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# World Conference on Human Rights

Vienna, 14-25 June 1993

22nd plenary meeting, 25th of June 1993
[A/CONF.157/PV.22]

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# Contents

NUJOMA, Samuel (Namibia)	1
WARZAZI, Halima (World Conference on Human Rights. Main Committee)	6
VERGNE SABOIA, Gilberto (World Conference on Human Rights. Drafting Committee)	11
TAIANA, Jorge (Argentina)	12
GARRETON, Roberto (Chile)	13
WIRYONO, S. (Indonesia)	14
PIERRE, Christophe (Holy See)	15
SHATTUCK, John (United States of America)	16
GEGHMAN, Yahya H. (Yemen, on behalf of the Asian Group)	17
SINGHVI, L.M. (India)	18
LEHMANN, Tyge (Denmark)	20
AL-KOTAL, Rahim A. (Iraq)	20
TURMEN, Riza (Turkey)	21
HESSEL, Stephane (France)	22
SWIFT, John (Ireland)	23
GEORGIEVSKI, Saso (The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia)	24
PELEG, David (Israel)	25
ZAHRAN, Mounir (Egypt)	25
PARK, Anne (Canada, on behalf Western European and Other States)	27
KOVALEV, Serguei (Russian Federation on behalf of Eastern Europe)	28
LUBUVA, Z. (Tanzania)	29
SULTANOV, Omar (Kyrgyzstan)	30
SALLOUKH, Fawzi (Lebanon)	30
ARTEAGA, Horacio (Venezuela, on behalf of Latin American and the Caribbean Group)	31
MANJIRA, D.C. (Kenya, on behalf of the African Group)	32
AL-NOWAISER, Eisa (Saudi Arabia)	34
MWAUNGULU, Ngelesi (Malawi)	34
NOWAK, Jerzy M. (Poland on behalf of Eastern European Regional Group)	35
LAVINA, Nelson (Philippines)	36
TERZI, Z. (Palestine)	37
KEDZIA, Zdzislaw (World Conference on Human Rights. Rapporteur-General)	38
FALL, Ibrahima (World Conference on Human Rights. Secretary-General)	39
BOUTROS-GHALI, Boutros (UN. Secretary-General)	39
FALL, Ibrahima (World Conference on Human Rights. Secretary-General)	39
MOCK, Alois (President)	41

### MOCK, Alois (President):

The 22nd plenary meeting of the World Conference on Human Rights is called to order. At the outset of the closing session of this Conference, I have the honor and pleasure to invite His Excellency Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of Namibia to address the World Conference who is a symbol of the achievement of the United Nations in the field of liberty and democracy; who is himself a symbol of human rights as a freedom fighter.

I ask Your Excellency to take the floor.

### NUJOMA, Samuel (Namibia):

Keywords: GENOCIDE - SELF-DETERMINATION - APARTHEID - SOUTH AFRICA - WOMEN - CHILDREN - TREATIES - NAMIBIA - GOVERNMENT POLICY- UN High Commissioner for Human Rights - ANGOLA - AFRICA

Thank you very much Mr. President.

Mr. Secretary-General of the World Conference on Human Rights, Your Excellencies, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

On behalf of the government and the people of the Republic of Namibia and, indeed, on my own behalf, allow me, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your election as president of this august Conference.

May I also commend you and the bureau for the excellent and able manner in which you guided the activities of this Conference. My delegation and I wish to express, through you, Mr. President, our most sincere thanks and appreciation to your government and the people of Austria for the warm hospitality accorded to us in this beautiful and historic city of Vienna.

Mr. President, distinguished delegates,

The last quarter of the present century was, among others, characterized by the acceptance of human rights as central to inter-state relations. It should be noted, however, that the present century witnessed gross, persistent and systematic violations of human rights in many parts of the world.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the false notion of "civilizing missions" was entrenched as the rationale for colonialism and foreign oppression of peoples and nations.

Equally, this century witnessed the attempt to create the theory of a superior race, which was based on a perverse notion of racism by the Nazi ideology that rejected other peoples as human beings and resulted in an unprecedented violation of human rights including genocide on a massive scale, torture, degrading and inhuman treatment. This era also saw many destructive wars. Even today, at the close of the 20th century, we are still witnessing internal conflicts with elements of immense international proportions. In this respect, Mr. President, my government and, indeed the people of Namibia totally reject and condemn the abominable practice of ethnic cleansing. The world must unreservedly condemn this heinous crime against humanity.

During the second half of this century, the colonized and oppressed peoples the world over successfully fought for the attainment of the right to self-determination and national liberation. The revolution for the liberation of the colonized peoples has almost been completed and, in fact, my country Namibia was the last in this struggle.

In the same vein, the policy of apartheid is one of the worst degradations of the dignity of human beings. The South African and Namibian peoples suffered greatly under this inhuman and detestable

policy. Even though Namibia has been independent for three years now, the scars caused by apartheid policies have not been completely healed, despite concerted efforts by my government through the policies of national reconciliation and affirmative action to eradicate the imbalances in the Namibian society.

The ongoing discussions among the political parties and groups in South Africa have produced encouraging results. The date of the first non-racial elections has been announced and very soon a transitional authority will be set in place to supervise the main functions of the government such as the security, media and finance, to mention but a few.

The international community should strongly urge the parties in South Africa to continue with this encouraging development and to finally eradicate apartheid.

Mr. President,

At 11:00 today Radio 702 reported that chaos had broken out at the World Trade Centre in South Africa because at 10:00 this this morning far right-wing supporters, who had a permission to demonstrate outside the Centre, broke through the fence of the premises with an armored car, attacked the persons and damaged vehicles. They are presently occupying the Negotiations Council's Chambers.

Multiparty negotiation leaders are presently confined to rooms inside the World Trade Centre. Balaclava-wearing men have seized the documentation from the negotiators, are painting slogans on the walls of the Centre. For example, "Kill the kaffir."

Professor Karl Boshoff, General Viljoen and Eugene Terre'Blanche are meeting the government representatives at the moment.

Police and SAD are not taking action. They claim that invaders are heavily armed, therefore, shoot-out could end in disastrous results. Yesterday the police were aware that a demonstration would take place today.

Leaders of protest that include the Conservative Party leader Dr. Ferdinand Hartzenberg and AWB leader Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche arrived to applause at 9:45 am in the Council Chambers. These are also leaders, right-wing [inaudible] who are participating in the negotiations. They are expected to address their supporters in the Council Chamber. They said earlier that they had appointed their own negotiating committee consisting of among others, Dr. Hartzenberg, General Constand Viljoen, Mr. Terre'Blanche and Mr. Cor de Jager. General Viljoen was the commanding general of South-African defense force in Namibia during our war of liberation.

Now I am unquoting from the report from South Africa, which is, "[inaudible] dangerous situation." I call upon this Conference to issue a special declaration condemning these right-wingers who are disrupting the peaceful negotiated settlement in South Africa.

A heavy responsibility rests on the President De Klerk's regime to ensure peace and security in South Africa so that democratic elections can take place. In this regard, we voice our grave concern and condemnation of the activities of the white-right wing designed to derail the negotiations. Only this morning, an armed AWB group forced their way into the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg where the talks are taking place. They threatened participants and were only prepared to leave on condition that the police did not prosecute them. It is clear that the situation in South Africa demands continued vigilance on the part of the United Nations and the international community to ensure that the democratic transformation and elections are not frustrated. We call on President de Klerk to disarm these armed political parties so that they can become part of the democratic process.

I have already quoted what the radio and newspapers reported about the situation in South Africa.

Furthermore, I call upon the international community, to give full support to president Nelson Mandela of the ANC, the leaders of other anti-apartheid forces and president de Klerk, who are engaged in the process of eradicating the evil system of apartheid in order to achieve a genuine, non-racial and united South Africa based on the will of people of South Africa.

Mr. President, distinguished delegates,

The World Conference on Human Rights, convened at the threshold of the 21st century, provides a rare opportunity for humanity to reaffirm the centrality and indivisibility of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms as the pillars of both domestic and international policy.

The fact that the Conference took place is a sign of the commitment of all to a secure future of humanity. The fact that, unlike in Rio at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, in Vienna the NGOs participated in the deliberation of the Conference and expressed their views is a realization that the NGOs are partners and allies of governments in the struggle to promote and protect human rights and that they cannot be left out.

The fact that the World Conference agreed by consensus that women's rights are human rights indicates that the whole humanity is being considered, albeit, still at a slow pace. Women represent half of the world's population. Thus, by affirming the equality of women and men the World Conference took an important step that will assist women to be part of the decision-making process at the national and international level.

