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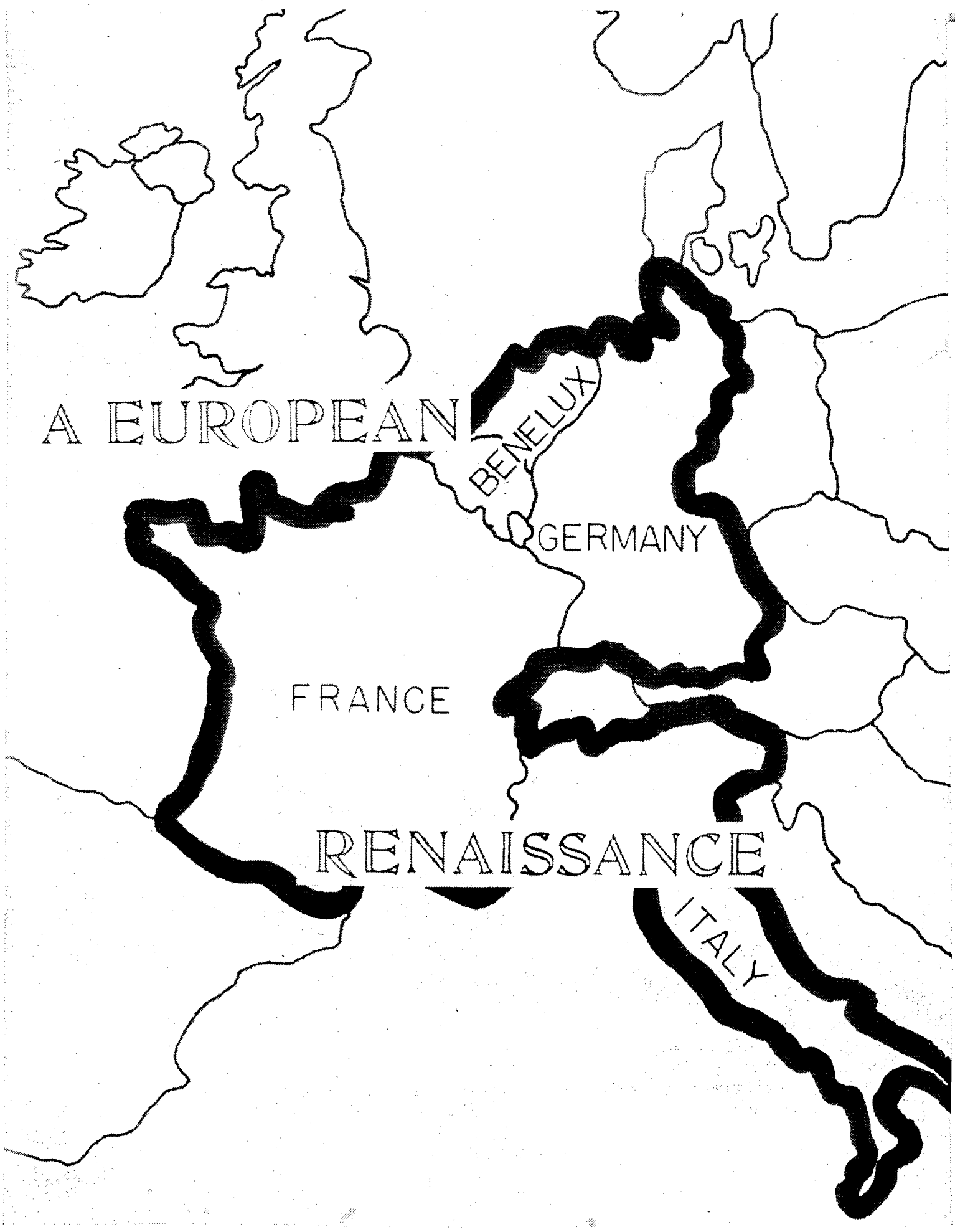

THE COMMON MARKET

Britain's entry vital issue to Canada

The European Common Market is historically incredible. It represents the close co-operation of nations that have been mortal enemies for 100 years.

Right up until 1957 when the Treaty of Rome was signed, and even beyond, most scholars refused to believe that France and Germany could forget old animosities and work together for their common good.

But today the skeptics are wavering. France and Germany—and their four Common Market partners, Belgium, Italy, Holland and Luxembourg—have created an economic revolution in planned capitalism.

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And the ECM may also be fostering a political revolution which has every chance of being bloodless.

It is creating a third power bloc in international affairs. And it may well contain the seeds of a long-awaited United States of Europe.

Today it is in the news because Britain and several other European nations are knocking on the Common Market door. But the gatekeeper is tough Gen. Charles de Gaulle. who can see only the grandeur of France, and entry is still uncertain.

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For Canadians, Britain's proposed entry is a vital issue. Prime Minister John Diefenbaker expressed hysterical concern about the possible effects on Canada when he spoke at the London Commonwealth Conference in September.

This issue is explored by Jack Richardson, of the University's economics department, in an article on Canada and the Common Market on page 5.

Britain's position is discussed in an article by Dr. William Hughes, of the faculty of commerce, on page 4 of Ubyssey Features.

The stumbling block in most of Britain's negotiations for entry into the ECM have come over the thorny subject of agriculture, which is still creating problems within the Common Market itself.

Dr. J. J. Richter examines this problem in an article on agriculture and the Common Market, also on page 4.

The future of the ECM is in many ways uncertain. But it is likely that all internal tariffs will be wiped out before the 1970 target date, and the free trade area fully established.

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But whether the great political dream of its founders will be realized in a United States of Europe is a question that is at present unanswerable.

The threat of Franco-German domination and the inflammable question of German unification will have to be dealt with first.

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PREMIER LLOYD . . . his battle

MEDICARE

THE BATTLE OF SASKATCHEWAN

By Gary Watkins

Education IV

When the time comes for the press to judge the best news stories of 1962, the Medicare struggle in Saskatchewan will probably be near the top of the list. Looking back on those hot July days when the first doctor's "strike" in history took place, it seems hard to understand what all the charges and counter-charges were about.

The government of Saskatchewan was simply carrying out its 1960 election promise of a government-sponsored medical care plan. When the Medical Care Act was discussed in the provincial legislature, not one single dissenting vote was cast. Yet this was the act that the doctors could not accept because it was, in the words of Dr. Dalgleish, president of the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons: "The most vicious type of legislation since the time of King Charles I."

Dr. Dalgleish complained that "The government's intention is not to set up a scheme of health insurance, but rather it is intending to set up a means of controlling the doctors of the province by a monopolistic payment agency . . . Our basic stand is that we cannot submit to this monopolistic control."

When charges like this are levied, it seems reasonable to examine the past performance of the opponents in the argument. Even if the doctor's charges of political meddling by the Saskatchewan government are accepted, the record of the government in the health field is impressive.

