed countries, starvation in Africa, South Asia and South America.

The Green Revolution, so recently begun, has already collapsed. It depended on huge supplies of cheap oil and coal to prepare the artificial fertilizers and pesticides that alone made it work. And oil and coal are no longer cheap. The profits of the major oil companies—which also own most of the coal, and now are developing nuclear power—doubled and tripled during the past year, as the peoples of the Third World began to starve. It seems possible that twenty million people will die of famine during the next twelve months, in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh alone.

All those problems are made more terrible by the population explosion. We have not yet quite taken in what that means. Even if all the developed nations reached the replacement level—an average of two children per reproducing pair—by the year 2000, and all the nations of the Third World came to the same state by 2050—both conditions highly unlikely—then the world population, now at about 3.7 billion, would rise by 2120 to about 13 billion.

Development, so-called, has meant mechanization. The work that used to be done by human and animal muscle is increasingly done by machines. That is true even in agriculture. It is another aspect of the Green Revolution. Farming is rapidly being replaced by agribusiness.

In the United States the same huge corporations that make aircraft control our oil and gas, run our transportation, also grow our food. Such agribusiness now controls 51 per cent of our vegetable production, 85 per cent of our citrus crops, 97 per cent of our chicken-raising, and 100 per cent of our sugar-cane. That is happening all over the world. It means more food, but many fewer jobs. And only those who find work can eat—they and their families. Unemployment, that child of the Industrial Revolution, is rising throughout the world.

And a new phenomenon that is much worse. With the increasing mechanization, increasing numbers of persons have become not only unemployed but superfluous. There is no use for them in the free-market economy. They are wanted neither as workers nor customers. They are

not wanted at all. Their existence is a burden, and embarrassment. It would be a relief if they vanished—parents and children.

In his report to the World Bank in September, 1970, its president, Robert McNamara, former Ford executive and Secretary of Defence, spoke of such persons as "marginal men". He estimated that in 1970 there were 500 million of them—twice the population of the United States—that by 1980 there would be one billion, and by 1990, two billion. That would be half the world population.

It is too late for declarations, for popular appeals, here or anywhere. All that matters now is political power.

We call for the abolition of nuclear weapons. Even in the remote chance that that would happen, it would not protect us from nuclear war. Those nations that have already learned how to make nuclear weapons would produce them in quantity within a few months of the outbreak of a new war. Getting rid of the nuclear stockpiles would defuse the present threat of instant annihilation, it would gain us a little time. It would be an important gain, but only a step toward what must be the ultimate aim: to abolish war. War is obsolete in the modern world. It has become intolerably dangerous.

The only thing that can save us now is political power—for the peoples of this world to take that power away from their present masters, who are leading our world to destruction.

And what of the socialist world? It offers us an imperialism of the left to balance that of the right. We have had hard lessons to learn during the past year. One of them is that private wealth and personal political power are interchangeable, bureaucrats are interchangeable, generals and admirals, corporate executives and industrial commissars—all interchangeable.

Hence no nation so closely resembles the United States of America as the Soviet Union. That is what Andrei Sakharov told us a few years ago, and went on to propose that both nations now join forces to work for the good of humanity. For that he is virtually a prisoner in his own country. Policy in the modern world, right or left, is not made by the Sakharovs.

**WORLD DISASTER**

We are often told indeed that even the experts do not know how to deal with the problems that now threaten worldwide disaster, that "all the facts are not yet in", that more research must be done, and more reports written.

By all means let us have more research. But that must not be allowed to become a trap, an excuse for endlessly putting off action.

The present crisis is a crisis not of information but of policy. We could begin to cope with all the problems that now threaten our lives. But we cannot cope with any of them while maximizing profits. And a society that insists before all on maximizing profits for the few thereby threatens disaster for all.

But not for all at the same time. As matters now stand, the people of the Third World are to perish first. They have already begun to starve; all that is asked of them is to starve quietly. If they make trouble they will be exterminated by other means.

The developed nations are armed to the teeth, and mean not only to hold on to what they have but to grasp whatever more they can, while they can. For example, the last of the world's rapidly dwindling natural resources. For another example: As the great famines begin, the grain that might feed a hungry peasantry throughout the Third World is fed instead to cattle and hogs to supply the rapidly increasing demand for beef and pork in the affluent countries.

But their turn must come too, first of course for their poor, already hard hit by worldwide inflation and unemployment. And if there should be another major war, as seems likely, a nuclear holocaust would swallow up everything.

Unless the people of this world can come together to take control of their lives, to wrest political power from those of its present masters who are pushing it toward destruction, then we are lost—we, our children and their children.

**WHO RULES?**

And who are the masters? In the so-called "free world" it is not the governments. They are only the servants, the agents. Nor is it the generals. They too are only the servants.

The "free world" is run by such enterprises as General Motors, ITT, the Chase Manhattan Bank, Exxon, Dutch Shell and British Petroleum, Mitsubishi and Mitsui. Their wealth and power exceed any previously known throughout human history.

We think of General Motors as a private business, but only 18 nations in the world have gross national products as large as the annual sales of General Motors—\$36 billion in 1973. Those giant corporations can buy and sell, can make and break governments. They stop at nothing.

A year ago Chile was taken over by a military junta, its President Salvador Allende murdered, its great folk singer Victor Jara beaten to death. But now ITT, which offered our C.I.A. \$1 million to keep Allende from becoming President, can operate freely; and Anaconda Copper has just settled its claims with the new Chilean dictatorship for \$253 million.

**NO CONFLICT**

When one sees that Canada is mainly peopled by immigrants or their descendants, who came here to build a better life for themselves, the idea that we should offer asylum to all those refugees who are seeking freedom from persecution is not at all in conflict with our national tradition or our national interests.

Canadian military production also presents difficult problems. Our present state of semi-dependence on war to keep Canadian workers employed is a shameful example of distorted priorities in economic development. But it is not so well established as to be irreversible—especially due to our general level of industrial retardation in secondary manufacturing.

Canada still has an underdeveloped industrial base, exporting most of her raw materials to foreign countries for refinement and manufacture abroad. This is a direct exportation of jobs which can be

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