The recognition of children and their rights is a sign that the World Conference took into account the fact that children are the nucleus and leaders of the future. Last but not least, the long and very difficult preparatory process that governments, NGOs and the United Nations undertook to prepare the final document on the basis of consensus is, yet, another revelation of our firm commitment to human rights.

I wish to echo the words of the Secretary-General of the United Nations that respect for human rights is now beginning to be reflected through concrete and pragmatic efforts.

Prior to 1948, humanity was rudderless in the field of human rights. There was nothing that could be looked at to protect life and the preservation of human dignity.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, became the beacon and guide in the struggle for the promotion and protection of human rights.

The basic principles and fundamental freedoms enunciated in the declaration are today widely accepted and universally applied. The 10th of December in itself has become an important day of human rights and is widely observed as such in many countries including Namibia. Since then, these principles - civil, political, cultural, social, economic, development and environment - have been put into international human rights instruments.

Namibia has adhered to some of these instruments. However, due to immense pressure in the Namibia National Assembly to weed the Namibian legislative of all vestiges of discrimination and racism of the colonial administration, the process of my government's adherence to the major human rights instruments has not been as speedily as would have been expected.

The 10th Summit of the Heads of State and government of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Jakarta last September reiterated the universal validity of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms and laid emphasis on the respect for dignity and integrity of humankind. For example, the universality of the right to life, the most fundamental of all human rights, cannot be disputed. This right is accepted as basic in all civilizations, cultures and religions.

We, in Namibia, have entrenched this right and made it completely immutable. Article 6 of the Constitution defines this right as follows:

the right to life shall be respected and protected. No law may prescribe death as a competent sentence. No court or tribunal shall have the power to impose a sentence of death upon any person. No executions shall take place in Namibia.

The history and experience of the Namibian people made them to absolutely protect, without exception, the right to life. But as it is well known, many countries, while upholding the principle of the right to life, make exceptions. However, the fact that some countries have exceptions to this right does not diminish the content and universality of the right to life. What is different is the application of the right.

Mr. President, distinguished delegates,

The promotion and protection of human rights are expressly provided for in the Namibian Constitution and are protected in the courts. We are very glad that the World Conference on Human Rights has been able to focus the world's attention on the rights of the child, minorities and indigenous peoples.

With regard to the rights of women, we wish to note that my government has established the Law Reform and Development Commission with a special Sub-committee on Women in Law to ensure that all national legislation will have no discriminatory provisions against women. Thus in Namibia, we are making every effort to educate our people to know their human rights. For example, the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against women, to which we have acceded, is now reproduced in simple language and translated in a number of Namibian languages.

Similarly, our government has also ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the most adhered to international instrument of human rights. The fact, that this convention is the most adhered to, clearly demonstrates the importance the international community attaches to the welfare of the children.

Children are the leaders of tomorrow. Therefore, as an expression of our firm commitment Namibia presented its national programme of action, we, call upon all Members States who have not yet done so to present theirs.

The notion of the establishment of the office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights would be another pillar in strengthening the implementation of human rights. Indeed, the office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights will greatly enhance the protection and implementation of human rights for the next century.

Mr. President, distinguished delegates,

To that extent, it is now time that the international community starts serious and urgent negotiations so as to determine the functions of such a crucial office. In light of the rationalization and reorganization of the United Nations organization, it may be advisable for the office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to be given the prominence it deserves.

We are calling for the strengthening of the protection and enforcement mechanisms of the international human rights regime because we come from a continent where some parts are devastated by numerous internal conflicts - most of which are caused by persistent denial of human rights of the African people. In turn, these conflicts resulted in the highest number of refugees and displaced people in the world.

The African people need peace and stability in order to embark upon the urgent task of economic and social development.

### Mr. President, distinguished delegates,

I will be failing in my duty if I do not mention the senseless war in Angola, which has caused the loss of innocent lives, destroyed the social and economic infrastructure and caused millions of displaced people. The conflict in Angola has affected the entire southern African region. What happened in Angola is when elections took place in September last year, which were observed by the United Nations and described to be free and fair, one party, UNITA's Jonas Savimbi, defied and rose to arms, resumed the civil war, which resulted, as I am standing here, in mass killings and destruction of property. It is being described that about a thousand of Angolans are dying every day. The situation in Angola is extremely very critical because of this one man Jonas Savimbi and his party UNITA. Although UNITA has won during the elections seventy seats: deputies, or congressmen, or members of Parliament. They do not want to accept the expressed will of the Angolan people at the elections. What are we talking about the democracy? Those who support UNITA and Savimbi must make sure that Savimbi is first to accept the result of the elections in September last year. Otherwise, it is mockery for us to sit here and talk about human rights and democracy. When one man is allowed to be supported by those who have been claiming to support democracy [inaudible]! What a shame.

#### Mr. President,

Somalia is another tragic situation afflicting the African continent. On the other side of the continent, we have another country, Liberia, which is totally devastated by internal conflicts. Our wish, however, to express the African people's gratitude and appreciation to the United States Bush administration, which have taken an initiative of sending their troops at their own expense to Somalia to prevent further bloodshed and starvation of the Somali people. United States have acted correctly when we all have been just sitting down looking at starvation of millions of Somalis. But at least this single government in the world did it, stopped it. They sent their own warships, their helicopters and their cars and even their food to feed the people of Somalia. I must say that sometime some other people in Africa behave like children. One of the Somali warlords has the audacity to attack the United Nations troops that [inaudible] peace and feed the Somali people, who are starving. This warlord must be condemned by all people who believe in justice and equality of man. He does not represented the interests of Somali people, neither those of African people. But he represent himself; and stupid he is, he must be condemned; and everything he does must be rejected.

After more than 30 years of attainment of independence in the greater part of the African continent, it is time that human rights culture take roots. It is only people with confidence and hope for the future who can uplift Africa.

We are equally disturbed by the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina because the death of innocent women and children and the destruction of human life continues unabated in that country.

I, therefore, call upon the international community, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, to take appropriate measures to end this carnage.

### Mr. President,

In conclusion, the World Conference we are about to end has generated hopes and expectations the world over. Let us hope not to be in vain. Let us traverse the road from Vienna with the hope and courage to transform our world into the best place to live in.

I thank you.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

I thank President Njuoma for his important statement. I invite Chief of the Protocol to escort His Excellency from the room.

The Conference will now turn to the adoption of the reports of its committees. May I recall that the Conference adopted the report of the Credential Committee at its 19TH meeting, yesterday, 21<sup>st</sup> June 1993. The Conference will take up the report of its Main Committee, which is contained in document A/157/MC/1. I give the floor to the Chairman of the Main Committee Mrs. Halima Embarek Warzazi.

Mrs. Warzazi, you have the floor.

WARZAZI, Halima (World Conference on Human Rights. Main Committee), spoke in French:

Keywords: World Conference on Human Rights. Main Committee (1993: Vienna) - DEVELOPMENT - DEMOCRACY - SPECIAL PROCEDURES - WOMEN - CHILDREN - MINORITIES - REFUGEES - INDIGENOUS PEOPLES - HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING - NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS - VETO

#### Mr.President.

It is my honor to report to the plenary on the work done by the Main Committee, which met from the 15th to the 24th of June.

It is unfortunate that because of the cancellation of afternoon meetings during the second week, the Committee was severely affected by this curtailment, which clearly was a source of major frustration among the NGOs.

The fact, nonetheless, remains that as was noted by one of the delegations, the Committee was a forum for public discussion, exchange of ideas, of positions and experiences, which made it possible for all participants without any exception to enrich the debate, in particular, through recommendations when considering each agenda item.

It suffices to say that during the ten meetings allocated to us we had eighty-six governmental statements, twenty-eight statements by various observers and sixty-one statements by NGOs.

Although virtually all speakers noted progress since 1948, emphasis was particularly placed on the obstacles impeding the promotion of all human rights and how to overcome such obstacles. It was pointed out that if there had been a promotion of human rights over the last forty-five years, this promotion was not concomitant with protection.

The indivisibility of rights and the need for granting equal importance to all rights was unanimously recognized, whether they be economic, social, cultural, civil or political.

The relationship between development, democracy and the enjoyment of all human rights was recognized. The right to development was considered as one of the major factors in promoting all rights.

If, on the one hand, it was felt that there could be no development without democracy, it was, moreover, affirmed most forcefully that without sustained economic development in developing countries, the new fragile democracies might be threatened by enormous economic, social, and cultural difficulties that they must face. Moreover, for peoples deprived of food, housing, healthcare, employment and education, the question of human rights can be but a mirage.