Soon after the CCF government was elected in Saskatchewan, free treatment and care were made available for cancer, polio, venereal disease and mental illness. A free air-ambulance system was organized for the benefit of remote areas. A comprehensive medical care plan was started in the Swift Current area. The government started a hospitalization plan that has since been copied by every other province. Saskatchewan also has the highest per-capita ratio of hospital beds per thousand of

(Continued on page 3)
See "BATTLE"

A MARXIST-SOCIALIST CONSPIRACY

That was doctors' view

By DR. A. N. PENDLETON

This article is taken from THE RESIDENT PHYSICIAN of September 1962. It is Part II of a Special Report to that periodical.

Actually, it was not a strike but rather a boycott of a Marxist-Socialistic scheme of medical care which the government of Saskatchewan was trying to force and foist on the doctors of the province. The Marxist-Socialist party, now known as the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation-New Democratic Party, is the brainchild of a Socialist spellbinder, T. C. Douglas and his party cohorts, all of whom are past masters of the tactics of double-talk and "double-think."

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Since the original CCF was founded during the depression years, one of the planks in its platform has been a program which would provide tax-paid medical care to everyone, this care being given by doctors, who under the act would be completely subjugated to, and regimented by the Marxian concepts of the politicians who run the CCF. It must be clear to all that the Saskatchewan doctors were fighting a battle for freedom from Marxian-Socialism.

Several years ago, T. C. Douglas set out to make a deal with labor. One of the prizes he offered labor was socialized medicine in Saskatchewan. In the 1960 election campaign, relative to his medicare plan, Douglas, who at that time had been prime minister of Saskatchewan for 16 years, firmly stated he would not introduce his medicare plan unless he got a majority of the votes. Actually, he received only about 34 per cent of the votes. Nevertheless, he introduced and forced through the Medicare Bill.

Secondly, Mr. Douglas said that any medical care plan would have to be satisfactory to both doctors and patients. This promise was completely ignored.

Thirdly, Mr. Douglas stated that the Bill which he proposed would be based on a pilot medical care program which had been operating successfully in Swift Current, Sask., for a number of years. This promise was broken. The history of this man Douglas as a politician is similar to that of Marxist-Socialists, full of "double-think," double-talk, and broken promises.

There was no immediate need for medicare in this province. The introduction of this legislation, as we said before, was purely a political payoff. Mr. Douglas' introduction to national politics in the June 1962 elections for parliament was not salutary. In a hand-picked election district he was badly defeated. He almost lost his filing deposit, which is the greatest misfortune a candidate can have happen to him in Canada. **But, not only did he suffer a humiliating defeat, but so did every one of his party candidates in the province of Saskatchewan, where the CCF-NDP received but 22 per cent of the votes cast. The main issue during this federal election campaign?** The activation of the Medicare Act! It is **against such a background that the doctors of Saskatchewan are battling a group of Socialist politicians to preserve freedom for our profession.**

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One of the sad things about this battle was the fact that some Saskatchewan politicians, evidencing little or no scruples regarding the truth, by their tactics of double-talk and "double-think" have projected an image of their being courageous humanitarians, fighting the money-grabbing, free-enterprise doctors who were "on strike." Thus, editorial comment far and wide has been unfavorable to this small band of embattled doctors because as it has been so frequently said, "It is unethical for them 'to strike,' and to endanger the health of the residents of Saskatchewan."

But let's get down to brass tacks.

First, these doctors are not striking. One has to have an employer before one can strike. These doctors are not employees. They are not striking against the sick of Saskatchewan! Well then, you may say, what are they doing if not striking? **They are boycotting a Marxist-Socialist plan for medical care which was being forced on them by the government.**

What I have said is not a play on words, nor is it semantics. Despite certain scare reports of deaths occurring from lack of care (none of which have been properly verified according to my lights), the doctors of Saskatchewan are providing its residents with excellent emergency medical care, officially and openly, and from all I could hear, although their offices are shut down, they are —shall we say—"bootlegging" a considerable amount of medical care to their patients. And all of this is done without charge.

Except for those few doctors who sold their self-esteem and birth-right to the Marxist-Socialists, no doctor is accepting fees for medical services at the present time.

Also, my opinion would be that during this period of emergency medical service, really sick patients are coming under the scrutiny of consultant physicians and surgeons much earlier than they did prior to this debacle. I have read and re-read the Hippocratic Oath since I have been out here, and, as I interpret it, these doctors in the long run were fighting for the preservation of the ethical concepts of the practice of medicine which are contained in the oath.

This p.m. I went out to the City Hospital of Saskatoon. The City Hospital is one of 34 emergency centres in the province and it had a very well-qualified complete team of specialists, reinforced by four able general practitioners on call, with one young general practitioner on duty in the emergency room all the time. The hospital (as did every other hospital I visited) seemed to have nurses galore on duty, and the nurse I was with told me they had ample nurses and more than enough applicants for nursing school. On this lazy Sunday afternoon, and I might add, in a city in which everything, even movies, drug stores and most of the restaurants close down on Sunday, there were two graduate nurses and one student nurse on duty in the emergency and accident division.

The census of the hospital was down because "elective cases" were not being admitted. Patients coming into the emergency division had about tripled in the previous week. Talking to the general practitioner, I found that patients turning up for emergency medical care were essentially of the type which would come into a general practitioner's office. More than 80 per cent were treated and sent home. About 20 per cent were admitted to hospital.

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It seemed to me that doctors in the emergency service were bending over backwards to admit patients rather than to keep them out of the hospitals I visited.

On Second Avenue (the

(Continued on Page 3)
See: DOCTORS' VIEW

BATTLE OF MEDICARE

(Continued from page 2)

population and spends more on its mental health program than all the other provinces in Canada combined.

Contrasted with the record of the Saskatchewan government is the opposition of the American Medical Association (the big brother of the Canadian Medical Association and the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons) to federal health grants to states because they were, ". . . wasteful and extravagant . . . tending to promote communism;" to voluntary health plans; to Social Security because it was, "a definite step towards totalitarianism;" to National Health Insurance; to the crippled children's programs, because it was a "socialistic regulation;" Social Security for the permanently and totally disabled at age 50; and to health care for the elderly, under Social Security.

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That the doctors' organization should oppose something like a crippled children's program because it was "a socialistic regulation," considerably weakens their case against Medicare.

While the Saskatchewan doctors were striking against Medicare in that province, their counterparts in New Jersey were threatening to go on strike if President Kennedy's Medicare bill was passed. This threat of a doctor's strike prompted the United States secretary of welfare to accuse the doctors of "trying to blackmail the Congress and the American people." He went on to say that the doctors don't mind the thought of federal funds when they themselves are the beneficiaries, as when most of the hospitals that they use are built with the aid of federal funds.

When the American Medical Association brought up the charge that the medical aid bill threatened to sap the initiative of the people, President Kennedy made a graphic explanation of why a medical plan was needed. "I can't imagine anything worse—or anything better for sapping someone's initiative than to be sick, alone, broke, or to save for a lifetime and pay it out in a week, two weeks, a month, two months."

