

**CANADA SHOULD HAVE FOUGHT, ALONGSIDE
THE UNITED STATES IN THE ATTACK ON IRAQ**
There Was No Violation Of International Law
The Chrétien Government Was Wrong

When the United States (US) determined to attack Iraq, in March this year, it was seen by Russia, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Germany and France, to name but 4, major international powers, which were opposed to the idea of a pre-emptive attack on Iraq, as being a breach of agreements that the US had signed with the United Nations (UN).

The US countered the allegations of these 4 powerful allies, stating that it was Iraq that had breached its agreements with the UN, not the US, and that, since the UN appeared to be procrastinating and, in any event, did not have the courage of its convictions, the US would take the bit between its teeth and attack Iraq in order to prevent the Regime of Saddam Hussein from employing his weapons of mass destruction.

The UN had authorised, under Resolution 1441, that the country of Iraq be fully and comprehensively inspected by hand-picked inspectors, under the supervision of Mr Hans Blix, the Chief Weapons Inspector, in order to look for violations of previous undertakings, contained in the 1991 cease-fire terms between the UN and the Government of Iraq, then controlled by President Saddam Hussein.

The UN's authority, to demand that Iraq open up all of its facilities, military and civilian, was contained in the August 6, 1990 Security Council Resolution 661.

The background of Resolution 661 was that, on August 2, 1990, Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait; on the same day, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 660, condemning the invasion and demanding Iraq's unconditional withdrawal.

It, also, called on Iraq and Kuwait to begin immediate negotiations.

On August 6, 1990, the Security Council passed Resolution 661, imposing economic sanctions on Iraq.

As President Saddam Hussein showed no sign, at that time, that he was prepared to withdraw his troops from Kuwait, the then President of the US, Mr George Herbert Walker Bush, the father of President George W. Bush, and various allies, considering Iraq's action to be a threat to Western interests, decided that the status quo ante must be re-established.

US troops began arriving in Saudi Arabia on August 9, 1990 and, on August 28, 1990, Iraq declared that Kuwait had become the 19th Province of Iraq.

A 28-member coalition, including several Middle Eastern States and led by the US, mobilised sufficient military and political support to enforce the UN Security Council's sanctions, including the use of force.

Allied military operations, first in the air (January 17, 1991) and then on land (February 24, 1991), compelled Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait and to accept the Security Council Resolutions on April 7, 1991.

A ground campaign, known popularly as, The Gulf War, began on February 24, 1990 and lasted 4 days.

It secured the eviction of Iraq from Kuwait.

The Arabian Peninsula countries had not seen such a far-reaching, external military intervention in their affairs since the days of Muhammad 'Ali and the first Sa'udi Kingdom.

As a result, the diplomatic, military, and political structures and patterns, created after the withdrawal of the British imperial presence in the early 1960s, were placed in question.

Having successfully invaded and occupied Kuwait, the US Government suggested that Iraq might have other territorial ambitions and that an attack on Saudi Arabia could, well, be next on President Saddam Hussein's agenda of countries to conquer.

The terms of the permanent cease fire between the United Nations and Iraq, signed on April 6, 1990, included, inter alia, that Iraq agree to pay full reparations to Kuwait, reveal the location of its stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons, and eliminate its weapons of mass destruction.

Subsequently, however, UN weapons inspectors complained that the Iraqi Government was frustrating their attempts to monitor Iraqi compliance to the terms and conditions of the April 6, 1990 permanent cease-fire agreement.

The 21-day war of March, this year, between the US, joined by troops of the United Kingdom (UK), and Iraq, was aimed at dislodging President Saddam Hussein and his family from power, once and for all time.

President George W. Bush and senior members of his Administration continuously asserted, in the lead up to the March invasion of Iraq, that President Saddam Hussein had large stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction, weapons which may be fitted into missiles, at any time, and could be aimed at Middle-Eastern friends of the United States, such as Israel.

That was the excuse that the US had used to launch its invasion at the heart of Iraq, in spite of the fact that UN weapons inspectors, after 3 months of searching Iraq, had come up, empty handed.

Mr Hans Blix had told the Security Counsel that his inspectors have found no '*smoking guns*' in Iraq.

Some historians claim that the fact that Saddam Hussein had placed Ex-President George Herbert Walker Bush on his list of people to be assassinated had nothing to do with the determination of his son, President George W. Bush, to launch his invasion.

The March invasion was termed, euphemistically, as the '*liberation*' of the country and of its peoples from the iron grip of an Eastern potentate, who had a thirst for blood – mostly, that of his own countrymen.

President Saddam Hussein was described by the US Administration as being akin to a homicidal maniac, who was out of control.