On the contrary, the debate indicated the firmness as to the obligation of all States regardless of their development status to respect fundamental rights of all human beings. The torture, arbitrary disappearances, persecutions, summary executions, discriminatory policies and racism, of which apartheid is the most pernicious and salient form, exacerbated and xenophobic nationalism, intolerance of political or religious nature, terrorism, denial of the right to self-determination of all peoples and,

particularly, of those under colonial yoke, occupation and foreign domination, hegemonic designs of the powerful over the week, inequity of the present international economic order and readjustment policies that do great damage to the most elementary rights of populations crushed under the burden of indebtedness - all of these were condemned and considered to be the most serious obstacles to the promotion and enjoyment of all human rights.

Among the numerous proposals that were made were the enhancing of the United Nations activities and of follow-up machinery, the creation of special procedures to deal with emergency situations, the ratification of all international human rights instruments, the obligation incumbent upon all States to assume their responsibilities as State Parties both with respect to the implementation of standards and with respect to reports to be presented. However, assistance must be given to those countries who, deprived of human and material resources, are unable to regularly present reports to the numerous follow-up mechanisms in a timely manner.

The drafting of additional standards to deal with new emerging trends as well as the creation of international institutions such as the post of High Commissioner for Human Rights, a court and an international tribunal were supported. Nonetheless, a number of delegations were of the view that this type of institution would require very in-depth study, both as regards feasibility and with respect to the terms of reference conferred upon these. The preference, in terms of the number of speakers, was for the strengthening of the Human Rights Centre and of existing mechanisms. As to women, there was no doubt, and this was shown during the Conference, that women manifested their firm determination to free themselves from the straitjacket imposed on them by the traditions and a patriarchal society.

One delegation during the consideration of this item wondered whether the discussions on women were generalities or whether here this was something new and promising. Statements and particularly the activities undertaken by the NGOs and women's delegates suggest better prospects for women - in so far as women, aware of what they have suffered and continue to suffer, have moved from anguished and smothered cries in general and deliberate indifference to a stage of rebellion. Given the horrors to which women have been subjected and to uncompromising claims that have been made, they reject today the guardianship, paternalism and the social status to which they had been relegated by prejudices and by men, and they demand to be treated on an equal footing with men. Firmly determined to assume their rights and obligations they have militated and have managed to have their legitimate claims taken seriously by the international community.

While, the text of the final declaration does pay justice to women, we should point out that all the victories recorded over the years crowned by the recognition of their human rights and of the obligation have these rights respected trough studies by all human rights bodies on an equal basis with man, these victories can only be of value if, through policies of information, education and public awareness, women are informed of their rights and demand them in order to enjoy them freely. It is essential that at every level the doors be opened wide to women, and they must be fully involved in the development of all cultural, economic and social policies that concern them.

The emphasis is placed on the need for the appointment of Special Rapporteur on violence must not lead us to forget that violence in a great number of developing countries is synonymous with traditional harmful practices that destroy women from their earliest age and jeopardize their physical and moral health. The mandate of the Special Rapporteur must include a struggle against these practices and, in particular, female genital mutilation from which over 75 million women suffer worldwide.

Finally, we should repeat that illiteracy and ignorance are the main factors in perpetuating violence and flagrant inequalities, exploitation and the maintenance of the inferior status of women in society. Let's not forget that there are over 600 million illiterate women in the world for whom human rights education will have little or no effect on their lives.

Children also received special attention. It was noted that children who once had been considered as a gift of God to families, for many reasons such as war, absolute poverty, dislocation of families have become those who have to bear the brunt of the societies that today have failed in their obligations towards these children, failed to protect them, to assure the wellbeing and their mental balance.

Likewise, the international community must share a heavy burden of responsibility towards these children.

Many measures were suggested to put an end to the inhuman situation in which the majority of children throughout the world are to be found. These measures related to a directed action towards governments and international bodies concerned to have them pay priority attention to children with a view to their rehabilitation, protection, development and their participation in decisions concerning them. Children must be the subject of legislation and mechanisms to protect their rights to allow them one day to become children capable of constructing a better world. It was proposed that a study on the impact of structural adjustment policies on the implementation of the rights of children and young people be carried out with a particular attention to situations of extreme poverty.

Minorities, whether national, ethnic, religious, linguistic or sexual as well as refugees and migrant workers, were the subject of singular concern. These vulnerable groups are particularly subjected to flagrant and frequently massive human rights violations. As was pointed out very well by the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission responsible for this burning issue, I cite:

some of the most serious challenges to the entire internationally recognized human rights system are found both in Europe and elsewhere, and the present situation is not the first one where the problem of human rights violations is more serious in Europe than elsewhere. The basis that everyone is born free and equal in dignity and rights is undermined in particular in Europe through the extreme nationalism that is to be observed.

The inacceptable and barbarous situation in Bosnia is an indelible stain on the conscience of humanity, which will have to do a lot to regain its credibility.

Refugees and migrant workers along with their families are over 100 million in number also have their cross to bear and suffer greatly.

As to indigenous peoples, it is clear that after so many centuries of physical elimination, expropriation, deculturation the time has come to give them justice and dignity. Many speakers stressed that the recognition of indigenous peoples as distinct societies endowed with their institutions should not be seen as a threat to the stability and unity of the States in which they live. This being an argument used by some delegations.

This recognition would be a step towards greater mutual respect, deep reconciliation, a closer cooperation and a peaceful coexistence along with greater security.

The year 1993 that marks the International Year for the Indigenous Peoples should usher in a new era in which they could, finally, achieve the equality enjoyed by other nations and peoples.

Numerous delegations spoke in favor of "indigenous peoples" and not "indigenous populations," a term of reference that should be included in all United Nations texts.

I do not wish to neglect the tragedy affecting millions of persons today who suffer from the virus of AIDS decimating populations, in particular in our continent.

Mr. President,

Objectivity, non-selectivity and impartiality, when respected, ensure the indispensable conviction that all governments must have not only with regard to respect to the universality of human rights but also with regard to the universality of their implementation.

It is, therefore, essential at all costs to create at the level of the international community a climate of credibility, of persuasive dialogue leading to real progress in the field of human rights.

At the level of the Conference and the Main Committee, it was noted that economic problems with which faced, to a certain extent, the effective implementation of all human rights are somewhat neglected. Thus, of the 34 special procedures established by the United Nations, in particular through the Human Rights Commission, only two procedures deal with economic, social, and cultural problems.

Most countries, who deliberately embarked on the path of democracy and effective promotion of human rights, refer to the enormous impediments to the implementation of human rights, particularly when respect for human rights depends on representatives of power and the judiciary.

It is common knowledge that the police in the developing countries are poorly trained, ill-equipped to deal with crimes and their detection. Poorly paid and, in general, very little motivated, the representatives of power and police are precisely those who need to respect and ensure respect for human rights. This is not something without risk for citizens despite the firm political determination expressed by governments through directives given to this end.

The same holds for the judiciary, which works on ludicrously low wages and in a very un-encouraging climate. Moreover, justice is still not available to those who live far from the urban centres. Prisons, for lack of means, are frequently dilapidated, overpopulated and consequently offer no conditions of comfort for prisoners.

This is where the solidarity of those who advocate the respect of human rights must be manifested by providing material, financial and technical assistance to governments wishing to advance the human rights.

In this context it was stressed that very few NGOs dealing with human rights are concerned with economic, social and cultural obstacles that absolutely must be overcome.

To date, certain organizations, and not the least important of these, have been satisfied with intransigence and criticism. This is quite regrettable because the role of the NGOs that are truly concerned with the promotion of human rights is of particular importance and has proven to be highly positive when they were frank and fair minded in the dialogue with governments. It is certainly not by trying to play the role of a judge inquisitor that one can persuade governments that it is necessary to fulfill their obligations under the Charter and the conventions they have ratified. Controversies through the mass media or groups mobilized to this end have very negative effects on the desired goal. Moreover, they jeopardize not only the credibility of the authors of these but also of organizations who work tirelessly and with a spirit of objectivity and common sense in favor of the victims of human rights violations. It is at the cost of trust established between the people concerned that the wish expressed during debates in the Committee by the Coordinating Board of Jewish organizations which said: "one way to succeed is to start thinking of credible NGOs as your friend who help you to set and to fulfil your human rights commitments."

Sincere and credible NGOs must be at the vanguard of human rights and must enjoy all guarantees and encouragement by governments.

Mr. President,

Many speakers noted that the world now is at the time when democracy rises great hopes among the populations of the world. However, democratization must also be ensured at the level of international relations and within the United Nations.

The fact that five countries have the right of veto in the Security Council because they won a war is no longer justified today. In order to ensure just and equitable treatment of situations that threaten international peace and security and, thus, eliminate arbitration, politicization, selectivity and a policy of double standards, it is essential for the Security Council to adapt itself to the requirements of the times and the aspirations of peoples and must, therefore, be expanded based on the criteria of equitable geographic distribution and effective representation of the various economic, political, cultural, religious and civilizational currents.