The stand that President Kennedy took was bound to help the Saskatchewan Medicare plan, but the people of Saskatchewan never heard about the President's mammoth rallies in support of his Medicare plan, with the exception of a Sunday morning news broadcast on the CBC May 20.

Saskatchewan does have newspapers, television and radio stations, but they do not always act as responsibly as they might. The news most of Saskatchewan's people read, hear and see is edited for them. During the doctor's strike, pro-Medicare news was suppressed. When the ownership of the Saskatchewan news media is studied, the reason for the anti-government bias of the news services becomes apparent.

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The only newspaper in Regina, and in Saskatoon is owned by the Sifton family. The only television station in Regina is also owned by the Sifton family, as is one of the Regina radio stations. The Sifton family is staunchly Liberal and makes sure its communication media keep up a barrage of pro-Liberal, anti-government propaganda. The two newspapers, between them control the news flow to the urban population and serve more than half of Saskatchewan.

One poignant example of the "news control" was in the daily press, when it was reported that Lord Taylor, the mediator in the Medicare dispute was quoted as giving an order for the province to rest after the end of the "strike". The newspaper reporter went on to say, "five minutes later he heard a radio news broadcast where he was quoted as praising the doctors but not the government. He waved his arms and raged to reporters in the stately dining room of the Bessborough Hotel that he had given an undertaking to both that he would praise both. Now he must expose the Canadian press 'to the opprobrium of the civilized world' ".

When the bias of the news media is considered, the doctors can hardly be blamed for being made pawns of politicians, and for calling an essentially humanitarian medical scheme "tyrannical". If, however, one reads a British Columbia act similar to the Saskatchewan Medical Care act, the only possible conclusion that can be reached is that most of the opposition to the Saskatchewan Medicare program was purely political and designed to embarrass the government.

Under Section 11, of the B.C. Government Employee's Medical Services and Public Services Medical Plan Act, the B.C. government sets the fees, reserves the right to prove any fact regarding fees payment, determines the benefits to be paid; may limit the amount paid for any treatment; may prescribe the method of payment and the limitation of the claim and the right to determine what employees may be excluded from the act and determining the circumstances under which the contribution may be discontinued and refunds made.

Instead of vesting these powers in the cabinet, the Saskatchewan government formed a commission made up of people appointed by the government, the medical profession, the trade unions and the chambers of commerce.

Most people would agree with the doctors if they decided to strike against the B.C. Government employees health plan, but no murmur of protest was heard when this act was passed.

A quote from the London Daily Mail sums up the argument nicely:

"Far be it from us to judge the merits of the medical dispute in Saskatchewan, Canada. But when doctors strike and neglect patients, the voice of humanity protests.

That this could happen in Britain is so inconceivable that we regard Saskatchewan with astonishment and sadness. Even our nurses refuse to abandon the sick to forward a justified and overdue wage claim.

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But the North American approach of doctor to patient is (to put it kindly) more matter-of-fact than it is here. The sentiment we see in the U.S. films is not very evident in real life. Or if it is it has to be paid for.

Medical fees in the U.S. are ferocious. Anything beyond a mild illness can bankrupt an average American family. Yet the doctors are campaigning against State medical care to aged persons.

We have much to be thankful for."

THE DOCTORS' VIEW

(Continued from Page 2)

main drag) was a large medical clinic building occupied by Medical Service Incorporated, which provides prepaid medical service.

In checking up later I found that about one-third of the doctors in Saskatoon belong to this Medical Service group. There is another beautiful clinic building, the Medical Arts Building, in which solo practitioners and group-practitioners are found. I would judge that about three-quarters of the doctors in Saskatoon were housed in these two buildings.

Group practice is a common way for providing medical service in Saskatchewan, and more than two-thirds of the provincial residents have some sort of medical coverage.

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I visited the University Hospital of the University of Saskatchewan Medical School which is a very modern and well thought-out hospital. Another emergency service is housed there.

I was especially interested here to find out how "gown and town" were getting along in this crisis. I regret to say that there had been a difference in opinion. It seemed that one departmental chairman had been on the original commission which finally reported out the Medicare Bill. The practicing physicians' reactions to his activities on the commission were such that he resigned after the committee had reported and left Saskatoon and the province. Another professor, for reasons that now seem very unclear to me, issued a statement to the press which the press interpreted as being in favor of the government's position.

I understand that his statement was not quoted in its entirety by any newspaper which I saw. As one might expect, it created a real stir among this doctor's practicing colleagues in the province, and more bitterness on the part of "town" towards "gown." To my mind there should be real fear relative to the effect of this crisis on medical education in Saskatchewan.

Certainly prospective students will be dubious of enrolling in a school whose faculty has split with the practitioners, and, secondly, if there is a real exodus of doctors from this province, many of the voluntary clinical faculty will be leaving and the teaching and educational processes will be greatly hampered. The full-time staff forms but a nucleus of the teachers. To digress a bit, I am becoming increasingly disturbed by the split between "town and gown" over stands taken on medical socio-economic problems in our own country.

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Full-time faculties of medical schools are becoming increasingly ready to feed out of any governmental trough which is available and are becoming increasingly split apart from the practicing physicians. Something must be done about this rift.

Editors all over the United States and Canada, when this story of the so-called "doctors' strike" broke, for the most part assigned **political reporters** to cover it, rather than reporters who had had any experience with medical reporting. **The net result of this was, as far as I was concerned, very unfortunate, because the news stories continually missed the medical point of view and frequently gave an erroneous report on the true aspects of that which was transpiring. Most stories indicated a lack of knowledge in framing questions which would give them the answers.**

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It must be made clear exactly what the situation was in regard to British doctors recruited for service by the government. None of these doctors were being recruited for permanent service. The government actually believed the situation would clear in its favor within a month or six weeks and they didn't want to have a surplus of doctors on their hands. Actually, the doctors who were showing up were vacationists, or those who favored socialized medicine.

The catch is, however, that since 1948, British general practitioners have not been doing any surgery to speak of, while the general practitioners in remote areas of Saskatchewan have, of necessity, been doing quite a bit of major traumatic and general surgery. Thus these British doctors perforce will be called upon to do things which they are not familiar with by practice. If they do them, untoward results will be obtained, and criticism must be expected from Saskatchewan doctors. If they say no, then the patients will criticize them. So, whichever way they turn, they will be in hot water. **It's a miserable situation in which the medical profession finds itself in Saskatchewan today.**

TOMMY DOUGLAS . . . his dream

BRITIAN

MACMILLAN'S VIEW 'FULL SPEED AHEAD'

By Dr. William Hughes

Faculty of Commerce

"Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead" was Mr. MacMillan's reaction immediately after the Commowealth Prime Ministers' conference in September.

The Ministers had met to discuss Britain's entry to the European Common Market and stayed to launch many torpedoes. Mr. Diefenbaker and others appeared to view British membership as a threat to the political structure of the Commonwealth—a cry that has not gone unheeded by Britain's opposition Labour party—while African Ministers saw a united Europe as a sinister banding together of colonial rulers for imperialistic exploitation. The economic implications of involvement in Europe were not forgotten and most Ministers were fearful of diminishing exports to Britain.

