

*The Address—Mr. Trudeau*

time, and expend great effort in trying to resolve our differences, that is not a sign of weakness in the Alliance, but a sign of the strength which pervades a free association of independent countries".

Just as NATO's last policy framework emerged from the intellectual ferment and military turbulence of the 1960s, so should the next review take into account, if only as background, the full range of ideas now current about international security and the effects of nuclear arms. Many of these ideas are uncomfortable, incompatible, and awkward to entertain, but they are there, Mr. Speaker, and no conspiracy of silence will make them go away. Neither the Alliance, nor its member democracies, are built on blind faith. National support for defence policies—and for defence expenditures—cannot be sustained by political or strategic liturgy alone. Bridging the gap between accepted wisdom and public anxiety surely means an open examination of the intellectual territory now occupied by many critics—critics of every persuasion, I might add—of contemporary concepts and doctrines. I believe the new NATO review should reflect what I have been calling the need to bring statecraft and high politics to every level of the East-West system, and I suggest that the review will also have to cope, as Harmel did, with differences of perception among Alliance members, with European and North American perspectives, inconsistencies and ambiguities, and with inchoate doubts and aspirations on each side of the Atlantic.

[*English*]

Canadians know the gravity of these issues. They know that Canada's power is limited and that we cannot force others to listen to us. But they also know that Canada has a role to play. That is why the Government is creating a defence and arms control institute: to help Canada and Canadians more fully contribute to advancing the debate on peace and security, and to shaping that debate.

Throughout my own personal efforts to subject the science of war to the art of politics, I have been sustained by the support of many Canadians and encouraged by their good wishes. I wish to thank them now, Mr. Speaker.

[*Translation*]

And in French, I also wish to thank the many people who wrote to me in French to give me words of encouragement and advice, and offer their prayers, and I wish to thank them very, very much for having wanted to take part in this action with us, with the Government and with Parliament.

**Some Hon. Members:** Hear, hear!

● (1150)

[*English*]

I wish to assure those Canadians, as well as this House, that the work we have started will continue. The Government of Canada is committed to these purposes and will carry them forward.

However, we can carry them only so far without the collaboration of those who own and control nuclear weapons, because it is the nuclear powers, and above all the superpowers, who

bear the greatest responsibility. Let it be said of them in the future that this was the time when their political judgment controlled their technological genius, when their best interests served the common good. Let history survive that it may judge them generously.

Let it be said of other nations that they saw their own responsibility to work to reduce the threat of annihilation, to forgo nuclear weapons and to serve the purpose of durable peace.

And let it be said of Canada and of Canadians that we saw the crisis; that we did act; that we took risks; that we were loyal to our friends and open with our adversaries; that we lived up to our ideals; and that we have done what we could to lift the shadow of war.

**Some Hon. Members:** Hear, hear!

**Mr. Brian Mulroney (Leader of the Opposition):** Mr. Speaker, we meet to discuss the momentous issue of peace at a time when humanity is faced with the alternatives of seeking a process to reduce international tension or creeping to the brink of nuclear devastation. There is no doubt that the world today is subjected to strains and tensions perhaps without precedent in modern history. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, it is somewhat curious and saddening that, while men and women meet in the spirit of amity at the Winter Olympics, some of their own political leaders ignore the majestic example set by our youth and speak instead of the imperatives of conflict which can only decimate that same generation.

Perhaps there is a lesson for all of us in the page of history which shows how, in earlier generations, war became inevitable only because so many persisted in the view that it necessarily must be so. We must never succumb to the easy temptation to believe that war cannot be avoided, because we are at that point in our history where we will not survive a nuclear confrontation. Nor can we afford a conventional war which might lead to the ultimate countdown. There should be no illusions in that regard. A nuclear countdown at any time in the future means a countdown for all humanity. There are no exceptions and there are no safe havens.

We are here, as Canadians, to rededicate ourselves to the wearying road of compromise and negotiation in the search for a durable peace. We are here because we want to be, and we are here because we must.

[*Translation*]

We all dream for the day when nuclear weapons are banished from the earth. But nuclear weapons cannot be disinvited. They are a terrifying reality which political leadership must seek to constrain. Yet a failure to incorporate a credible nuclear component within NATO's overall strategy would be an invitation to nuclear blackmail with consequences too terrible to contemplate, as the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Trudeau) mentioned earlier.