Such a democratization would then make it possible to avoid a lack of confidence in the United Nations and in its Security Council accused of acting against principles of justice and equality as confirmed, say the delegations, the unfair treatment of Palestine and Bosnia.

Mr. President,

Much could be said about the extremely rich discussion in Main Committee. But time is short.

So I will conclude on a personal note.

When on behalf of Morocco, the Moroccan delegation launched the initiative of holding this Conference four years ago, it was convinced that the time was propitious for such an initiative.

Throughout these four years, things have not been easy. Because getting all countries to meet under the banner of human rights at a time when the world is living through so much injustice has required enormous efforts.

The political determination of governments, nonetheless, was manifested, and it is thanks to this that we are here today in this beautiful city.

Here too, all the pessimistic forecasts were possible. However, the conclusion that we can draw today from all these weeks of working together, of negotiations, consultations and concessions is that the international community is on the right track.

All countries have shown through the draft document, which I hope will be adopted by consensus, that there are no insurmountable obstacles when understanding, tolerance, respect for the large and small and for their genuine equality, objectivity and sincere and selfless desire to cooperate govern at all times the process of negotiation and dialogue.

The success of this Conference is not only that of Austria, Mr. President, but that of all humanity.

Thank you very much.

[Change of President]

### ATTAH, J.S, (President):

I would like to thank very much Madame Halima Warzazi for her very comprehensive report. It has touched on very important and burning issues of our contemporary time, and I would like to thank you very much once again for it.

I would like to ask whether the Conference is prepared now to adopt the report of the Main Committee. The report of the Main Committee is adopted.

I would like to inform you that the meeting is suspended until 6 pm.

Thank you very much.

[Break from 17:10. Meeting resumed at 21:20]

# MOCK, Alois (President):

The concluding meeting is resumed. The Conference will now turn to report of its Drafting Committee contained in document A/CONF.157/DC/1 and addenda there to. The attention of the Conference is drawn to the draft declaration that is proposed for adoption by this Conference and that is reproduced in this document. I give the floor to the Chairman Rapporteur of the Drafting Committee Mr. Gilberto Vergne Saboia. Mr. Saboia, you have the floor.

# VERGNE SABOIA, Gilberto (World Conference on Human Rights. Drafting Committee):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights. Drafting Committee (1993 : Vienna) - DOCUMENTS - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President,

I have the honor to introduce and to submit to the World Conference on Human Rights the report of the Drafting Committee on the consideration and adoption of the final documents and reports of the Conference.

This document is contained in document A/CONF.157/DC/1 and addenda 1 to 4. They contain the text of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, which the Drafting Committee was able to adopt today, 25 June 1993, by consensus and proposed it to the World Conference on Human Rights. The documents, which I refer to, will be duly edited and numbered in accordance and then published in the correct final manner.

May I add a few words to this formal submission of this draft final document?

The Drafting Committee went through several days and nights of extensive and intensive consideration of the document that was submitted by the Preparatory Committee. It finally came to the adoption of this text that is now proposed. Despite all the difficulties that we had to face can I say that the Drafting Committee worked in an extraordinary atmosphere of cooperation, and that I am grateful to all the delegates individually who contributed to this very important work. I think that the document that we are now submitting for our adoption is a significant demonstration that it is possible despite the great differences between countries and differences of opinion, that it is possible in an atmosphere of cooperation to develop common ground for understanding and for progress. I think the document we are proposing is not only important for its contents, but because it proves that despite those differences the international community that is composed of more than 170 States represented in this Conference was able to adopt and propose to the Conference very significant document that can serve as a platform for future promotion and action in the field of human rights.

May I say that the work of the draft Drafting Committee could not have been concluded satisfactorily if we had not at its beginning a proposal that came from the Preparatory Committee?

May I also in this regard put on record appreciation to the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, Madame Halima Warzazi, who worked under very difficult circumstances over several sessions of the Preparatory Committee and was able to propose a draft document to this Conference?

From that document filled with difficulties we were able to clear up the language and the decisions and we are now able to propose this document.

May I also thank the special help that the Chairman of the Drafting Committee received from distinguished and a large number of friends of the Chairman who helped me in conducting important and very, sometimes, difficult consultations to overcome certain problems with the regard to the proposed draft document? I cannot list all of them but they know that I am referring to them and I wish to, in particular, name the regional coordinators, the ambassadors and leaders of the delegation of Canada, of Kenya, of Venezuela, Yemen and Poland who gave to the Chairman a very great help in identifying and giving information on possible ways of finding compromise and consensus solutions.

May I end my remarks by also adding my gratitude to the extraordinary assistance and support that the Drafting Committee received from the Secretary-General of the Conference and from the assistants who were together during the sessions of the Drafting Committee and played a very important role in the adoption and in the process of work of the Committee?

May I finally, Mr. President express my gratitude to you and to the host country for all the facilities it provided and the hospitality and the support that it gave to all delegates in the performance of this very significant work?

May I commend the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action for adoption by the World Conference on Human Rights?

I thank you.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

Is the Conference prepared to adopt the draft declaration contained in the report of the Drafting Committee? A number of delegations intend to take the floor. I will propose to take the floor after the adoption of the paper. I hear no objection.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have the honor to announce the solemn adoption by the World Conference on Human Rights of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action.

Thank you very much.

I ask now the distinguished representative of Argentina to take the floor.

# TAIANA, Jorge (Argentina), spoke in Spanish:

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \textit{Keywords:} & \texttt{TREATIES} - \texttt{HUMAN RIGHTS ADVANCEMENT - INTERNATIONAL} \\ & \texttt{OBLIGATIONS} \\ \end{tabular}$ 

Thank you, Mr. President.

My delegation would like to take the opportunity that you made available to us to make a brief statement on the juridical aspect relating to the fundamental topic of our Conference.

International treaties and covenants on human rights represent a milestone in the history of relations among States, which has opened up a new path in the millenary struggle for the respect of the dignity of the human being. The legal nature consecrated by the international treaties and covenants on human rights gives them a singular importance that distinguishes them from the traditional conventions governing the relations among the States.

The government of the Republic of Argentina wishes to state within this World Conference that in its view the international conventions on human rights enshrine principles and safeguards of a universal public order whose beneficiaries are not States but the human beings in their territories. This is why the standards that States have been progressively developing in this area must be implemented and protected even in the absence of internal regulations.

The delegation of Argentina would like to express the hope that in the close future the international community will recognize that human rights must be considered an integral part of the international public order, whose recipients will be all human beings of the planet Earth.

Mr. President.

I would like to ask for our delegation's statement figure in the records of the Second World Human Rights Conference.

Thank you, Mr. President.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much. I ask now the distinguished representative of Chile to take the floor.

# GARRETON, Roberto (Chile), spoke in Spanish:

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION - UN High Commissioner for Human Rights

Thank you, Mr. President.

In my presentation to this plenary I outlined what my delegation considered to be the major challenge for this Conference: that as the outcome of our work the human being should feel freer and have a greater hope.

After fifteen days of intense work, the governmental delegates have been able to put forward a document that reflects the consensus reached by all delegations. We may consider that this represents, Mr. President, a success in diplomacy.

However, it is not for us to evaluate the impact that our efforts may have on the respect of human rights and the application of fundamental freedoms of thousands of oppressed and starving peoples. Indeed, it will be precisely those who are humiliated and deprived who will do it; it is the public opinion that will state whether we have met their expectations; it is scholars that will study if we were able to produce new concepts or if we limited ourselves to repeating the general ideas already developed; it will be human rights defenders, who will thank us or who will criticize us for having provided them or not with new working instruments; it will also be free as well as shadow press, which will expose us to the conscience of the peoples; it will be freedom fighters who will be able to reproach us for concessions in the internal legislations in delicate matters such as, for example, the freedom of religion and belief; it is the history that will ask us whether we cast a cloak of doubt over the universality and equality of all human rights and fundamental freedoms regardless of historical, religious and cultural particularities, which was the great legacy of our distinguished teachers who wrote the rightly called universal Declaration of 1948.

For all that immense public opinion, between us, there is no difference. They will consider that we all decided to work privately or almost behind closed doors. Why? I still do not have an answer.

Chile would have liked a moratorium on capital punishment; the adoption of criteria of transparency and equity in the handling of complaints of human rights violations that unfortunately reach the UN

bodies daily; more concrete guidelines for the studies recommended to the General Assembly concerning the post of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, which reflect a more committed political will. I apologize, in the name of my delegation and my own, for not having been efficient enough in our endeavors to accomplish this.

#### Mr. President,

We leave this historical city deeply grateful to the host country for the hospitality that they have provided. We commit to continue to work for the cause of human rights. We hope that in twenty-five years a third world human rights conference looking at our work here this year with indulgency will be the reflection of a world that is purer, freer and more fraternal, and that we will have contributed to it.

