

*Government Orders*

The government, in response to our repeated appeal to allow economic sanctions, to work, has indicated repeatedly that sanctions have not worked. "Tell us how sanctions have worked", the government says to the opposition. That is not a question to ask the opposition. That is not a question to ask those who do not form a government. That is a question for the government itself to answer to the Canadian people.

Instead, the government itself is offering to Canadians the sole alternative of going to war, of using military force. It must justify that terrible decision with real evidence that sanctions have not worked. It is the government that should have access to the information about the efficiency of sanctions.

Surely none of us are so naive as to think that the intelligent sources of the major western countries are insufficient to honeycomb the Government of Iraq and with agents or, to put it at the other extreme, that the electronic surveillance of Iraq cannot sufficient to tell us whether the sanctions are working.

The United Nations itself has not come forward yet, as it is required to do under the terms of earlier resolutions of the Security Council and with a clear indication of the efficacy of economic sanctions.

Let us have that information. Let this government bring it forward if that is part of its explanation of why today military force is today necessary. If the government is arguing that economic sanctions are ineffective let it also, bring forward in concert with the other major western nations involved in this enterprise, methods of rendering the economic sanctions more effective.

The extraordinary ingenuity that goes into military action, equipment and organization surely could be applied in some small degree to rendering the borders of Iraq with Jordan and with Iran more or less permeable to sanction breaking material. Let us see how we can use technology and our collective ingenuity, to render the borders of Iraq closed to the imports of material which permits Iraq to continue, as it has been doing, to maintain its arms forces at some degree of readiness.

There is no question in my mind that the sanctions against Iraq could be redoubled, could be rendered far more effective than they are now, if we had a real commitment among member states of the United Na-

tions to make those sanctions more effective rather than turn in effect to the easy solution of direct military intervention. Let us give sanctions time to work. We have, after all, began to see effect of sanctions. We know that they are beginning to work. We know that in four or five months they have begun to take their toll on the ability of the Iraqi armed forces to operate efficiently. We know that they are beginning to have their effect on Iraqi morale, equipment and industrial capacity. Let us give time to sanctions to work because the alternative in my view is virtually unthinkable.

The cliché is often used of unleashing the dogs of war but there is truth, as in all clichés, in that observation. Who knows where we shall be if war breaks out in the Middle East?

France has today offered yet another approach to a solution to the problems that have arisen as a result of Iraq's wholly unprincipled and unacceptable occupation of Kuwait. Among the six points in the latest French proposal are two that we should consider for a moment. One is the forecast of a need for a peacekeeping force. This is an obvious requirement in any situation which is likely to occur in the next weeks or months in Iraq and Kuwait, a need for a peacekeeping force. But is Canada going to participate? Is Canada be acceptable as a member state to engage in peacekeeping if we today commit our forces to military action in the Middle East? No. That traditional opportunity that has been embodied in Canadian policy since the Second World War to offer our forces, our technology, and our organizational capacities to support a peacekeeping force will be negated if we today were to engage in military action. By so doing, we are in effect, rejecting the sort of comprehensive approach that France and others have been urging.

Equally, the government tells us nothing about the idea of a general conference on the Middle East, another major point in the French proposals that have been brought forward in the last 24 hours. Has been much thought given to the idea of a general conference on the Middle East? How can anyone be immune to the idea that the Lebanon situation, the Israeli-Palestinian situation, and now the issue of Iraq and Kuwait can be resolved in other than a general approach to peace throughout the Middle East?