President George W. Bush placed Saddam Hussein at the top of the list of people on his '*Axis of Evil*'.

Canada did not join President George W. Bush and friends in the '*liberation*' of Iraq.

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien of Canada held fast to the opinion that the US should not invade Iraq without a mandate from the UN's Security Council.

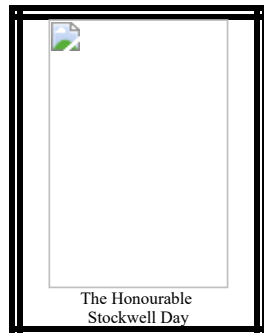
But the US could not muster a sufficient number of votes from the Permanent Members of the Security Council in order to push through a Resolution, authorising the UN to mobilise a military coalition to impose the UN's mandate under Resolution 1441.

Russian, France, the PRC and Germany thwarted President George W. Bush's determinations at the UN, and his (legal) ambitions to finish off the job that his father had started, one decade earlier.

The result of Canada, not supporting its neighbour to its south, caused there to be a rift in the Government of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and, especially, in the loyal opposition to the Government of the Prime Minister.

Continuing last week's exclusive interview with Canadian Parliamentarian, Mr Stockwell Day (Please see [Volume V, Number 142, published on July 30, 2003](#)), who has been very active in the Canadian Government since 1986, TARGET posed the question as to whether or not Canada had been wrong in not fighting, alongside the 200,000-strong army of the United States, just south of Canada, across the Freedom Bridge, festooned with the slogan: '*In Unity We Stand*'.

Here is what the Honourable Stockwell Day had to say on this matter:



Do you think that the US Government was correct in attacking Iraq on the basis of the amount of intelligence, relating to Iraq's alleged possession of weapons of mass destruction, that was available to the US President at the time of the attack in March, this year?

The Honourable Stockwell Day

In my view, the United States and its some 50 allies, significantly, Great Britain, of course, being a major contributor, were acting upon information, given to them, not just by their own intelligence sources and others, but it was Hans Blix, who was a United Nations (Chief Weapons) Inspector who said: *'We cannot account for 6,500 chemical bombs. We cannot account for huge amounts of anthrax-making material. We cannot account for huge amounts of VX (a nerve gas) and Sarin Gas, which we know existed, which we know the Iraqi Regime had. It is now unaccountable.'* So that, coupled with the violation of 17 United Nations Resolutions to further declare all these weapons, coupled with the tragically and faithfully historic capability of Saddam Hussein, himself, to use weapons of mass destruction, notably against his own people, gassing to death some 4,000 (of them), also linked with what happened, of course, at 9/11 (the attack on New York and Washington D.C. on September 11, 2001, when devout followers of Osama bin Laden attacked the US, killing more than 4,000 innocent civilians by hijacking 3 US, commercial aeroplanes and crashing them into their designated targets. President Saddam Hussein is, still, considered to be a friend of Osama bin Laden) all led to the coalition, making a decision that there would, finally, have to be intervention because of non-compliance on behalf of this (Iraqi) Regime.

TARGET

But it is held in many quarters that the United States acted illegally!

The Honourable Stockwell Day

That's a view. However, when we talk about law, there, of course, any lawyer, now, or in the past, or in the future, will tell you there are more than one view of law. The (United Nations) Resolutions, which came into being as early as 1991, there was never a peace, signed with Iraq. There was a (permanent) cease-fire, based upon Iraq's compliance with certain conditions. That was the original UN Resolution. Sixteen others followed it. So, my view: There was no violation of international law, in this particular case.

TARGET

Do you think that Canada should have fought, shoulder-to-shoulder with the US Army in its attack on Iraq?

The Honourable Stockwell Day

Within the area of our capability, we should have been with the coalition of some 50 countries. Canada, historically, has been involved with a significant number of military interventions, in the case of extreme danger, in the case of a constant danger, in the case of dictatorships, crushing the individual rights of people and crushing people, themselves. So, within our capability, which would have been limited, because of our drastic under-funding of our own military, over the past 10 years or so, we should have been there – in some way.

TARGET

So you think that the Chrétien Government was wrong in not going in?_

The Honourable Stockwell Day

Clearly. It was wrong. In 1999, the Chrétien Government endorsed the bombing of Kosovo*, in which Canada was significantly involved with the allies after the madman, (Slobodan) Milošević* (then, the President of Serbia) had started an ethnic cleansing programme that, at that point in time, had claimed about 8,000 lives. And, quite rightly, we were involved to stop that ethnic cleansing. We (Canada) intervened, within the jurisdiction of the United Nations. And, we were right to do that in 1999 without UN Security Council approval. The madman, Saddam Hussein, his death rate in May, his torture rate, was far more horrendous than Milošević's. And, therefore, using the same criteria, we should have been there with our allies.