I thank you.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

I thank the distinguished representative of Chile and I ask now the representative of Indonesia to take the floor.

# WIRYONO, S. (Indonesia):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - DEVELOPMENT - PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION

Thank you, Mr. President.

My delegation has asked for floor to express our satisfaction that we have just adopted the Final Document of the Conference. This document is the long-awaited culmination of all the hard work during the past two weeks. On this auspicious occasion it is fitting that we reflect on some of the more salient points.

Involving the participation of so many countries, the document, by its very nature, is predestined to be a compromise. While a compromise may never fully satisfy all of one's aspirations, this document generally reflects our common views on human rights, an issue currently the focus of the interest of the entire world.

My delegation would like to express our appreciation and admiration to the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Ambassador Saboia of Brazil whose wisdom and skill have been very instrumental in our achieving our objectives. Likewise, I would also like to express our appreciation to the Chairperson of the Preparatory Committee Madame Warzazi of Morocco for her valuable contribution to the preparatory works.

We came to this Conference with diverse if not opposing views on many of the issues under consideration, and we have arrived at this final stage after intensive negotiations and mutual accommodations. We are pleased to see that issues, which are important to my delegation, have been addressed and incorporated into the document. Among these is the issue of universality. While there may initially have been a great deal of misunderstanding and misconception of each other's views on the subject, we are all the more pleased that the concept of universality has been reaffirmed and that, at the same time, it is now recognized that the promotion and protection of human rights should take into account the various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds of individual States. This is certainly in line with the views of the Non-Aligned Countries as stated in the Final Document of the Jakarta Summit of 1992. It is noteworthy in this connection that the Final Document also stresses that it is the duty of States to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms.

We have always believed that all human rights are vital and important by and for themselves, so are our efforts at accelerated national development, especially of developing countries, both should be vigorously pursued and promoted. It is for these reasons that we are pleased that this Conference has been able to emphasize the principle that the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms at the national and international levels should be conducted without attaching conditions. This would serve to foster both promotion and protection of human rights as well as international cooperation and assistance for socio-economic development. The 10th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Jakarta last year attached great importance to this principle.

We are equally pleased that the right to development as enunciated in the United Nations General Assembly Declaration of 1986 and in the UNGA Resolution 41/128 has now also been reaffirmed as a universal and inalienable right as well as an integral part of fundamental human rights.

My delegation notes with satisfaction that the Final Document has reaffirmed one of the most important purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and that is that the promotion and protection of human rights should be based on the international cooperation. This has been duly reflected in various parts of the Final Document dealing with the principles and programme of actions.

Another significant achievement reached during the final hours of our Conference is the affirmation of the principles of universality, objectivity and non-selectivity in the promotion and protection of human rights.

It is essential to remember that, as important a milestone as the adoption of this document is, it will be its implementation by which its true success is to be judged.

We request that this statement be incorporated as part of the official records.

Thank you, Mr. President.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much. I ask now the distinguished representative of the Holy See to take the floor.

### PIERRE, Christophe (Holy See):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE - FAMILY PLANNING

Thank you, Mr. President.

As we have adopted the Final Document, allow me, Mr. President, to congratulate you and thank you for the successful manner with which you have conducted the works of this Conference. The gratitude of my delegation goes also the Chairman of the Drafting Committee.

Mr. President,

The Holy See, in conformity with its nature and its particular mission, by joining the overall consensus of the Conference, wishes to express its understanding of certain paragraphs of the Final Document of the Conference.

1. With reference to Part III, Section II, sub-section A, paragraph 4, the Holy See considers that the formulation "with due regard to their respective legal system" should be interpreted in the light of Article 29 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and of Article 1.3 of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief.

2. With reference to Part III, Section II, sub-section C, paragraph 6, the Holy See's joining the consensus should in no way be interpreted as constituting a change in its well-known position concerning those family planning methods, which the Catholic Church considers morally unacceptable or on family planning services, which do not respect the liberty of the spouses, human dignity and the human rights of those concerned.

The Holy See requests that this statement be included in the official report of the World Conference.

Finally, I would like to assure you of the constant commitment of the Holy See and the Catholic Church to the promotion of human rights through action and prayer for better world.

Thank you, Mr. President.

# MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much. May I ask now the distinguished representative of United States to take the floor

# SHATTUCK, John (United States of America):

Keywords: World Conference on Human Rights (1993: Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - DEMOCRACY - DEVELOPMENT - HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS - UN High Commissioner for Human Rights - RESERVATIONS AND DECLARATIONS - MASS MEDIA - ANTI-SEMITISM

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman,

The World Conference on Human Rights meeting in Vienna has produced a strong forward-looking document, one that reaffirms the universality of human rights and the basic principles my country has stood for. The Vienna Declaration marks the acknowledgement by the international community that these values are shared by all peoples. The attention this Conference has paid to the rights of women, minorities and the indigenous proves that human rights principles are being extended into new areas and that the protection of individuals remains paramount for the human rights community. This Conference has also broken a new ground in showing the profound relationship between human rights, democracy and development. The Conference has also signaled that gross violations of human rights such as torture, enforced disappearances, extra-judicial executions and arbitrary detention must be stopped.

The commitment expressed in the document to improved implementation and enhanced advisory services and technical cooperation, reinforced by a well-funded Centre for Human Rights will lead to major improvements, we hope, in the effectiveness of UN human rights machinery in the coming years. We are pleased that the Conference has recommended that the UN General Assembly take up, as a matter of priority, the establishment of a High Commissioner for Human Rights for the promotion and protection of all human rights.

The participation of non-governmental organizations has made an enormous contribution to the work of the Conference and has enriched the Final Document. We are confident that NGOs will become an ever more important force for justice and freedom worldwide since they represent voices of a powerful grassroots' movement for human rights and democracy.

Mr. Chairman,

These far-reaching goals in the document will only be attained if the international community commits itself to their achievement.

### Mr. Chairman,

The United States is proud to help launch this commitment in Vienna. I would like to say just a few words, Mr. Chairman, about reservations we continue to have about the language found in some parts of the Final Document, particularly, any implication that foreign occupation is a human rights violation per se and the fact that this Conference failed in some respects to support freedom of the press as powerfully as we had wished.

#### Mr. Chairman.

We believe that freedom of the press, along with freedom of opinion, lies at the core of the democratic process. Paragraph 26 calls upon states to guarantee freedom and protection of the press within the framework of national law. While this provision can and must be read as consistent with international standards of the free press and with a strong reaffirmation of the principle of universality in this declaration, we think the Conference could and should have clearly and unambiguously articulated a more general and far-reaching principle concerning freedom of the press. We are also disappointed at the omission of a reference to anti-Semitism, which we believe, along with other forms of racism and racial discrimination constitutes a serious violation of human rights.

We congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, as well as Secretary-General Fall, Ambassador Saboia who so skillfully chaired the Drafting Committee and Madame Warzazi who chaired the Main Committee, all Conference participants, the Secretariat, the officers of the Conference and the officials of our host country and city for the splendid work they have all done.

Mr. Chairman, I request that the statement I have just delivered be incorporated into the official proceedings of this Conference.

Thank you very much.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much. I ask now the distinguished representative of Yemen to take the floor.

### GEGHMAN, Yahya H. (Yemen, on behalf of the Asian Group), spoke in Arabic:

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

In the name of God, most Gracious, most Merciful.

### Mr. President.

In the last two years and following four sessions of the Preparatory Committee that were chaired by the distinguished representative of Morocco Mrs. El Warzazi, after these two years and this long mission we have come to Vienna. To be frank, I have to acknowledge that on the very first day of this Conference I hardly imagined that we would be able to achieve the result that we achieved today. In fact, our satisfaction is mixed with a feeling of gratitude primarily towards Mrs. Warzazi, the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee and to Mr. Ibrahima Fall, the Secretary-General of the World Conference on Human Rights. We would like also to express our thanks, gratitude and admiration to the Chairman of the Drafting Committee who, despite the very long hours he spent with us, was very open-minded, very patient, very perseverant and never lost sight of the results to the achievement of which he, like the rest of us, was totally committed, namely the paper that we have now, which he

conveyed to you, Mr. President, and to this Conference. At the same time, Mr. President, there are so many individuals who have worked here and in Geneva, to whom we must express our appreciation. Those individuals, be they men or women, in the Secretariat, in the services, in the interpretation, in translation - they have been the backbone of this body, which is now represented in the Final Document.

#### Mr. President.

I would like also to thank all the members of the Main Committee who have made genuine contribution to the work by directing our work with such a large degree of foresight.

