

27. How then do we evaluate the nuclear co-operation programme with India? Seen in the perspective of the '70's, it has arguably been a costly disaster. Yet the common judgement ten years ago would have been that it was a brilliant success. Suppose India now decides to go no further with its military nuclear programme, but is seen to be meeting the energy needs of its vast population thanks in good part to nuclear power technology originally given to it by Canada; will the judgement ten years hence be reversed again? Here we seem to be moving towards the speculative end of the spectrum of evaluation. We can quantify what we spent on the Indian nuclear co-operation programme while it was in existence, but who can say whether the resources were wisely invested or not?

28. A last and most extreme example is disarmament policy. Sometimes, specific and limited objectives in this field can be quantified, as for instance, in the Vienna negotiations for Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in Europe. Even the ultimate disarmament objective - to which Canada subscribes along with all the other members of the UN - is in a sense quantifiable: it is "general and complete disarmament"; that is, a zero quantity - a situation in which no country anywhere in the world holds any arms of any kind whatever, except for purposes of internal security. All the resources which Canada devotes to disarmament are in theory devoted to achieving this objective. It is obvious that a state of general and complete disarmament has never existed in human history. While history abounds in examples of enforced disarmament, and even of voluntary unilateral disarmament, no one can say whether general and complete disarmament by international agreement is, even in the long run, a practicable goal; nor easily conceive how a world of sovereign nations would operate in the state of general and complete disarmament. Therefore more easily realizable intermediate objectives are set. In the past two decades, this has resulted in agreement on a limited number of measures to limit the vertical and horizontal spread of nuclear weapons. The process has brought the super-powers, in 1979, to the verge of an agreement which will for the first time require the actual destruction of a few nuclear weapons. But so far, not a single nuclear-weapon has disappeared from the face of the earth since the advent of the nuclear era as a result of a negotiated disarmament agreement. Moreover - partly because of the priority understandably given to nuclear disarmament - conventional disarmament has been largely ignored in the past generation. There was in fact more conventional disarmament by international agreement between the Wars than there has been since 1945.