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As opinion at times verged on hostility, and as much of it was well argued and contained more than a grain of truth, Britain's "full speed ahead" decision can hardly have been made without soul searching meditation and conviction. To gain Europe while losing Commonwealth goodwill would be neither political good sense nor in keeping with traditional British sentiments or desires. This goodwill can be retained only if British membership of the Market brings overall long run benefits to Commonwealth countries, a result that the British government evidently believes is inevitable.

Is this result likely? Reputations are not risked in long run conjectures, and so such speculation is a safe occupation for would-be experts.

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The speculation must be necessarily grounded in both politics and economics. Not the least of the political implications of Britain's membership is the sensitive issue of sovereignty. Any nation which joins the Common Market must of necessity surrender sovereignty in certain matters by transferring some rights to the Common Market institutions. Inevitably this will mean that monetary policies, labour legislation, social welfare practices and such like will be centrally directed at some future date.

Further than this it is too soon to be certain what will happen.

On the one hand, President de Gaulle believes that strong nation-states should be preserved in a proposed Union of States, each with the right of veto. On the other hand, there are those inclined towards a federal organization with no national right of veto. If Dr. Adenauer falls in with President de Gaulle's ideas, there is the possibility of domination by a Paris-Bonn axis, unless British membership comes in time to influence the architecture of the new Europe and lend the balance so much desired by the less influential Common Market countries.

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Whatever the details of the final constitution it is likely that defence and foreign policy will be subordinated to central direction. To this extent at least, as Britain becomes "European" a realignment of Commonwealth loyalties and a loosening of apron strings is inevitable.

Nevertheless, it would be going too far to predict that the loss of some British sovereign rights will mean a break-up of the Commonwealth as many would have us believe.

The economic effects of the Common Market on individual Commonwealth countries are already being felt. The six member nations, Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg have made considerable progress towards their 1969 goal of tariff-free trade between themselves. As barriers to labour and capital movements are being dismantled vigorous investment is taking place in modern industries scaled to serve new mass markets. This is already providing the base for the surge of European economic expansion and will sustain it in the future.

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Partly as a result of European investment and prosperity, Commonwealth exports to the Market countries are expanding at a much higher rate than are exports to Britain.

Why, then, should Commonwealth members balk at the idea of a Britain-in-Europe? For some thirty years, a system of preferential trading between Commonwealth members has been practised. This trade preference has meant that Commonwealth countries have exchanged many goods free of customs duties or, in other cases, with lower tariff barriers than those facing non-Commonwealth countries.

A common market, however, by definition implies a common tariff to be applied uniformly by members against imports from "outside" countries. It is axiomatic that if Britain joins the Market she too will have to apply a common tariff whether or not imports are from the Commonwealth.

The step-by-step adjustments towards this common external tariff are expected to be completed by the end of 1969.

A perplexing question is whether or not the loss of Commonwealth trade preferences in Britain will be offset by the growth of the European market in general. By now, however, after twelve months of bargaining between Britain and the Common Market, it seems clear that vital Commonwealth interests will be protected. For example, the vulnerable economy of New Zealand will be given special treatment, as will imports from African and Asian members. Britain has asked for, and will probably receive, tariff free entry to Europe for many raw materials imported from Canada and Australia. Australia will undoubtedly lose substantial wheat exports but should break even with expanded duty-free sales to Europe of wool and other raw materials. Canadian wheat will not be similarly affected as it is not directly competitive with the European variety. Almost every other commodity, except manufactures, stands to gain.

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For Canada, and for many other Commonwealth members, a net economic gain can be seen if Britain joins.

Should Britain become a member of the Common Market, she will have a share in the new prosperity and in the political future of a rising power bloc of 220 million people. The alternative for Britain would be declining British exports to the Commonwealth as Commonwealth countries reach industrial maturity themselves, a consequent declining British market for Commonwealth exports and an insignificant, waning British and Commonwealth voice in world affairs.

Britain's considered decision has been to choose a vigorous and expanding future rather than a relapse into an inert, comfortable (yet mortal) contemplation of old glories in old days.

In this writer's opinion Canadian acceptance of the new alignment would indicate maturity and independence which is the only logical conclusion to the events of 1867. The older and newer Commonwealth members can look for expanded trade in a prosperous British-European market and, above all, a voice in this twentieth century renaissance that would not otherwise be heard.

MACMILLAN . . . no time for Commonwealth ties

EEC and

By DR. J. J. RICHTER

Associate Economics Professor

Has Canada a chance to increase its export of foodstuffs to the Common Market? Should the United Kingdom be granted admission, would Canada's export of agricultural products be seriously affected?

The economic growth of the six countries comprising the E.E.C. (Common Market) since World War II was spectacular. The first stage of their integration (1958-1961) was so successful that the acceleration of the original timetable for lowering trade barriers among members was implemented. The next great changes will pertain to agriculture.

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The value of agricultural commodities produced in France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux, is a declining percentage of the gross national product of these countries. Nevertheless, their farmers have increased the degree of self-sufficiency in food production for many commodities produced in the temperate zone.

The increase in productivity of resources employed in the agriculture of the E.E.C. is higher than that in industry. This increase is associated with the special care with which the governments of these countries have built up their production of food, granting prices higher than world market prices, providing subsidies for improvements in techniques of production, and shielding their farmers from competition from foreign—particularly overseas—countries.

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Governments allocated large sums of tax money and foreign aid funds for the further development of agricultural production. High tariffs and a system of import quotas were applied during the years after the second world war.

Under these conditions European agriculture went through a phase of revolutionary changes; the farmers increased yields and output per man-hour. In spite of this, the increase in demand for food, caused by an influx of population and an increased per capita income resulted in food imports of a great magnitude. Twenty-five per cent of the world import of food is the Common Market's share in the trade of agricultural commodities on the international level.

