Secretary of State for External Affairs



## Déclaration

Secrétaire d'État aux Affaires extérieures

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NOTES FOR AN OPENING ADDRESS BY

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOE CLARK,

BEFORE THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

ON EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

OTTAWA, Ontario January 29, 1991



Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Rather than a statement, I thought it might be worthwhile my dealing with some of the issues that have come up either in this committee or elsewhere.

Since my appearance before you last week, there have been a number of developments that took the political side of this crisis. What I would like to do is just to touch on a few issues briefly and then proceed immediately to questions.

One of those has to do with the consequences of the missile campaign against Israel and Saudi Arabia. Among the most important developments has been Iraq's continued effort to draw Israel into the war through missile attacks in civilian centres, particularly Tel Aviv. Israeli restraint, in refusing to be goaded into immediate retaliation, is to be widely commended, as it has been by this Government and by others.

As I told the House late last week, I spoke to the Foreign Minister of Israel, David Levy, to express our sympathy to the victims and to their families, and to tell him that while we recognized Israel's right of response, we admired their restraint, which restraint could only be helpful in terms of maintaining the solidarity of the Coalition and resisting Saddam Hussein's obvious attempts to use an attack on Israel to divide the Coalition.

The missile campaign against Israel and Saudi Arabia is continuing, as we have seen today. Iraqi efforts to broaden the war and to create divisions through the indiscriminate bombing of civilian populations continue. We, of course, recognize that if Iraq pursues its missile campaign against Israel, it may be asking the unreasonable, to accept unending restraint. From my discussions with other Coalition members, however, I do not believe that it is possible for Iraq to create divisions in the Coalition, even if they were able finally to precipitate an Israeli response.

On the question of humanitarian assistance, in response to the missile attacks on Israel, Canada offered whatever assistance we could; to date, we have provided some \$500,000 through the Canadian Red Cross to the counterpart of the Canadian Red Cross in Israel to help with the provision of medical supplies, temporary housing and the rehabilitation of damaged homes.

We have now heard that Iraq has again opened its border with Jordan and that some displaced persons are coming across. Our information is that the numbers are, at the moment, manageable, manageable from the perspective of the Jordanians, the arrangements now in place, but we shall continue monitoring that situation and should additional assistance be required, Canada will, of course, be prepared to contribute to that additional assistance.

Another development over the last few days has been the flight into Iran of an increasing number of Iraqi warplanes, approaching by some counts 100 warplanes. There has been speculation about why Iraqi pilots are taking their planes to Iran, and I must say that we do not yet have a clear fix on the extent to which this is part of an effort to protect these assets for some future period, or the extent to which it is not part of any coherent plan. We do, however, appreciate and accept the assurances of Iran that these planes will be interned for the duration of the conflict and that Iraq will not permit its territory to be used for any hostile activity.

During the latter part of last week, we saw emerge a number of proposals for bringing the hostilities to an end via a more or less immediate ceasefire. Some of these have been proposed by individual countries, others pursued through the UN, another considered by a group of the Non-Aligned Movement.

I should say that we have no problem with this searching by other countries -- indeed, should any proposition offer a real chance to shorten this war with fewer lives lost it would be welcomed by Canada and by others, assuming, of course, it resulted in Iraqi compliance with UN Security Council resolutions.

It is, however, regrettably instructive that each and every ceasefire proposal that we are aware of -- one by Algeria, another by India, for example -- have all proven unworkable because of one fundamental face: they have all been premised on an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, and Saddam Hussein continues to keep that door firmly shut. So, the practice that began before the period established by the United Nations, of Saddam Hussein saying "no" to Baker, saying "no" to Perez de Cuellar, continues with respect to initiatives that would come forward from India, from Algeria and from others.

If Saddam Hussein continues to give every indication that he will hold on to Kuwait until he is dislodged by force, then he is making very dim the prospects for any peace proposal or ceasefire. Witness the comments about the UN Secretary-General on Sunday, where Tariq Aziz accused Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar personally of being responsible for casualties in Iraq, and remarks to CNN journalists yesterday.

This leads me to make a comment or two on the recent public questioning in Canada, as elsewhere, about the objectives and aims we are collectively pursuing during this military phase of the crisis. Some have suggested that we have widened the war aims, that the objective is now "to get Saddam Hussein," or to crush permanently any Iraqi military capacity ... and so on.

From the very beginning, we have made clear that our objectives -- Canada's and the objectives of the Coalition -- are those established by various Security Council resolutions, and that there are no wider aims which go beyond the intent of those resolutions. Some of the commentary suggesting that the Coalition has a hidden objective to eliminate Iraq's military capacity for non-crisis reasons, is, of course, academic at this stage, given the critical requirement to deal with Iraqi military capabilities simply in the pursuit of the liberation of Kuwait. It would be sheer folly and it would cost a lot more lives if Saddam Hussein's Iraq-based arsenal was ignored in favour of a constrained campaign pushing his forces out of Kuwait without reducing his capacity to protect his position from Iraq.

As the Prime Minister has made clear and as I have repeated time and time again, what we are doing is enforcing compliance with the Security Council resolutions -- no more, no less.

Avoiding that enforcement through military means is in the hands of Saddam Hussein. He knows this and he has known it since the beginning of this crisis, which he created with the invasion and annexation of Kuwait. He is simply not interested in responding, or, if he is interested, he has given no indication of that to date.

Another major development of this past week has, of course, been the release by Iraq of huge amounts of crude oil into the Gulf. This is a grim and shocking development which indicates again the lengths to which Saddam Hussein will go to pursue his objectives as he victimizes an entire ecosystem to cut off usable water supplies to the people and industry of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf. The Prime Minister has indicated our willingness to have Canada help clean up this spill and we have had discussions in this respect over the last couple of days, both in the context of multilateral conversations and bilaterally, with some of the countries affected.

We have offered some equipment and some expertise and I expect that we, along with a large number of others, will be involved in the clean-up. It is a massive task. This is a massive problem that Saddam Hussein has created with his use of the environment as a weapon of war. The real message is that we have to pursue our original objectives until Iraq no longer controls Kuwait oil facilities, which it is evidently willing to use as an instrument of environmental terrorism.

Saddam Hussein's use of environmental spoilage as a weapon of war raises the question of what lessons we are going to learn from this conflict for the decades to come. There are a number of dimensions of post-hostilities planning that we are now actively engaged in, both in terms of our own work and in our consultations with other countries, particularly those of the region and our principal partners in the Coalition. These dimensions include planning for the post-hostilities environment in the region, addressing the very real human and reconstruction requirements that are going to be needed, greater regional stability over the longer term, and learning larger lessons such as how to contain the use of environmental terrorism and how to deal with the continued problem of too many arms and too many weapons of mass destruction, too easily available.

We are working hard on these areas and I look forward to sharing our plans with you as they develop.

Those are remarks I wanted to make, Mr. Chairman, by way of opening, and I would be pleased to deal with questions that Members have in the course of this briefing.