* In March 1998, a major Serbian crackdown began in Kosovo, with Yugoslav army units, joining Serbian police to fight the ethnic Albanian separatists. In the months that followed, hundreds of people were killed and more than 200,000 people were driven from their homes; most of these people were ethnic Albanians. The 2 sides fought until October 1998 when President Slobodan Milošević, under threat of air strikes by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), agreed to withdraw some troops from Kosovo. However, Slobodan Milošević did not honour the agreement and, on the contrary, strengthened his forces in Kosovo in succeeding months. Fighting resumed in November and Serbian forces began a major offensive against ethnic Albanian villages in late December.

Under growing international pressure, the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and Kosovo, Albanian representatives agreed to negotiate in February 1999 and March 1999 outside of Paris, France. However, Yugoslav leaders refused to sign the peace agreement for Kosovo, objecting to a provision, calling for a NATO security force in the province. On March 24, 1999, NATO forces began a campaign of air strikes against FRY military

targets. Serbian-led assaults on ethnic Albanians intensified, with Serbian police and paramilitary units and the Yugoslav army, razing villages and forcing residents to flee. NATO intensified its campaign of air strikes, during April, bombing roads, bridges, oil production facilities, and other targets in the FRY. The UN estimated that nearly 640,000 people were forced from Kosovo between March 1998 and the end of April 1999. Most of the refugees went to Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, or Montenegro. In late May, the UN International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia unsealed an indictment, accusing President Slobodan Milošević and 4 other senior Yugoslav officials of committing war crimes in Kosovo.

TARGET

If you, Sir, had had knowledge of the inaccuracies and inadequacies of the US intelligence, as it related to Iraq, and if President George W. Bush was, still, intent on attacking Iraq, would you, still, have advocated, backing the US in its military campaign?

The Honourable Stockwell Day

Not necessarily. The answer, first of all, (is that) Canada must make these decisions, always based on their own sovereignty and what is in the best interests of Canada, its citizens, and, therefore, its relations, around the world. If, at any time – and (if) I was in a position of Government to make decisions – I felt that danger was not immanent, that Saddam Hussein's Regime was not contributing to worldwide terrorism, in spite of the horrendous violations of human rights to his own people, if I thought that he was not a factor to gross instability in the Middle East, then, obviously, a different decision would have been made. The entire furore, in the present media environment, is around a 19-word sentence in the President's speech. The US Congress, which reflects on the possibility of uranium development, or the pursuit of uranium capability by Saddam Hussein, (has to consider that if at) any time, you have a dictator, with the history and the capability of Saddam Hussein, you, automatically, have the capability of weapons of mass destruction. So, the entire case is, the entire present furore is, based on this statement, a statement, now, which is an area of magnification of some concern. I believe, again, that both Messrs (Tony) Blair (the Prime Minister of Great Britain) and Bush were giving statements, based on good faith, at the time. And, if that (16-word) statement had not been in the US Presidential Address to Congress, in my view, that would not have altered the extreme danger that Saddam Hussein represented, certainly to his own people, (to) the Middle East, and (to) instability, generally, in the world. As a matter of fact, it was his son-in-law, in 1994 and 1995, who talked about the nuclear pursuits and desires of Saddam Hussein.

TARGET

In respect of trade between Canada and the US, daily – which is about \$US1.30 billion, according to the latest statistics – do you think that that, alone, should have been sufficient reason for Canada to back the US on the matter of deposing President Saddam Hussein of Iraq?

The Honourable Stockwell Day

When we are talking about something as serious as military intervention in another country, you cannot base that type of decision just on trade factors. There are things, as important as trade is, as important as the creation of wealth is. There are things more important than that. And that might have been, or could be, an ancillary consideration, but should never form the driving consideration when it comes to invasion, when it comes to military action, when it comes to the possibility of the loss of life, when putting your own soldiers in harm's way.

TARGET

Then, what you are saying is that Canada should maintain its own sovereignty: Is that right?

The Honourable Stockwell Day

Clearly! A decision like that must be based on, first and foremost, the best interests of Canada and the best interests of individual freedoms ... human rights. Trade is, always, a factor, but it should never be the overriding decision of whether (or not) to put people in harm's way and (the) actual consideration of the possibility of the loss of life.

TARGET

Let's take that a bit further: In the event that the US determined: *'Well, Canada did not help us, and, so, to Hell with Canada!'* and the US, covertly, determines to take action to cut back its purchases/sales from/to Canada, what action would you suggest?