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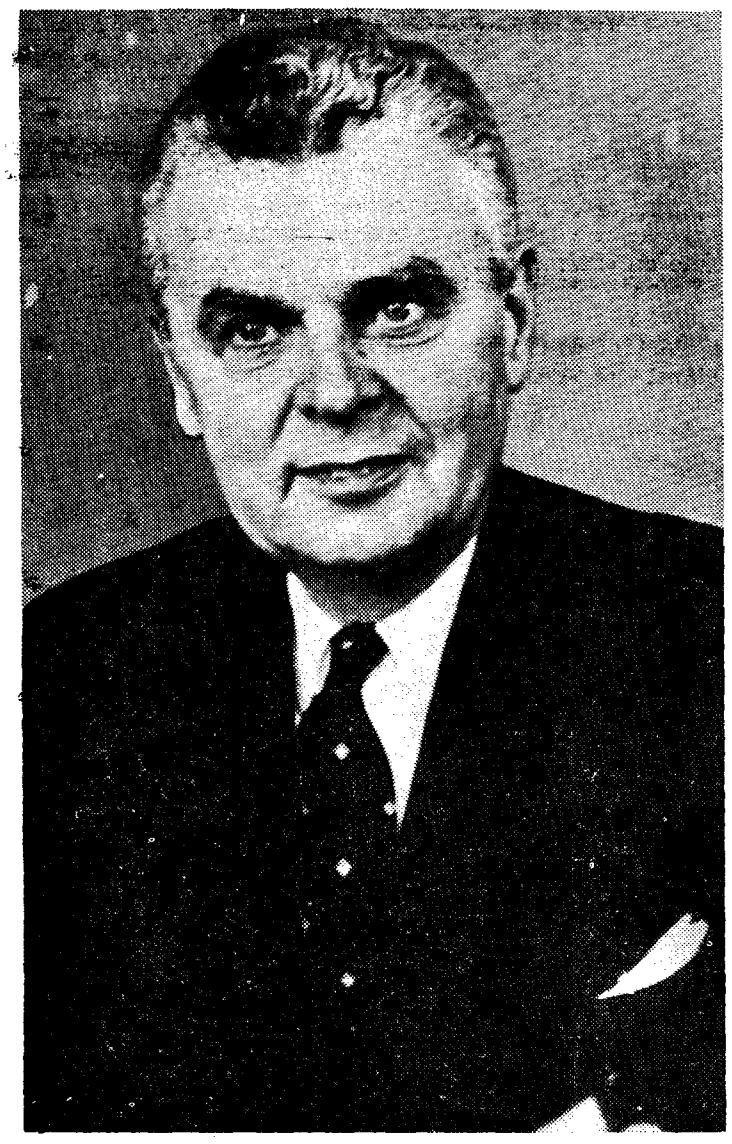

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E.E.C. (or their associates) the United Kingdom may cease to be the reliable customer of wheat from Canada, wool from Australia and butter from New Zealand.

When the government of the United Kingdom is urged to negotiate with the Six in Brussels in such a way as to safeguard the interest in foreign trade of members of the Commonwealth as well as other countries, it provides an appreciation of the fear that a sudden change in trade patterns would upset their economies.

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As far as Canada is concerned, $269 million worth of wheat and wheat flour was sold to the United Kingdom and E.E.C. countries in 1960; $341 million worth in 1961. This is substantially more than the total annual consumption of wheat and wheat flour in Canada. The United Kingdom and E.E.C., therefore, is the chief commercial market for agricultural commodities. This is only one example.

Canadian exports of foodstuffs to the United Kingdom at present come under the Commonwealth preference scheme. If the United Kingdom joins the Common Market this preferential treatment will be lost and the United Kingdom will be obliged to buy French wheat, or wheat coming from other members or associates of the Common Market. A similar situation will arise in connection with Canadian fruit. The Common Market's tariff wall may become insurmountable.

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The members of the E.E.C. made a bold step ahead, and to integrate their agriculture is one of their toughest assignments. There is no doubt that the changes the Common Market will experience from now on until the complete re-allocation of resources is achieved will be as revolutionary as those in the past decade proved to be. The non-member countries have a vital interest in this development and will try to find new ways for the organization of international trade. The detrimental effect on Canadian agricultural exports which is expected in the short run, is being averted to a great extent by commodity agreements, e.g., for wheat. How far association with the new block of nations will be of benefit; how far new international agreements can stabilize the export and import of food, must be explored.

CANADA

OUR ENEMY: INERTIA, NOT IGNORANCE

By Jack Richardson

Department of Economics

While Canadians seem to be primarily concerned with the economic repercussions of the growth of a Common Market in Western Europe, any evaluation of even the economic consequences must be undertaken in the larger perspective of potential political and cultural effects. Thus, even if the Common Market affects Canada detrimentally in the economic sphere, this loss might be more than offset by the gains in political stability and cohesiveness of these nations. Indeed, evaluation of the impact on Canada of this entente depends primarily whether the frame of reference is one of national economic self-interest or perhaps one of larger international concern.

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If the narrower frame of reference of national economic well-being is chosen, then, in addition to abstracting from the possible political gains of this union, the economic consequences themselves must be viewed in a proper perspective. The importance to Canada of the European Common Market with Great Britain as a member is due to the demands from these countries for Canadian exports. While this combined market is an important one now, it is significantly overshadowed by the importance to us of the United States as a market for our exports and as a source for necessary imports.

Because Canada wishes for a less heavy dependence on U.S. markets, then the potential threat to these alternative markets is magnified in importance. Thus, any deterioration in the volume of exports to the European Common Market is undesirable, both because it means a decline in employment and production in Canada, and because it implies an even greater dependence on the United States as an external market for our products.

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One further reservation. The impact on Canada of Great Britain joining the Market may be different depending on the length of time one chooses for the assessment. Thus what is a hardship in the first years of adjustment may become an eventual benefit as the Canadian economy adjusts to the new situation.

Within this rather narrow framework, let us inquire about the economic consequences to Canada of European Common Market with Great Britain as a member. No concrete answer can presently be given, since the terms of Great Britain's entry are still in negotiation. Instead I shall outline the sources of benefits and losses to the Canadian economy from the admission of Great Britain to European Common Market.

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Great Britain's entry will require considerable adjustments in the structure of Commonwealth preferential tariffs and Canada will be faced with the loss of this advantage for some of her exports. Britain's membership will require that she adopt the Market's common external tariff on all of her imports, and this will change the level of tariffs on Canadian exports. The adoption of the common external tariff of the Market will not necessarily involve Canada only in losses of export markets, since the present level of tariff on some of our exports may decrease.

Beyond the effects of the new tariff rates resulting from the Market lurks a rather more important question for Canada. To what extent will this enlarged Common Market, with a population exceeding that of the United States, develop new productive facilities to supplant their present dependence on imports?

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Canada seems to be in a rather fortunate position on this question because a large proportion of our exports to Great Britain and the European Common Market, which are raw materials or natural resources, cannot be produced in this area. As the productive capacity and levels of per capita income rise in Europe, then there would be an increased demand from Europe for some of these products.

However, this does not protect Canada entirely from a reduction in the purchases of these products, since alternative sources of supply of other countries presently outside the framework of the Market, for example, Sweden or the former African colonies of France, may compete away Canada's present advantage. This would occur especially if the Market accepts more members either as associates or as full participants in the economic and political integration.

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Canada may benefit, in a rather important way, from the impact that this Market has on other outside countries. If the admission of Great Britain and the steady completion of the policies outlined in the Treaty of Rome by the present members result in higher levels of income for the members, then they will be ready to assist more substantially in the development of Africa and Asia. This development in low-income countries may create new markets for some Canadian exports, especially if Canada is willing to make some effort to produce the required types of products and to market them aggressively.

