

In May, 1974, the Indians blasted their way into the nuclear club and blasted away not only the ineffectualness of the non-proliferation treaty, not only the façade of the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency, but also, I would hope, the physical and mental stagnation of our own Canadian policy respecting nuclear assistance. For ten years the Canadian government had aided and abetted the proliferation of nuclear arms in India, and all the time they must have known what was going on and did nothing. They had full inspection and control powers in respect of what went into and came out of Indian reactors.

As in the case of the judges' affair, the Prime Minister of Canada should have known what was going on. I suspect he did know what was going on but, like in the judges' affair, he kept quiet; he did nothing. Surely, now, we are entitled to ask the government, "Why didn't you pay attention to the warnings? Who did you have doing the inspections? Where are those inspection reports? What did you do to stop this mad rush to world disaster? Why didn't you cut off assistance when India's policy became obvious? Did you even threaten to do so?" And, above all, "Why, in heaven's name, with the same minds in even greater autocratic, if not dictatorial, control in India today, is India any more trustworthy in 1976 than it was in 1974?"

Mr. Speaker, when conditions in the Far East and in the Middle East are more jittery now than then, when there has been a systematic destruction of parliamentary and democratic institutions as we know them in India, and when India herself is making deals to supply nuclear material and knowledge to other countries in the Arab bloc, which surely cannot be looked on anywhere with satisfaction, considering the potential, and when India's competitors, such as Pakistan, openly admit they are in a nuclear race on the subcontinent, the question has to be asked: Why now? Or, better still: Why ever? Why, when no one has devised a remedy, sanction or penalty when a nation does develop a bomb?

What do you do if India, Iran, Israel, Pakistan, Brazil, Argentina, Korea, Chile, South Africa, Egypt, Spain, Taiwan and Indonesia develop atomic bombs? Do you slap their wrists? Do you make them pay up on their UN appropriation? Surely, you make sure they do not have the means to make them in the first place. We are rapidly leaving behind that "first place" option. What are you going to do if India makes a hydrogen bomb, as Prime Minister Ali Bhutto openly declared they are doing in Madras when he was here in Ottawa last month? What is this government's answer? This government now says they are negotiating to resume nuclear assistance. Mind you, it is not the minister who said that, but Canada's version of Kissinger, Mr. Ivan Head. Perhaps he could be more fairly described as Canada's version of Chester Bowles. In any event, on March 10 Mr. Head announced that success had been reached so far as an agreement with India for resumption was concerned.

● (1530)

The only small detail left, of course—and I gather Mr. Head did not give too much importance to this merely routine item—was that it still had to be approved by the cabinet. This was done at a time when the International Atomic Agency had only 47 inspectors to report on well over 200 nuclear facilities worldwide. This was done at a

Nuclear Proliferation

time when we had already provided a country such as India with a developed nuclear arsenal which Canada itself would not dream of acquiring for herself. This was done at a time when Canada's own manufacturing and technical capability is to be strained to the utmost over the next ten years to provide our own nuclear power plants for our own nuclear domestic needs without in any way adding to the stress and strain of providing CANDU reactors to others, and when we had the sneaking suspicion that our reactors were wanted so that those nations which acquired them could more easily make weapons' grade plutonium from a Canadian reactor than from the American light water reactors. Surely, if this is so and if the suspicion exists—and I assure the minister that the suspicion does exist—this places an even greater burden on Canadians generally.

Finally, this deal was concluded at a time when Canadian government expenditures are at an all time high and must be cut down. Each one of these assistance programs, each one of these CANDU reactors in foreign lands, costs the Canadian taxpayer directly, at the very minimum, 55 per cent of the capital cost of each one of them—and usually much more than 55 per cent because of the man years and the expenditure of Canadian knowledge and Canadian experience with them. I merely ask this: Are our priorities straight? Is our thinking correct? Is the government right when we siphon so much effort, so much time and so much money into a program which in India's case has been misused and will likely be seriously abused in the future? The time to stop this type of transaction and this type of deal is now.

Some hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Lawrence: And the way to do it is not to send Mr. Head on any more expeditions. The way to do it is to reprimand the government in the vote in this place tonight.

Mr. T. C. Douglas (Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands): Mr. Speaker, the hon. member for Northumberland-Durham (Mr. Lawrence) has done a commendable service in introducing a motion which will provide an opportunity for a public debate regarding a matter which is of vital concern to all Canadians and to the peace of the world. The nuclear bomb represents a greater threat to human survival than anything that has occurred in the history of mankind. With the development of every new weapon, man has increased his power for destruction. For the first time in all the long history of man on this earth, we now have the power not only to destroy cities or to lay waste countries but even to destroy all forms of life on this planet.

From 1945 to the present time this threat has mushroomed. In 1945, the United States was the only possessor of a nuclear capacity. Today, some 14 nations either have the nuclear bomb or have the capacity to produce one. Moreover, there are over 650 nuclear plants in 38 different countries, all of which produce radiation waste from which plutonium can be produced. In this situation Canada has greater special responsibility than any other country. The reason for that is that we have managed to produce the CANDU reactor which produces twice as much plutonium as does the light-water reactor which is used in the United States and in most of the countries of western Europe. Not only that, but the spent-fuel rods from the CANDU reactor