I speak on behalf of the Asian Group when I convey our deep thanks and the appreciation to the government and people of Austria for the kind hospitality they have shown towards us. They have facilitated our work and our job. I would like also to express our deep appreciation to the vote given by Austria in support of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was not surprising, since the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina have close links with Austria in so far as their civilization flourished by virtue of this great and ancient capital City which, over the centuries, has promoted a spirit of tolerance among all religions and communities.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I would like to thank you personally for all your contributions and for the excellent manner in which you conducted the work of this Conference. You have done that with wisdom and in a manner that befits an international character like yourself, Mr. President.

Finally, I do not want to give hasty comments or hasty analysis as it is the case usually with the correspondents for news agencies and the information media are accustomed whenever an important event occurs. Here actually I would like to leave the final judgement on the outcome of this Conference, whether favorable or unfavorable, to the coming years in the light of actual experience.

Thank you, Sir.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

I thank the distinguished representative of Yemen. I ask now the representative of India to take the floor.

### SINGHVI, L.M. (India):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION – HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, dear esteemed colleagues of the Conference,

This is a historic moment for the world. This is a moment of triumph for the solidarity of the world in the course of human rights. We, who have been privileged to participate in this Conference, we will always remember and cherish this moment in history.

### Mr. President,

You would recall that there were many prophecies of doom and disaster throughout the preparatory processes and the final Conference. The many who said that we would never be able to produce a document. I am emboldened to say today that we have produced a document, a very valuable and substantive document, which may well be regarded as the second universal declaration of human rights. A second universal declaration of human rights, which encompasses a very wide range of concerns throughout the world.

#### Mr. President,

When the Universal Declaration was first prepared, the United Nations was a much smaller organization. The world community's perceptions of human rights were not as articulate, not as wideranging, not as complex as they have become. Much has happened and the world has come a long way since the Charter was proclaimed, since Universal Declaration was proclaimed, since the two Covenants were made, since the Teheran Conference was held. We have witnessed during these years what I may call the human rights revolution of our age, at least at the level of ideas and concerns, and norms, and standards. This human rights revolution would perhaps be the most precious legacy of the 20th century to the 21st century. The human rights revolution of our age and time, I believe, Mr. President, enshrines the legacy of many revolutions in the history of human kind. In more recent times, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King showed the way and wrought the blueprint of the new revolution in human rights sensibilities and charted the path of nonviolence for the whole world to follow, for without non-violence you cannot have human rights.

#### Mr. President,

You touched our hearts when we recall an ancient edict of Emperor Ashoka in your opening address at this Conference. I would like to mention that even many centuries before the age of Emperor Ashoka

it was proclaimed in India that human kind is one family and that humanity is the highest religion of all. The culture of human rights has common roots, Mr. President, in all the cultures of the world. I do hope that in this centenary year of the World Parliament of Religions that was held in Chicago in 1893 and which is again will be held this year, we have cause to celebrate this solidarity of all the cultures, all the religions and all the nations of the world.

### Mr. President,

The hospitality of the government and the people of Austria, your own graciousness, your presence in our midst and your contributions to the Conference will always remain etched in other hearts.

### Mr. President,

Madame Warzazi bore the brunt of the preparatory process through the conferences in Geneva. It was a difficult and arduous process. Ambassador Saboia showed remarkable, an extraordinary skill in his chairing the work of the Drafting Committee. Secretary-General Fall showed a tremendous amount of commitment to the goals of making the preparatory process and the final Conference the great success. I think it is possible to say now that millions of words said on the subject of human rights in the preparatory process and in the final Conference, and with this formulation of consensus reflected in this document, that all these efforts have been most rewarding. But the real reward, Mr. President, will come when the voiceless will have a voice and the poor will have a standard of living, which is consistent with the dignity of the human individual, when opportunities would be equal and when we would have a new world order. A new world order encompassing all the concerns, all the aspirations of humankind.

This convocation of human rights in the form of this Conference is a momentous milestone. I am sure, Mr. President, that this will go down in the history of human rights and the elucidation of ideas in the consolidation of the jurisprudence of human rights through the last many decades will go down as a momentous milestone. Let us remember this Conference as a conference that gathered us together and that has provided us this moment of triumph and if I may say so self-congratulation. This is the moment of celebration. We have had more than our share of despair and disappointments, and many comments of an adverse nature being made in respect to the Conference but this is a moment of celebration. At this moment of celebration, Mr. President, I offer on behalf of the government and the people of India our deepest allegiance to the cause of human rights everywhere.

Thank you, Mr. President.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you for your statement. I ask now the representative of Denmark to take the floor.

### LEHMANN, Tyge (Denmark):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - INDIGENOUS PEOPLES - DEFINITIONS

Thank you, Mr. President.

In adopting the Final Document of this Conference, I wish, on behalf of the Danish delegation, to place on record our interpretation of the terms "human rights" and "rights of indigenous people" as these terms appear in the Final Document. It is our understanding that these terms cover individual as well as collective rights.

I thank you, Mr. President.

# MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much. I ask now the representative of Iraq to take the floor.

### AL-KOTAL, Rahim A. (Iraq), spoke in Arabic:

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - SELF-DETERMINATION - UN High Commissioner for Human Rights

I thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President,

First of all, I would like to thank you and congratulate you on the way in which you conducted this Conference that culminated in the Final Document, the Vienna declaration. I would like to express our deep gratitude and appreciation to Ambassador Saboia, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee and Mrs. Warzazi, the Chairman of the Main Committee.

Mr. President,

The delegation of the Republic of Iraq is proud to be a part in the considerable endeavors that have been made during the last two weeks at this Conference. We are also proud that we have been part of the consensus that led to the Final Document containing many of the principles and precepts in which we believe and which we are endeavoring to put into practice. We would have liked, Mr. President, that the document would appear in a better form, reflecting all the viewpoints, especially those expressed by many countries of the world. However, in spite of this positive evaluation of the document, my country's delegation has two basic comments to make.

The first comment concerns the paragraph on the right to self-determination, especially the very end of this paragraph. The final sentence of that paragraph refers to the concept that is not related to the concept of friendly relations to which the paragraph refers. In fact, it is far removed from the principles of international law in general. The right to self-determination is not, and should not, be linked to governments, particularly since the latter may change for one reason or another. We believe that the danger of this approach lies in the possibility that it might lead to interference in the internal

affairs of States, which have a right to choose their systems of government in keeping with the wishes and aspirations of their peoples.

The second comment is related to the paragraph on the post of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. We believe that there are already existing mechanisms within the United Nations system that can carry out that job and, therefore, render such appointment unnecessary.

Thank you, Sir.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

I thank the distinguished representative of Iraq and I call now the representative of Turkey.

### TURMEN, Riza (Turkey):

*Keywords:* TERRORISM - TURKEY – HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION - NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President,

Yesterday terrorist groups perpetrated a coordinated attack on the Turkish embassies and consulates, on the Turkish airlines and tourism offices, on the offices of the Turkish private business located in twenty-eight different cities in Western Europe. In Consulate in Munich, they held twenty people as hostages for almost a day. These attacks are continuing today. There is loss of life, many people are injured and heavy damage has been inflicted on the property. Such terrorist incidents are not new. They take place at regular intervals with more serious consequences each time.

All this, Mr. President, only underscores the importance of the paragraph on terrorism contained in the declaration we have just adopted. This paragraph states that "acts, methods and practices of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations are activities aimed at the destruction of human rights. fundamental freedoms and democracy." Therefore, Mr. President, it is our duty to combat terrorists at national and international levels in order to protect human rights, fundamental freedoms and democracy. Failure in this will be tantamount to failing in our efforts to achieve the very objective of this Conference - that is to protect and promote human rights. Frequent recurrence of terrorist attacks on life and property in Western European countries indicate that measures taken so far in these countries are not adequate. Terrorists cannot be justified under any circumstances or by any political aspiration. Terrorists - whose main targets are lives of innocent people are, therefore, the major violators of human rights - ironically use the issue of human rights as a screen behind which they can operate. If we are to realize our commitment to protect human rights, fundamental freedoms and democracy against terrorists, the prerequisite for this is to take all the measures to prevent terrorists from exploiting human rights for their inhuman and criminal purposes. Similarly, we should refrain domestically or internationally from providing any kind of legitimacy to terrorist persons, groups or organizations and allow them to abuse the protection of national or international law.

### Mr. President,

The paragraph on terrorism in the document that we have adopted also urges the international community to take necessary steps to enhance cooperation to prevent and combat terrorism. It is now incumbent upon us within the framework of the United Nations to develop international mechanisms with a view to initiating an effective international action against terrorists. We are expecting the international community to take necessary steps to this end. In our combat against terrorists, NGOs also have an important role to play as they have in other fields of human rights. We expect the NGOs to fulfil their responsibilities in this respect too and contribute to international cooperation against

terrorism for in order to promote human rights we should, first and foremost, be able to protect human lives.

