

Government Orders

• (1610)

They go on to say:

Critics argue that sanctions are useless against a ruthless dictator who doesn't care what price his people must pay. Yet sanctions have been employed successfully against dictators of all stripes—

He then notes the regimes of Trujillo, Diem, Idi Amin and Somoza in the seventies.

They conclude:

The evidence suggests that sanctions will begin to bite sometime in the spring or early summer, with a high probability of forcing Iraq from Kuwait by next fall.

The Manchester Guardian states: "All of the evidence is that sanctions can and are likely to have the effect of moving Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait if we just give time."

The minister says there is no guarantee to that effect. He said that in his speech. There is no guarantee that war will move Saddam Hussein or his ilk permanently out of Kuwait, that it will provide the solution to the region that is necessary in those circumstances.

How can the minister justify Canada supporting war at this time?

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Mr. Speaker, the hon. member is very careful about language.

He would know the difference between evidence and a projection. He referred to evidence, as his leader had, from the CIA, and I referred to her reference to it. I think the timeframe mentioned was six months to nine months. I doubt that it would have been in the minds of the authors to suggest that that effect would have been appreciable. There is no evidence of any appreciable effect in the foreseeable future.

With respect to *The Globe and Mail* article, yes, I have seen it. It is a projection, and I am not here to dispute the social scientists' projections. In other fields, we have known what to do with projections, and it may well turn out to be correct.

It makes some assumptions about Iraq. One of those assumptions has to do with our capacity to maintain the extraordinary degree to which sanctions have been honoured. Among other things, it is a question of whether that willingness to enforce sanctions and adhere to them on the part of a lot of countries will continue.

There are cases, as the member knows, where that would continue if there appeared to be a weakening in the resolve of the United Nations, if it talked about a deadline tonight and then was looking for ways to avoid the consequences of its actions. I think that is an important question in the context of the basis upon which projections were raised.

To be clear, I am not saying that sanctions have had absolutely no impact. Obviously sanctions have had an impact on large elements of Iraqi life. They just do not get to where they need to get. They do not get to Saddam Hussein or his military.

Yes, it may in time, and that is precisely the question we have to deal with. How much time can we take? What happens in the interim?

An hon. member: What happens if war?

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Of course, what happens if war. We have to ask those questions and we try to do that.

What I hope the House and the country will understand is that while we have some understanding, because of what we have grown up with and have seen of the terrible consequences of war, there are also terrible things happening now. A terrible thing happened to Kuwait.

I have seen intelligence estimates by a country whose government the hon. member would respect, suggesting there could be as many as two million new refugees thrown into an already over-burdened refugee system very soon as a result of this.

There are all sorts of grievous things happening now. I hope that as this House and this country consider what we have to do, we will look both at the investment Canada has always had in the effectiveness of the United Nations and the charter that we helped devise which authorizes force, and also look at the costs of waiting.

There are extraordinarily high costs of waiting just as there are, admittedly, extraordinarily high costs of acting.

Hon. Lloyd Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, during the debate which started this morning, there was a conversation that kept coming back to me that I had with one of the Canadians who had been forcibly detained in Baghdad. He said to me in that conversation that one of the consequences of all this is that Canada will lose its innocence. He went on to explain that it would no longer be possible for Canadians to see themselves in a world where, by wearing a little