★

A bleak picture has been painted by many observers in Canada because they predict a shrinkage in the volume of Canadian exports going to the Common Market. This seems unnecessarily pessimistic especially if the total impact over a number of years is considered. In addition, many are concerned that this rearrangement of trade will hinder Canada from increasing the size of her manufacturing sector. While the total volume of exports to the enlarged Market may not decrease, nevertheless the composition of the trade may shift more drastically to raw materials or only slightly manufactured products. Even if this were the anticipated outcome, Canada could offset this shift, at least in part, by specializing in a few manufactured products of high quality.

The talent to predict the future belongs only to Cassandras. However, mere mortals can at least attempt to describe a number of possible outcomes from these new developments.

Canada's present enemy is not ignorance but inertia.

UBYSSEY FEATURES

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KENNEDY . . . a thorn in his side

Castro's Cuba

A Lingering Problem

By

Dr. Kalevi Holsti

Department of Political Science

An assessment of the recent Cuban crisis requires consideration of three main questions:

(1) Why did the Soviet government send the missles to Cuba?

(2) Was the U.S. quarantine, though tactically and politically effective, legally justified?

(3) What are the likely results and implications of the "settlement"?

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These questions are much easier to pose than answer and in the case of the first and third, we can only speculate as to the truth.

The official Soviet explanation for its policy is that Russian intelligence sources had reported in August that an American invasion of Cuba was imminent. Chairman Khrushchev decided to send the missiles to Dr. Castro hoping thereby to elicit from President Kennedy a guarantee that the U.S. would not attack Cuba. Presumably after such a guarantee was given, the Russians would withdraw the missiles.

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Although this theory seems plausible, there are several facts which would suggest that it is more a rationalization for the withdrawal of the missiles than a credible explanation of the Soviet motives for introducing them:

1. Dr. Castro was and remains visibly displeased that the missiles are being withdrawn, even though the American president has given a guarantee not to invade Cuba in his note of October 28 to Khrushchev.

2. The Soviet government was aware, as a result of repeated U.S. policy statements, that the sending of offensive weapons to Cuba would be considered a threat to American security.

3. The Soviet government knew that Cuba was under constant U.S. surveillance, and yet it took no measures to hide the establishment of the missile bases. The 42 missiles were extremely vulnerable both to U.S. detection and destruction.

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4. The Soviet government has repeatedly claimed that it needs no foreign missile bases and that its home-based weapons could destroy the United States and Europe. Forty-two highly vulnerable missiles would hardly constitute an effective deterrent against a U.S. invasion of Cuba; from the strategic point of view, then, there was little military value in building the missile bases in Cuba unless the Soviets' long range nuclear capability is less developed than has been assumed previously by western experts.

5. Khrushchev's almost eager willingness to dismantle the bases suggests that he had no serious commitment to Dr. Castro to establish bases on the island. He agreed to dismantle the bases without even asking Dr. Castro whether the American pledge not to invade Cuba was acceptable to the Cuban government. Subsequently Dr. Castro revealed emphatically that Kennedy's note to Khrushchev was not a satisfactory guarantee. In fact, during the week of the crisis, the Soviet chairman was publicly negotiating Cuban policy without even consulting the Cuban government.

6. No evidence has appeared indicating that an American invasion of Cuba was "imminent" last August; Dr. Castro did not mobilize his troops until the quarantine was announced, which suggests that the Cubans themselves did not expect any invasion.

7. Finally, the decision to send missiles to Cuba was probably taken early in July during a visit by Raul Castro to Moscow. If this is correct, the decision was made at least a month before Russian intelligence sources indicated that an American invasion of Cuba was forthcoming.

Although these facts create doubts about the reliability of the offical Soviet explanation, they do not by themselves explain the Russian policy.

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Some experts have speculated that the scheme to introduce missiles in Cuba was closely connected with the Berlin problem. I would agree and argue that the Soviet government's policy was primarily of a diplomatic—not military—nature and that its objective was to create a situation which would lead the Allies to make concessions in Berlin: for example, anticipating an American blockade of dubious legality, the Russians would have a precedent to justify their own attempt to blockade Allied access to Berlin. And certainly the Soviet chairman's second note to Mr. Kennedy shows that he hoped to obtain the removal of at least some American missiles in Europe. In other words, he may have hoped to gain western concessions without making a serious concession of his own.

Future developments in the Berlin crisis may indicate whether this hypothesis is valid.

Some self-styled experts on international law have claimed unequivocally that the U.S. quarantine was a gross violation of that law. However, in the absence of a clear precedent, the legality of the quarantine is open to interpretation.

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The Rio Treaty of 1947, for example, permits its signatories to take individual or collective measures for defense, and prior to the publication of the quarantine proclamation, the OAS unanimously voted to approve the U.S. measure. Nevertheless, the UN Charter requires that all enforcement action be sanctioned also by the Security Council. And yet, it has not been established, because no precedent exists, that a selective-qualitative blockade does in fact constitute an enforcement measure.

The UN Charter also guarantees the right of collective and individual self-defense, but there is no expert consensus which indicates whether or not a clear case of aggression has to occur before governments can take steps in self-defence or resort to anticipatory force.

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I doubt that the quarantine can be fully justified by law (and certainly it challenged the well-established doctrine of freedom of the seas), but at the same time there is ample room for debate and interpretation.

Several important results of the crisis can be delimited, although it will take years to reveal all of the implications.

1. The episode demonstrated that, whatever opinion Latin Americans hold toward Dr. Castro and his revolution, they will not look with favor upon any attempt by the Russians to use Cuba for purely Soviet military or diplomatic purposes.

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2. The crisis should dispel the idea, so frequently stated by Soviet diplomats recently, that the Americans are not willing to defend their interests when confronted with an accomplished fact or the threat of force.

3. President Kennedy maintained a sense of moderation in a crisis situation; rather than succumb to the jingoism of many Americans he did not embark on a holy crusade to destroy Dr. Castro. The President outlined only limited objectives and kept a proper balance between means and ends; he did not adopt a policy of Cuban unconditional surrender.

4. Khrushchev's willingness to concede an untenable tactical position and his desire to prevent the incident from escalating into a nuclear exchange has earned him considerable prestige abroad. On the other hand, he is now subject to vigorous criticism from the Chinese and the domestic Stalinists who argue that his Pacific policies in the crisis have led to a Soviet "Munich."

5. By publicly accepting the principle of the inspection during the withdrawal of the missiles, Soviet diplomats may have to return to their pre-1961 position of accepting some form of international verification in a test-ban treaty.