The Honourable Stockwell Day

Well, governments shouldn't be involved in business. In any event, business people in Canada trade with business people in the United States, in Japan, or somewhere else. And that is how it should be phrased. The reality of this is that, if a government, and I am talking about the Liberal Government of Canada, persists in mindlessly insulting another government with verbal assaults and insults, that could affect the decision of business persons in that offended country. For instance, Australia is negotiating a free-trade agreement with the United States because of their (the Australian Government's) involvement in the coalition (that attacked Iraq),

the (US) President said: *'Let's speed up the free-trade agreement.'* Now, you have the possibility of a business person in the United States, looking at a transaction, and if the profits for him or her are relatively the same (as) in Canada and the United States, and they're (the US business person(s)) also saying: *'You know, Australia was with us in this fight, and Canada spat on us while we fought, I am going to be with Australia.'* You open up a possibility of a business person, making a decision, based upon how they feel that they are being treated by another country. You raise that possibility. Whether (or not) that will actualise – (and) we have heard cases where it has – we have heard cases of extremely patriotic Americans, who, simply, make decisions not to deal with a Canadian business person. That's an individual decision that should be left up to an American business person. I don't think that the Canadian Government has the right to impose some kind of sanction because, for patriotic or other reasons, an individual business decision is made. If, on the other hand, the US Government suggests reprisals – for instance, I don't support the US Farm Bill (because) I think that it is harmful to agricultural products in Canada; I don't support the stance that they've (the US Government) taken on softwood lumber: Those, in my view are anti-free trade positions – that's where our Government (of Canada) should intervene and go head-to-head with the Government (of the US). But, in terms of the individual business decisions, Canada should not intercede.

TARGET

Do you think that Canada is too dependent on the US for its lifeblood – that is trade?

The Honourable Stockwell Day

We are, absolutely, dependent, again, in a free market, if you had a free-market Government. For instance, I have heard people say that Canada should move its dependency on trade with the United States, and Canada should reduce it. Then, Canada should tell a business man or business woman: *'I don't want you to deal with the United States. I want you to try to make a profit by shipping your products half way around the world rather than the easier access of the US market.'* We are very dependant, but that dependency is not a bad thing if it has resulted in a mutual agreement between business people to transact together. And closeness, in terms of miles, closeness in terms of understanding and cultural issues, that, again, should be left up to the business person to decide. It is not the right of the government to say (that) we don't like you, depending on that company in the United States to sell your goods. We want you to depend on one in Finland, for instance. We leave that up to the business person to decide.

TARGET

Do you think that Canada could promote the concept of diversification of markets and products?

The Honourable Stockwell Day

From the point of view of reducing the cost to business of doing business – and so I come back to a common-sense regulatory regime – a taxation system that is not punitive, a taxation system that does not discriminate against foreign investment. If the Canadian Government opens those type of doors and lets business people decide what is going to be most economic, that ability, then, to have the Government out of the way of spontaneous decisions that business people will make, based on their best interests, that is the best way to encourage trade either (to/from) North American or international.

TARGET

In other countries, there are incentives, given to industry to help to promote their goods, internationally. These incentives may be by way of accelerating depreciation on the purchase of capital goods – machines, etc. So, do you think that the Canadian Government should promote, both the diversification of markets and goods by offering incentives to business, by way of a discounted taxation system for certain industries, etc?

The Honourable Stockwell Day

Well, that particular type of incentive is precisely what I am getting at in terms of Government, making a decision to reduce the cost of business and, therefore, freeing up the business person to help them to make a business decision should they go offshore in terms of their investments. And, we took that, and, again, using Alberta in terms of our past experience as a test case, that we had something that was called, *'The Machinery and Equipment Tax'*. Which was a punitive tax. It said that the more you invested in equipment, the more mechanised you became, and, certainly, it related to depreciation (rates), the more we are going to tax you. And so, we said to industry, who was making the exact argument (as TARGET's), having a tough time, competing internationally, we said: *'Alright, we will reduce that tax (by) 30 percent a year, but prove the case: Let's see the corresponding investment, then, in the hi-tech equipment, etc.'* In fact, that is exactly what took place. That tax was eliminated in a time-frame less than what we had even thought. When we reduced 30 percent (the) machinery tax in one year, we saw a corresponding investment in machinery and equipment, which actually compensated for Government's forsaken revenue because of that particular tax. Proving the case of TARGET. But we did not say, with the new equipment, you must, then, sell products into such-and-such a jurisdiction, but, in fact, it gave the businesses the capability to make a choice to go into some international investments.

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