SPEECH FROM THE THRONE
SPECIAL SESSION OF PARLIAMENT
TUESDAY, 22 JANUARY 1991

HONOURABLE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

it is a privilege for me to exercise the prerogative of Her Majesty the Queen
and open this 2nd session of the 43rd Parliament.

It is the first time I have exercised Her Majesty’s prerogative, and I am
deply conscious of the fact that Parliament has been summoned to discuss a
matter of grave concern to the people of New Zealand.

Parliament is not summoned to discuss every outbreak of hostilities in the
world.

The circumstances, in this instance, are exceptional. The hostilities are of
worldwide significance.

Today, a multinational force is in action with the full authority of the United
Nations.
The Government of New Zealand has committed units of the nation's defence forces to support the effort to secure compliance with the resolutions of the United Nations.

Under these circumstances, it is appropriate that the New Zealand Parliament should convene to discuss these grave issues.

HONOURABLE MEMBERS, I should like to recall events leading to and following the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, and the decisions which have been taken by the previous and present Governments of New Zealand in regard to this act of aggression.

Prior to the invasion, the President of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, laid claim to two Kuwaiti islands and the Kuwaiti section of an oil field that spreads beneath the border between the nations of Iraq and Kuwait.

The President of Iraq had criticised Kuwait's oil production and pricing policies.

Discussions on these points had begun between Iraq and Kuwait.

President Saddam Hussein had given undertakings to other Arab leaders that he would not invade Kuwait.

Despite these undertakings and without prior warning, on the 2nd of August, Iraqi troops launched a full-scale attack.

The small defence forces of Kuwait were quickly overrun.

Claiming a popular revolutionary movement had arisen in Kuwait, the President of Iraq installed a new government.

This lasted but few days, before President Saddam Hussein proclaimed Kuwait to be Iraq's 19th province, and annexed the country completely.
The violations of human rights in Kuwait which accompanied these events have been fully reported by Amnesty International.

HONOURABLE MEMBERS, there have been many wars since 1945, but this is the first time since 1945 that one country has attempted to extinguish entirely the existence of another independent country, another member of the United Nations.

The international community has been united in a manner that is without precedent in its condemnation and rejection of Iraq’s aggression against Kuwait.

Since the 2nd of August, there have been 12 United Nations Security Council resolutions expressing that condemnation and rejection.

Iraq did not heed the Security Council’s initial call to withdraw from Kuwait.

The Council imposed mandatory, comprehensive economic and trade sanctions against Iraq.

Those sanctions have been almost universally enforced.

There is no evidence that they have had any effect on the attitude of the President of Iraq, or were going to do so in the foreseeable future.

On the 29th of November, the Security Council passed Resolution 678 which authorised the use of "all necessary means" to compel Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait if it had not done so by the 15th of January.
Thus, Iraq was given six weeks' notice to comply with the call to withdraw, which had been issued by the United Nations four months earlier.

President Saddam Hussein paid no heed to the diplomatic efforts of other nations - including many Arab states - to achieve Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait before the deadline set by the Security Council.

His envoy refused to accept a letter from President Bush of the United States.

The leader of Iraq was not moved by the direct, personal approach of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who flew to Baghdad to meet him, or by the Secretary-General's final appeal just a few hours before the deadline.

The deadline has passed, and, consequently, a multinational force has moved to enforce the will of the United Nations.

HONOURABLE MEMBERS, such action is clearly envisaged under Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter.

The Security Council has the power and the responsibility to "decide what measures should be taken to maintain or restore international peace and security".

It may decide on peaceful measures - as it did with the imposition of sanctions on Iraq.
When the Security Council considers such measures "have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be deemed necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security".

The Security Council was therefore fully empowered to pass Resolution 665, which authorised the use of force to uphold the economic and trade sanctions it imposed on Iraq.

The Council was similarly empowered to pass Resolution 678, authorising the use of "all necessary means" to compel Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait, and calling upon all member states of the United Nations to support actions taken by countries with forces in the region in pursuit of its resolutions.

Twenty-eight members of the United Nations have heeded this call and contributed to the multinational force now operating in the Gulf zone.

HONOURABLE MEMBERS, New Zealand was a founding member of the United Nations.

One of its main objectives was to ensure that the organisation would effectively protect small countries, like New Zealand, against aggression.

This is what Sir Carl Berendsen, New Zealand's first Permanent Representative at the United Nations, said at the first session of the General Assembly in 1946:
"We wish to see established an effective system of collective security under which all contract that aggression against one is aggression against all, and will be met and defeated as such.