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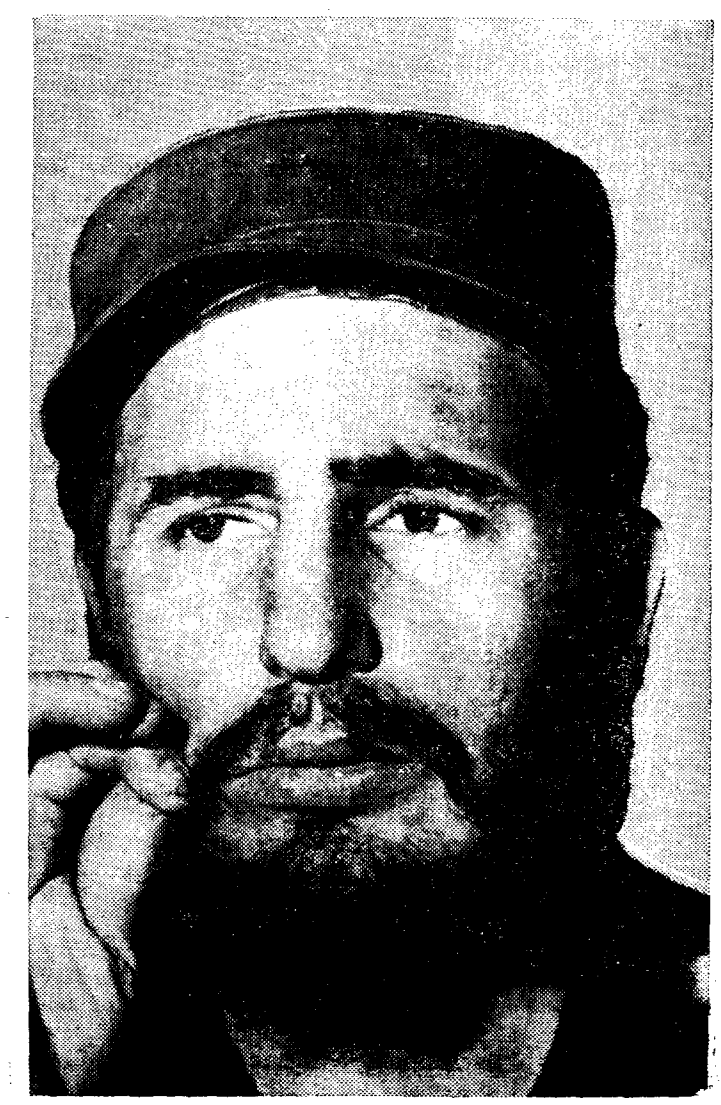
6. The Cuban problem is not solved: the American policy of attempting to destroy Dr. Castro by economic and political means has not changed. And, if the Cuban government increases its policy of subversion and incitement to violence in Venezuela and other areas of the Caribbean, it may be faced ultimately with a Latin-North American invasion of the island.

7. Finally, the crisis revealed that the United Nations, and particularly its secretary-General, may play an increasingly important role in mediating important crises. The Cuban crisis was the first of the many post-war super power confrontations in which a UN agency (as well as a British philosopher) was unable to "separate" the combatants and impose itself as an interested and influential third party.



CASTRO . . . Americans out to get him

THE COLLEGE PRESS

By UBYSSEY STAFF WRITER

Academic freedom and freedom of the press seem to be rapidly deteriorating to hollow euphemisms.

This is the trend that is being plotted by such phenomena as the dismissal of the editor of the Colorado Daily and the pressure that the University of Mexico paper, the Lobo, has had to resist.

Last month, Gary Althen, the editor of the student newspaper at the University of Colorado, was fired for printing an outspoken article by a philosophy student.

Carl Mitcham, contending that society has no right to cajole him into responsibility and respectability, wrote:

"Goldwater is completely deluded by the nature of war. He forgets that the conquerors are always conquered by the defeated . . . Read for what he is —not as an abstraction or depersonalized politician —Barry Goldwater is a fool, a mountebanke, a murderer, no better than a common criminal."

★

Senator Goldwater, leader of the right-wing movement in the United States, demanded apologies and Editor Althen complied. Unsatisfied by this gesture, Goldwater demanded the expulsion of Carl Mitcham and the firing of the editor and questioned University President Quigg Newton's ability to administrate the university. In the true democratic and academic spirit, Newton replied:

"We have a genuine democracy on our campus. We have fought long and hard to achieve it, and the fight has been against those who, like yourself, believe the function of the university is to indoctrinate, rather than educate."

After another attack by Mitcham on a prominent Republican, this time ex-President Eisenhower, several Colorado dailies intensified their long-standing campaign to have the liberal editor Althen ousted and the university investigated for subversion.

Suddenly democracy and freedom did not seem to matter anymore. Without explanation, Newton dismissed Althen.

★

At the University of Mexico, the liberal editorial policy of the Lobo apparently was one of the causes which last year led to the introduction in the state's legislature of a bill to investigate the university.

It was defeated by only a narrow margin. The Lobo is still able to hold out against the threatening infringement on its freedom of the press.

Where does this pressure come from? Apparently it is exerted by political factions outside the university upon the university administrations, which in turn keep control over what the students say in public. This seems to be the explanations for the fact that on many American campuses certain dissenters do not receive the permission to speak on the campus.

★

In the Colorado incident, pressure was exerted not only by Arizona Senator Goldwater, but apparently by such prominent personages as Democratic congressional candidate Conrad McBride and Colorado Governor Stephen McNichols who advocated control over the student paper by the university's journalism department. Colorado students feel that the fight over the Colorado Daily's editorial policy has become a major issue in the state election campaign, and that Newton's turnabout was the result of tremendous outside political pressure.

Is this to mean that the freedom of the press is to be kicked around by politicians who find it to their advantage to incite popular prejudices?

Is academic freedom to be stamped out by political opportunists?

★

The rightists claim that unrestricted freedom leads to subversion and subversion will destroy freedom. Consequently freedom has to be "controlled," which really means it has to be surrendered. If we cannot trust the student, or for that matter any citizen, to discriminate between good and bad, to make his own decision, then we might as well junk the whole idea of democracy. The rightists, although they have every right to express their opinions, have no right to wave the banners of democracy and liberty, which would thus not only become meaningless euphemisms, but outright deception.

If we are sincere in our democratic ideals, we must protect freedom not by the restriction of freedom, but by the assertion of everybody's right to express his opinions. This includes freedom of the press and academic freedom.

Students should take it upon themselves to protect the universities from any infringement upon these liberties. This means both resisting outside political control of the administration as well as inside control of student opinion by the administration. We cannot afford to let our campuses be haunted by the ghosts of Joe McCarthy and John Birch.

Freedom of the press Goldwater style

COLLEGE EDITOR
. . . a fading brand?

Here's the column that upset Barry Goldwater

Editor's note: the following excerpt from a column by Carl Mitcham which appeared recently in the University of Colorado Daily started the Barry Goldwater-Colorado controversy.

"I do not divorce Goldwater from other politicians; for my considerations he does not differ essentially from Eisenhower, or Kennedy, or the Socialists, or the Fascists. They are all politicians. As Goldwater himself has said, his policy differs from others only by its frankness.

"I could argue with Goldwater (or Kennedy) that there are better means to achieve the ends, or confine myself to refuting his premises. But I reject the political issues as valid expressions of the contemporary situation and I deny the society the right to cajole me into responsibility or respectability. I return the bone with a kick. There is no meat on it.

"The common denominator of politicians—as well as the new nuclear pacifists—is the belief that they can control war, that the outcome of these events of violence is in their hands. They present the realism of blindness. In present context, they also are the victims of a self deception, a complete unawareness of the impending ruin of the world as we know it.

