

our knowledge and our good fortune. That is why Canada chose, 20 years ago, to assist the world's most populous democracy in overcoming its desperate problems of poverty. We can be proud, as Canadians, of our co-operation with India. The decision taken by Prime Minister St. Laurent to enter a nuclear-assistance program with India was a far-sighted and generous act of statesmanship. It goes without saying, of course, that our nuclear transfers should be subject to safeguards always; and that is my next point.

#### Application of safeguards

The second of the three obligations underlying the Government's nuclear policy arises out of the dangerous nature of the improper uses to which nuclear materials can be put either by accident or design. For that reason the Canadian Government is obligated to Canadians and to all persons everywhere to assure that nuclear devices, materials or technology from Canadian sources not be used for explosive or illegal purposes. This is done through the application of safeguards.

Familiarity with nuclear processes and confidence in their peaceful benefits must never blind us to the destructive capability of a nuclear explosive device or the politically destabilizing effect that can be caused in certain circumstances by the mere existence of such a device. For these reasons, this second obligation must be regarded as no less important than the first. For no matter how sincere is our commitment to equality throughout the world, no matter how successful is our progress towards it, our achievements will be Pyrrhic should nations be unable to avoid the inhumanity of nuclear weapons usages or threats.

It is an enigma that surely no sane observer could untangle — this nuclear threat to the very continuance of the human race that has become so commonplace as to be boring, that is often regarded in some perverse fashion as a symbol of national accomplishment and well-being or as a manifestation of sovereignty.

No nation should be envious of another because it possesses the ability to kill hundreds of thousands of human beings in a single explosion. No nation should treasure its power to

trigger a nuclear war. And no nation should misinterpret Canada's opposition to proliferation as envy of foreign accomplishments.

#### Importance of NPT

Canada is not envious of any country that is able to achieve new scientific plateaux for the benefit of its peoples nor, to my knowledge, is any other industrialized state. If a newly-independent nation is able to leap in a single generation from the stage of steam to the age of the atom, Canada applauds. If that leap was accomplished through Canadian assistance, we are proud. But the vault must be genuine, and the new plateau must be firm. Nuclear projects have proved their benefit to man in dozens of ways — ways well known to most of you — but no one has yet demonstrated convincingly that there are practical, economic, peaceful benefits of nuclear explosions. Not Americans, not Russians, not Indians. If at some time in the future such benefits be demonstrated, then they should be made available on an internationally accepted basis, under appropriate safeguards, and through a UN agency, to all countries declared by international experts as able to benefit. Canada is opposed to any peaceful nuclear explosions not conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. In doing so we are not imputing motives; we are attempting to avoid the subjunctive.

These are the reasons why Canada signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty, why we voiced such criticism of the Indian test, why I seize every opportunity to garner the support of world leaders for a tightening and an extension of safeguards and controls. These are the reasons why we will continue to do so.

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In the past several months I have argued the importance of a strengthened safeguards regime with some 40 heads of government — around a conference table as at the Commonwealth Meeting in Jamaica, and across a desk as with each of the nine leaders I have visited in Europe and the several that have come to Ottawa. The Secretary of State for External Affairs addressed the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in Geneva last month — and was the only foreign minister to do so.

Senior government officials have travelled tens of thousands of miles in an effort to tighten existing safeguards and to broaden both the scope of their impact and the breadth of their application by supplier countries. We have raised the standard of our safeguards — with full support for the International Atomic Energy Agency which administers them — to the point that they are the toughest in the world. (And we are constantly on the alert for ways to make them more practical, more effective.) We impose as well still another constraint: we refuse to engage in nuclear co-operation without an explicit exclusion of explosive uses.

#### Support for IAEA aims

I do not pretend that the present international regime for the inspection and detection of nuclear cheating is fool-proof. I am painfully aware that the NPT is yet far from universally supported. I am deeply conscious of the responsibilities which devolve upon Canada as a world leader in the peaceful application of nuclear energy. But to those who contend that there is an incompatibility between these two obligations I have mentioned — assisting the less-developed countries and preventing nuclear proliferation — I remind them that the statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the world's nuclear policeman, charges the Agency to spread "throughout the world" peaceful applications of the atom "bearing in mind the special needs of the under-developed areas". Canada is an active member of the IAEA and does its utmost to ensure the successful attainment of those two objectives.

#### Domestic responsibility

These, then, are the first two of the obligations which form the foundation of Canada's nuclear policy — an obligation to the have-not countries of the world, and an obligation to the people of the world. The third obligation is to our own people. This obligation takes several forms: the provision of safe sources of energy, the preservation of the environment, the fostering of a competitive Canadian industry in all its facets of exploration, mining, processing, fabrication, design and sales.

Tonight, I'd like to emphasize for a moment one aspect of that obligation —