

*Government Orders*

Then we will know. It will not simply be opinion. It will be verified by an official committee of the Security Council of the United Nations whether or not those sanctions are working and whether or not we can continue with them.

For the moment war is premature and simply to dispense with Canadian lives in the way that has been done by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs is unacceptable.

**Mr. John Brewin (Victoria):** Madam Speaker, I noted that the Speaker has ruled out of order the comprehensive subamendment which the New Democratic Party had introduced in the House. It will be my intention in a minute or so to introduce a briefer subamendment which I trust will be in order and will permit our particular views to be tested in the House.

I will get to that at the conclusion of my brief remarks.

I would like to take this opportunity to make two or three comments on this historic and frankly depressing situation in which we find ourselves. Canadians coast to coast are deeply concerned about how we find ourselves, how the world at the end of the 20th century finds itself in the position of entering into what will only be a catastrophic and terrible war.

The catalogue of the cost in pain that this war will cause has been listed by other members of the House. But let me just summarize.

There will be the loss of the lives of the Armed Forces on both sides, and there are over one million troops now facing each other in the Persian Gulf. There will be thousands upon thousands of young men and women killed or injured in the war that is about to take place. Their families and societies will be affected. There will be thousands who will spend the rest of their lives in pain.

There are thousands upon thousands of innocent civilians who will be hurt. We have heard the catalogue of ecological disaster. It appears that no one has contemplated the geopolitical damage and how the world and that region are to operate once this action is completed.

Canadians are voicing this concern in many ways. Each of us, as a member of Parliament, has been inundated with telephone calls, particularly in the last few days. In every constituency young people—in fact, people of all ages—are conducting vigils, are marching, are trying desperately to express the horror they feel at what is about to take place. It is unbelievable to the world. It is unbelievable to Canada. It must be unbelievable to every member in this House that after the pain and agony of war in this century we find ourselves once again ready to go to war.

The government has tried to defend its role in the past and the role that it is now contemplating once war begins with the flag and the resolution of the United Nations.

While I respect the fact the government has come to the conclusion that it has and respect the fact that there are many members on the government side for whom this must be a very difficult decision, let me say that it is completely wrong to rely on the United Nations as a justification for the war that is about to be unleashed in the Middle East.

Let me first say that the charter makes it absolutely clear that the fundamental purpose of the United Nations is the avoidance of war. The structure of the charter makes it very clear that before war can take place there must either be clear self-defence, which would have justified Kuwait defending itself, and does justify the world community standing by Saudi Arabia and other neighbours of Iraq in defending against any further aggression.

• (1540 )

But before military action can take place against Iraqi positions in Kuwait, the Security Council must find that sanctions have failed and are inappropriate and inadequate.

As has been demonstrated over and over again in the last two days, the government simply does not have the evidence that sanctions have proved inadequate. The very resolution on which the government relies, resolution 678 of the Security Council, says not only that other means may be used, but it is very specific. It only authorizes all necessary means.