"We believe that nothing short of this can in the long run be permanently effective - an agreement by all the right-thinking peoples of the world that lawless force will always be met and defeated by lawful force …"

That the United Nations has operated on this occasion in the way its founders intended, and that so many member nations have been prepared to contribute to the effort that is now required to achieve the object of its resolutions, is one of the positive aspects of the otherwise tragic situation that Parliament has been summoned to consider.

HONOURABLE MEMBERS, I now turn to the decisions made in regard to this situation by the previous and present Governments of New Zealand since August the 2nd.

The Government in office on that day immediately and repeatedly condemned Iraq’s act of aggression and called for the complete withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

When the Security Council called for the imposition of sanctions on Iraq, the government imposed them, as quickly as legal procedures permitted.

New Zealand commercial and financial organisations willingly complied with the sanctions.
Indeed, they did so before the necessary regulations were implemented, and they have done so at some cost to themselves.

The Government quickly decided to make available humanitarian assistance for the hundreds of thousands of refugees displaced as a result of Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait.

An appeal was received from the Egyptian Red Crescent for milk powder to help feed the Egyptian workers who had been forced to flee from their jobs in Kuwait and return to their own country.

An RNZAF Hercules delivered a load of milk powder to Cairo in response to that request.

The main need of refugees was for onward transport from Jordan to their home countries.

The Government assigned the same Hercules aircraft to carry out three refugee flights from Jordan to Pakistan and the Philippines.

An RNZAF Boeing 727, already in Europe, was diverted from its tasks by the Government to make 11 flights, carrying refugees from Jordan to Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and the Philippines.

At the same time, the Government announced its willingness to send a civilian medical team to Saudi Arabia, under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross, if this was acceptable.
Saudi Arabia welcomed the offer, but it was not taken up at that time by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Since the onset of the crisis, the previous and present Governments have given frequent consideration to the possibility of further New Zealand contributions, in particular military contributions.

The previous Government announced, at an early stage of the crisis, its willingness to make an appropriate contribution to any operations organised under United Nations auspices.

On the 29th of November, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 678, in which it authorised the use of "all necessary means" to compel Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait, and requested "all states to provide appropriate support for the actions" of countries contributing to the multinational forces in the Gulf area.

The text of this resolution was sent officially by the Secretary-General to the present Government of New Zealand, as it was to other governments.

On the 3rd of December, the Government announced its intention to make available two RNZAF Hercules transport aircraft and a New Zealand Army medical team to support the multinational force in the Gulf area.

The Government believes the provision of these military support services is an appropriate response to the situation, and to the United Nations' call for assistance.
They have been warmly welcomed by the countries in which they are located - Saudi Arabia and Bahrain - and by the countries providing the forces with whom they will work most closely - the United Kingdom and the United States.

The Government recently received an additional request from the Government of the United Kingdom for more medical personnel.

After carefully considering the circumstances in the area, and the availability of military medical personnel in New Zealand, the Government decided to accede to this request.

About 20 medical personnel, from all three armed services, will be made available to work with British units in the Gulf area.

Further details will be announced by the Government when they are confirmed.

HONOURABLE MEMBERS, New Zealand has a long and honourable tradition of contributing to peace keeping forces.

It is a tradition that has been upheld by successive Governments, and will be upheld by the present Government.

The Government is aware that some New Zealanders believe that this country should contribute only to a peace keeping force.
Ministers of the Government understand that point of view, but they also recognise that there is no peace to keep, until peace has been made.

Therefore, they have decided that New Zealand should play a modest but honourable part in the effort to make peace, and to support the resolutions of the United Nations which seek to end an act of aggression by Iraq and restore the integrity of the small state of Kuwait.

HONOURABLE MEMBERS, New Zealand has shouldered its share of the burden of sanctions on Iraq.

New Zealand has made a real contribution to the welfare of refugees displaced by the conflict, and will make a real contribution to the care of those who suffer injury in the hostilities that are now under way.

New Zealand has moved to support each call and resolution of the United Nations in regard to the current crisis in the Gulf.

I am sure that all New Zealanders will extend their heartfelt sympathy to those who have suffered and will suffer in the war.

I am equally certain that all New Zealanders share the hope that the hostilities can be brought to a swift end with minimum loss of life, and that a just and lasting peace can be secured.

Today, the Ministers of the Government are inviting Honourable Members to join in support for the United Nations in its handling of this situation, for the multinational force that is operating under the auspices of the United Nations, and for the efforts that have been made by New Zealand to give effect to the resolutions of the United Nations.
HONOURABLE MEMBERS, Parliament has been summoned today to consider this single matter at this session.

It is the intention of the Government to continue with the legislation that was before the House at the time it adjourned, when the House comes back into session after the 19th of February.

I therefore commend this issue to you, and pray that divine guidance will attend your considerations.