"Goldwater is completely deluded by the nature of war. He forgets that the conquerors are always conquered by the defeated. 'When nations resort to war they blind themselves to the real forces at work; by opposing one another they make themselves the instruments of a force which is superior to their antagonistic claims.' Goldwater talks of history, yet ignores the vision that extends from Thucydides to Toynbee, that war transcends the wills and decisions of the men who make it.

"In his second book, Goldwater suggests that the United States copy the strategy of the enemy because 'theirs has worked and ours has not.' This suggestion he calls realism: the results he would style victory.

"Goldwater is the victim of forces outside himself—as were the men of Homer's "Iliad"—not because of fate, but because of the nature of violence. His delusion is his passion. Read for what he is—not as an abstraction or depersonalized politician—Barry Goldwater is a fool, a mountebank, a murderer, no better than a common criminal.

"He is unconscious of the fear in the streets—what it implies and what it rejects: this world of legitimate murder. And all politicians, Kennedy included, are no better. Duty, service, sacrifice—his 'traditional values'—these are words which are thrown to the dogs. I would rather preserve samples of Kennedy's faces for posterity than all the ideals of national governments which he and Goldwater accept."

SENATOR GOLDWATER
. . . urged firing

THALIDOMIDE

THE JURY WAS RIGHT

By PETER PENZ
Ubyssey Staff Writer

Congratulations to the Belgian jury that acquitted Mrs. Vandeput of murder in the mercy killing of her thalidomide-deformed baby. Congratulations for its humane and broadminded interpretation of the law.

Mrs. Vandeput had given birth to a freak with no arms and deformed legs as a result of the thalidomide drug the mother had taken. After recovering from the initial shock she received when taking the first look at her baby and after consulting with husband, mother and sister, she obtained a tranquilizing drug from her family doctor and put an end to this pitiful creature.

She was then put on trial for the murder of her baby. The family doctor and the other three members of the Vandeput family were accused of complicity. The defendants admitted to the killing and the prosecutor insisted that it was legally impossible for the jury to return a verdict of not guilty of the murder. But the jury did acquit Mrs. Vandeput and her four co-defendants.

Jury against law

As far as the letter of the law is concerned, the jury most likely went against it, since in all Christian countries mercy killing is unmercifully prohibited. It can be claimed that the jury was caught in the storm of passions and emotions that battered the court. It may even be claimed that the decision was anti-social, that it will lead to an epidemic of euthanasia and infanticide; or that the action was irreligious and indefensible, as the Vatican radio openly stated, and could not possibly be condoned.

As the mother said, "What I did was the only possible solution. I felt the child could not be happy as it was." If this is unjustified according to the Catholic Church, then I would regard such a religion as inhuman. And an inhuman religion must be rejected as an authority on morality.

After ignoring the bigots, the supporter of the verdict will encounter the self-appointed watchdogs of social stability. I am all for social stability, if it is accompanied by social justice and humaneness, but I have something against narrow-minded watchdogs.

To argue that as a result of the acquittal more mothers might kill their deformed babies is probably correct. In fact, a courageous and unpossessive mother would do this to spare her child a life of loneliness and misery. Whether she does it or not, she should at least have the acknowledged right to do it.

Court not authorized

Finally, we inevitably bump into the legal pedant who with biblical doctrinarianism will read out the decree. It is true that the court is not authorized to substitute a new law for the existing. But declaring the defendants guilty would have been to brand them as criminals for having done the only humane thing. The jury solved this conflict in favor of humaneness.

But why must this conflict exist? Why can mercy killing not be legalized? A mother should have the right to ask a doctor to put an end to a deformed newborn's life if this infant is going to be burdened with helplessness, loneliness and misery. Life is not an end in itself. It is only worthwhile if it is accompanied by enjoyment. If there is no chance for such a life, we should mercifully relieve this child of its future unhappiness.

—Don Hume photo

INSIDE THE GEORGIA . . . a little bit of an old English pub

THE GEORGIA

Have we lost our court of last resort?

By HAL LEIREN
Ubyssey Staff Writer

Decisive action is necessary if the intellectual life of UBC is to survive.

The base and inhuman action of drying up the University watering-hole, the Georgia, place of the bubbly, the milk of Paradise of which the poet sings, is without parallel in its monstrous cussedness.

Fie! shame!

★

Wherefore will ye answer when it shall be required of you: "I was thirsty and ye gave me not to drink."

This cruel act undermines the basis of the student's fundamental right to soak up Socrates while sloshing suds.

For almost as many years as spans two generations those two small, sub-terranean rooms with their warm, brown walls invited the scholar, heavy with the burden of his learning, to discharge his cerebral voltage into the conducive atmosphere.

Questions of the utmost moment have been battered into a bloody mess, reshaped and pounced on again around the large, rectangular tables. (There is no documentary support for sometime rumors that anything has ever been settled there).

Do they want to see us short-circuiting on milk and fruit juice?

Rare was the freshman so timid as to let age bar him from the basement brotherhood.

Those fortunate enough to possess the required hormone supply would cultivate their scanty chins with the assiduousness of an amateur gardener coddling a patch of prize petunias; while those short on body juice but manly in their thirsts resorted to all manner of ingenious means to scale the threshold into the membership of that most honored company.

Inside, mixed with beery and full-throated yells for "setemup-allround," the discussion was hot and heavy, the smokey atmosphere filled with black, masculine words and roars of laughter.

Here you saw a heavy black beard arguing earnestly—desperately—at a pouting red mouth set under an upswept hairdo and a pair of innocent blue eyes across the table, that sex is good for you.

★

There, behind you, someone was straightening out the hereafter, between two rounds of beer, on predestination, hell, damnation and the matter of original sin, in one fell swoop.

Ahh! it's gall and wormwood. "Why didst thou promise such a beauteous day?"

The most formidable forensic abilities were lent the frequenter. Few indeed were the uninitiated able to withstand the powerful lungs of the habitue, expelling in the heat of battle a draconic mixture of beer, pepperonies and halitosis.

The loathsome and arbitrary action is to be resisted. Not only is the cultural life of the university in grave danger but the whole thing smacks with undertones of treason.

Seditious elements are obviously attempting to strike at the national economy through the barley farmer and the hop picker. Therefore, it is our patriotic duty to resist this un-Canadian act.

★

A thousand parched throats will rasp their curses of this warlike move.

The peculiarly salubrious legacy to the imbiber's health of these mellow-brewed, golden waters are so generally recognized and applauded as to require no recounting.

What student is not aware of the beneficial effects of beer in opening up the body pores, clogged with nervous sweat after a particularly beastly exam?

Taken in sufficient quantities at such trying times beer purges the intellect of everything morbiferous. It induces in its place that state of pure spiritual essence men call Nirvana. At such moments the hardest are known to have broken into poesy.

Manly and martial attributes grow in such an atmosphere as readily as ragweed 'round an outhouse.

So I ask: "Take this away from us and waddawegot?"