### Mr. President,

I would not like to finish my statement without expressing my delegation's appreciation to you, Mr. President, to Ambassador Saboia, to Madame Warzazi, to Secretary-General Fall and members of the Secretariat for leading our Conference to a successful conclusion. I would also like to express our thanks to the government of Austria for the excellent organization of the Conference and for the hospitality extended to us all.

Thank you, Mr. President.

# MOCK, Alois (President):

I thank the distinguished representative of Turkey and ask now the representative of France to take the floor

# HESSEL, Stephane (France), spoke in French:

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

After the eloquent expressions that we have heard, and I am thinking, in particular, of what has been said by Mr. Singhvi, and with whom I feel myself to be in full agreement, I scarcely dare to add a few personal words. First of all, the personal words of friendship for the encounters that this World Conference has made it possible for me to have, the first among which is the honor of sharing with you, Mr. President, the important moments, in the circumstances that have, sometimes, been quite eventful. Together, we have lived a real adventure in this Conference because we were being watched, we were expected, perhaps, to fail. And then, we have to recognize we are concluding this Conference with a very real success. I think to a very, very large extent we owe this to the personal authority and the constant serenity of our Secretary-General to whom I would like to pay a very special tribute because in contact with him I learned how a senior official can be impartial, objective and have a very high authority.

I would also like to address to Madame Warzazi, who has followed us and guided us now for a number of years, my warmest expressions of respect.

I was impressed by the personality of the Chairman of our Drafting Committee, Mr. Saboia, who, during these sometimes extremely long and sometimes quite tiring days, demonstrated serenity, firmness, courage and, at the same time, a pleasant nature of which I personally will remember most warmly.

I am also extremely grateful to our Rapporteur who has been discreet but effective.

I would not wish to conclude this list that I hope you will not have found too long without a mention of the members of the Secretariat, the interpreters, the translators, all of those who through these occasionally tiring days welcomed us with smiles and goodwill.

All of this is the spirit of Vienna, Mr. President. It is the spirit of a city that has been a great help to us in understanding the charm of international life and the possible success of international conferences here. I would like most specially to allude to the first statement that the President of your country, Mr. Klestil, gave from this podium, which was marked by the very spirit of this Conference.

#### Mr. President,

This is with the feeling of great satisfaction that France endorses adoption without a vote of the Final Declaration of the World Conference on Human Rights so that the moral and political force of this document should be entire. It has, in fact, met with the acceptance of all the countries represented. This means all nations with different cultures, traditions and religions. It is almost a miracle that they all have been able to declare the same values of universality, which augurs well for the global culture of human rights at the dawn of which we find ourselves now.

On this occasion, Mr. President, I would like to express my pleasure at the fact that in the third part of our important document under the item Resources it is clearly indicated that we call upon the Secretary-General and the General Assembly to take immediate measures to increase in a substantial manner the resources of the Human Rights Centre.

I should like to reaffirm for France's part that we are not establishing any link between global development in the United Nations budget and the necessary and important efforts that have to be carried out in providing adequate resources to the Human Rights Centre, for, Mr. President, we live in a brutal world. Sometimes, there is a paradox to be seen between the speeches that we make here and the way in which human rights are still trampled and violated. With this attitude, we cannot fail to hear constantly the voice of those who are continuing the struggle. In this respect, the extraordinary efforts made by the government of Austria to make possible the large gathering of non-governmental organizations that have stimulated our work, that invigorated this Centre in all possible ways, are, perhaps, the clearest and most eloquent sign of the new world towards which we are progressing, where governments to be sure maintain their high responsibilities but none of them can any longer shelter behind their national sovereignty when they are questioned on the way in which they deal with their citizens and whose human rights they respect.

### Mr. President,

Once again, for me and for my delegation it was a very great pleasure and a great honor to participate in this World Conference. I would hope that we all, in the years or decades to come, should keep the memory of a time that was particularly happy and important.

Thank you.

### MOCK, Alois (President), spoke in French:

I thank the representative of France and I give the floor to the representative of Ireland.

# SWIFT, John (Ireland):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - SELF-DETERMINATION

#### Mr. President,

As well as paying tribute to all the authorities of this World Conference, to you personally, Mr. President, to the Chairman of the Drafting Committee Dr. Saboia, to the Secretary-General of the World Conference Dr. Ibrahima Fall, to the Secretariat, John Pace and Tota Mukherjee and their team, to the host government and in a special way and in particular, on behalf of the Geneva representatives here, to the Chairperson of the Preparatory Committee for this World Conference and the Chairperson of the Main Committee of the conference, Madame Halima Warzazi.

Apart from paying tribute, Chairman, I wish to make a brief statement on a particular point of the text we have adopted.

Mr. President,

I refer to the text on self-determination, which appears on page four of document A/CONF.157/DC/1/Add.1 of the 24th of June and, in particular, to the last paragraph on that page. For the official record of this World Conference, President, I now wish to confirm that Ireland interprets this text as being fully consistent with the Helsinki Final Act, which allows for changes in frontiers "in accordance with international law, by peaceful means and by agreement."

Thank you, President.

# MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much. I ask now the representative of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to take the floor.

### GEORGIEVSKI, Saso (The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - TREATIES

Thank you, Mr. President.

The delegation of the Republic of Macedonia would like to applaud to you, Mr. President, and to the delegation of Austria for the untiring efforts that brought this Conference to a success. We would also like to acknowledge the very important contribution of the Chairman of the Main Committee Madame Warzazi, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee Ambassador Saboia and of course of the Secretary-General Dr. Fall and his diligent Secretariat.

My delegation, Mr. President, is pleased with the results achieved. It is difficult at this moment to judge whether the Conference could have done more for the promotion and protection of all human rights, in particular on the need to enhance the effectiveness of the UN mechanisms, its central topic. We hope that various ideas, proposals initiated here, in Vienna, will be further discussed by the General Assembly of the UN and by other appropriate bodies of the international community.

Vienna discussions had proved, beyond any doubt, that the UN mechanisms for human rights, for the implementation of adopted obligations under various conventions and for drafting new instruments, such is for instance UN Convention on the Rights of Persons Belonging to the National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, need further improvement. The Final Document of the Vienna Conference represents an outstanding contribution and we are deeply convinced that it will inspire future endeavors in this regard.

I thank you, Mr. President.

# MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much. I ask now the representative of Israel to take the floor.

### PELEG, David (Israel):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - RESERVATIONS AND DECLARATIONS - ANTI-SEMITISM

Thank you, Mr. President.

Without wishing to detract from our recognition and appreciation of the intensive efforts that went into the preparation of the Final Declaration, my delegation must register its strong reservations regarding the way in which paragraph 1 (ter) was prepared and introduced into the document. This paragraph was presented to the Drafting Committee in the early hours of this morning and described as a consensus proposal. My delegation, however, was not notified of any consultations on the paragraph despite our serious reservations concerning the text. No discussion, amendments or time for consultation was permitted. My delegation is, therefore, not a party to any consensus on this paragraph.

#### Mr. President.

My delegation would also like to express its profound disappointment that the Final Document, while condemning a wide range of human rights violations, does not make any mention of the form of discrimination and hatred that had led to the most unspeakable atrocities of all times - anti-Semitism. In our century, anti-Semitism has resulted in the murder of one-third of the Jewish people. It is a unique form of hatred directed at those of particular birth irrespective of their faith and those of particular faith irrespective of their birth. Anti-Semitism goes far beyond hatred of Jews. It has a reason where Jews have never lived and survived where only Jewish cemeteries remain. While Jews may be the first to suffer from its influence, they have rarely been the last. The Conference is taking place in the heart of Europe, a continent that has witnessed the unspeakable horrors to which anti-Semitism has led and the persistence with which it resurfaces even over the ashes of its victims.

A significant number of delegation leaders forcefully condemned anti-Semitism in their speeches to the plenary, so did the NGO-Forum and in its final report. One might have hoped that this Conference itself would have found the courage to do the same.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

# MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much. I ask now the representative of Egypt to take the floor.

# ZAHRAN, Mounir (Egypt), spoke in Arabic:

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - UN High Commissioner for Human Rights

### Mr. President,

The delegation of Egypt wishes to join the views expressed by other delegations conveying appreciation for your conduct of this World Conference on Human Rights and for the splendid arrangements, which the Austrian government made to host the Conference. I would like to congratulate you once again, Mr. President, and also congratulate your colleagues who took part in this Conference for the very important results that the Conference has managed to achieve by adopting the Declaration and Programme of Action. This constitutes notable progress on the path to the promotion and protection of human rights in all parts of the contemporary world, particularly, in the

post-cold war stage because the document deals with very fundamental issues concerning development of human rights concepts and mechanisms.

