

*Government Orders*

on the government side in those days stand up and say that we were calling for a Security Council resolution that would send an international police force to the west bank to make certain that peace was maintained and that the sovereignty of the west bank would revert to the Palestinians. There is more irony as well in that lack of initiative on the part of the western powers and in the Security Council. Could it be, Mr. Speaker, that the major difference is because there is oil at stake in this gulf crisis and there is no oil to be found on the West Bank or in the State of Israel for that matter. Well, one wonders.

We also have to look at another irony. Even though the State of Kuwait was forcefully and militarily taken over and is being pillaged and raped today, it seems somewhat ironic that we are rushing to its aid. Indeed, some are even suggesting that we use direct military force now to re-establish the emirate in a country that is not democratic, has no intention of democratizing itself, and which has refused consistently over the years to spend appreciable amounts of money from their great oil profits to help the poorer Arab nations in the Middle East. And the same could be said for Saudi Arabia.

Yet all during the Iraq-Iran war, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait egged on Iraq and Iran, hoping that they would both knock each other out as major nations and threats to their very rich oil fields in the gulf. That is another irony that I find very difficult to come to grips with.

Notwithstanding the bitterness of those ironies, we have to face them head on, and be as honest as we possibly can. I am convinced, as are a majority—I think everyone in this House—that the Security Council made the right moves at first. They have attempted by peaceful means to put in place a series of resolutions with a blockade, an embargo, economic sanctions and so on, and have given the right to use minimum force to those multinational forces now present in Saudi Arabia and in the gulf states in order to enforce those resolutions. This is as it should be. This is a peaceful approach being taken, to try to disengage Saddam Hussein and his Iraqi forces from their occupation in Kuwait.

Much more is at stake here than simply getting Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. What is at stake here, I

offer by way of argument, is really the future peacekeeping capability of the United Nations: we must be prepared to give sanctions the length of time they need in order to work. I know that means great suffering on the part of the military forces that are out there in that heat and with winter coming on, the extreme cold in the desert, the discomfort, and the cost.

Nonetheless if we jump the gun, if we decide, or the United States decides—and this is one of the problems with the command at this time—it can no longer politically hack it, if it finds out that too much pressure is being built up at home with the mid-term elections coming on, with the rising costs of oil and fuel, with the problems that it seems to have when it is engaged in a protracted war, that opposition develops and the country becomes fractured. There is a lot of internal political and social upheaval and strife as we saw in the Vietnam years.

This might all lead the U.S. command to jump the gun and move militarily into Kuwait before sanctions and the embargo and the blockade have had enough time to take effect. Time is of the essence because it will take a long time. No one has ever said that blockades can be accomplished within a matter of weeks or indeed months. We may be talking in terms of years in order to bring Saddam Hussein peacefully, without military intervention, to his knees, keeping in mind that all this time he remains extremely popular because of the sort of siege mentality that always grips a populace whose country has sort of taken on the world.

One of the worst things we could do is to go in with a so-called surgical strike and, for example, bomb Baghdad. Bombing cities has never proven to be a method of defeating the enemy. I can assure you it did not happen in World War II. We bombed Berlin and Frankfurt and Stuttgart night after night, virtually year after year in the last three years of the war. Yet Germany's determination not only to prosecute the war but to produce in order to prosecute the war, their patriotism and determination to go on was stronger in the latter days of the war than it was at the beginning of the war. The same thing can be said about North Vietnam, the more the Americans bombed the north, the more resolute the North Vietnamese were to carry out and prosecute the war.