### Mr. President,

Please allow me also to express sincere appreciation for the contributions made by Mr. Ibrahima Fall and his colleagues both during the preparatory process and throughout the work of the Conference, which has helped to ensure the success of the Conference. I also wish to express sincere appreciation to Mrs. Halima Warzazi for the efforts she made in preparations for the Conference and her chairmanship of the Main Committee and to Mr. Saboia for his untiring round-the-clock efforts to achieve the results reflected in the document that we have just adopted by consensus.

#### Mr. President,

The delegation of Egypt takes this opportunity to express its satisfaction and appreciation at the manner in which you and the majority of the delegations have responded through the Conference's adoption yesterday of two recommendations concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina and Angola, which reflect the international community's solidarity with those two peoples in the ordeal which all our brothers in those two countries are facing. Here, particularly, I would like to speak of the declaration

on Bosnia and Herzegovina in which the Conference emphasized the inalienable right to legitimate individual or collective self-defense, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations as well as the right to life of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as expressed in the call for the lifting of the embargo on the export of arms to enable that heroic people to exercise its legitimate right of self-defense in order to exercise the right to life. It also called for the condemnation of the crimes committed by the Serbs, crimes of war. It was abnormal and inexcusable, Mr. President, for some delegations to affirm that this Conference should not adopt a clear position in regard to that tragedy and should refrain from expressing, in the Declaration adopted yesterday, its solidarity with the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to enable that people to exercise its legitimate right of self-defense and, I repeat, its right to life.

# Mr. President,

The Egyptian delegation does not wish to speak of the positive success or the positive achievements of this Conference with regard to the Declaration and Programme of Action that we have just adopted. However, my delegation would like to explain its position about the Conference's recommendation concerning the proposal to establish the post of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

We are not opposed to the establishment of this post. We have not prevented the consensus. Nevertheless, having reservations in that regard, the delegation of Egypt endeavored, through the Drafting Committee, to make the text of that recommendation more balanced by proposing that the General Assembly should set up a working group to study this proposal as well as other proposals concerning the improvement of human rights mechanisms. This is our position on that recommendation and the delegation of Egypt, therefore, requests that this declaration should be included in the records of the Conference.

Thank you, Mr. President.

# MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much. I ask now the representative of Canada to take the floor.

### PARK, Anne (Canada, on behalf Western European and Other States):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - RESERVATIONS AND DECLARATIONS

Thank you, Mr. President.

On behalf of the group of Western European and other countries, I would like to join those who have expressed their appreciation to you and through you to the government of Austria for hosting this World Conference on Human Rights. Recognition of universal human rights is without doubt one of the major achievements of the United Nations and one of the most important purposes and priorities of the Organization. Indeed, there are few areas, which hold more promise for the future of mankind or pose greater challenges. The violations of human rights, which persist in many parts of the world, must be stopped. Those committed to the realization of human rights in their countries should be given the support and the encouragement that they need from the international community. The place of human rights in the United Nations system must be strengthened and made more effective.

The decision to convene this World Conference was an ambitious one and we have all admired the courage of the government of Austria in taking this on. We have also admired you, Mr. President, your dignity, your commitment and your determination to make this Conference a success. We have also appreciated very much your openness and the time and the effort, which you personally have devoted to working with us especially knowing the heavy demands of your schedule.

I would also like at this time to express particular thanks to the Secretary-General of this World Conference, Dr. Ibrahima Fall. He has in many ways been our source of inspiration during this process. I can think of no one who is more dedicated to the cause of universal human rights and the success of the World Conference on Human Rights. I would also like to express particular appreciation to the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Ambassador Saboia of Brazil, who did what we can frankly admit now we all feared might prove to be the impossible, that is to produce a final declaration of this World Conference by consensus. His very able chairmanship, his perseverance and his leadership impressed us all and we owe him a very great debt of gratitude, indeed, for a very major achievement. Appreciation also goes to Mrs. Halima Warzazi of Morocco, the Chairman of the Main Committee, who has been dedicated to this Conference since its inception and has worked tirelessly for its success through the preparatory process. Thanks also go to Zdzislaw Kedzia, a very capable Rapporteur who has been closely involved with the Conference from the beginning and who has contributed much to it in the way of both energy and ideas. Finally, Mr. President, I would like to acknowledge the dedication and hard work of the Secretariat, especially John Pace and Tota Mukherjee, but also the host of others who have had one of the hardest tasks of all, including our tireless interpreters who ensured that we kept going day and well into the night.

This has been an important meeting, Mr. President, not only from what we have done here as government representatives but also for what others have done: non-governmental organizations, indigenous representatives, women's groups as well as national institutions, parliamentarians, representatives of the Treaty Bodies, special rapporteurs and experts and academics. We are all part of the worldwide movement of human rights, a march towards a new culture of human rights, a new consciousness and awareness of basic rights and freedoms for all women and all men, which will carry us into the 21st century. The impact of what we have achieved here, together, will be felt long after this Conference is over. At the same time, it is important to recognize that our work here is not finished. The sense of satisfaction that we all feel this evening is deserved but we cannot allow ourselves to rest upon it. The World Conference is not an event, it is a renewal of commitment to human rights and a new beginning. It will be up to all of us to put the same energy and determination that we have applied during these three weeks to the implementation at the newly adopted Vienna Declaration.

None of us, Mr. President, achieved everything we wanted here in Vienna, we have all had to compromise. But we have advanced the international cause of human rights and we have all been enriched in the process and we are all the better off for our deliberations here both individually and collectively.

Mr. President,

Canada has noted reservations on a small number of points in the Final Declaration during the drafting process and we will be forwarding these in writing for the record.

Thank you, Mr. President.

# MOCK, Alois (President):

I thank the distinguished representative of Canada. I ask now the representative of the Russian Federation to take the floor.

KOVALEV, Serguei (Russian Federation on behalf of Eastern Europe), spoke in Russian:

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - USSR - SOVEREIGNTY - HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION

Thank you very much.

Mr. President,

We have gathered here together forty-five years after the adoption of one of the most remarkable documents of our time, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We have gathered in the hope to make a new and an important step forward in the defense of human rights throughout the world. We now have before us the documentary outcome of our efforts. In very many ways, it is imperfect and incomplete, sometimes extremely ambiguous but it is already clear that the work that we have all accomplished during these two weeks has not been altogether in vain. I should like to say a few words about something, which the delegation of the Russian Federation considers particularly important.

The concept of the universality of human rights, I would rather say, the concept of the law that stands outside politics or, if you like, above politics, indeed, has been confirmed by this Conference. The Final Document, indeed, confirms that each individual is part of the general human family and is neither a property nor an instrument of a State. That is why the human rights are not the internal affair of any State. In the past, it was exactly our country, the former Soviet Union, that initiated this sad tendency of evading control and criticism by invoking sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. We spread this cunning idea throughout the world, pressing it on many. Alas, our resourceful disciples are still numerous and active. For this precise reason, we feel especially responsible and for this precise reason we are particularly satisfied that we have been able to record, in the final document, that the defense of all human rights is a subject of legitimate concern to the international community and that, notwithstanding the specific circumstances of different States, every one of them has a responsibility, notwithstanding those specific circumstances, to promote and defend all human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In conclusion, allow me to congratulate all of us on the fact that all of us have had enough patience, courage and wisdom to make this obviously insufficient, obviously small but a very important step towards the more just and kind world. I would also like to say a few kind words to the organizers of our Conference and to thank our hosts - hospitable Austria and its beautiful capital.

Thank you.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

I thank the distinguished representative of the Federation of Russia. I ask now the representative of the Republic of Tanzania.

# LUBUVA, Z. (Tanzania):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - UN High Commissioner for Human Rights - PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President.

We have now come to the close of this very important and historic Conference. Tanzania, we would wish to join in with the rest of the delegates to congratulate you, Mr. President, for the long, enduring task you have had over the last two weeks. Your patience, your wisdom and guidance has enabled this Conference to come to this very successful and peaceful conclusion. In similar vein, we would also wish to express our similar sentiments to the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, the Chairman of the Main Committee for the excellent work done, to the Secretary-General, the Secretariat officials, the Rapporteur and to the Austrian government and officials and the interpreters, who, throughout the time of the Conference, have tirelessly rendered assistance to the Conference, for which we all are very grateful.

### Mr. President,

In particular, as regards the declaration, Tanzania notes with satisfaction the recommendation on the establishment of the office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. This is a wise decision by the Conference that the matter should be given more time for an in-depth consideration. Given time, Mr. President, then the matter would finally be decided and implemented rather than being rushed to finality now.

### Mr. President,

As we all set to go back to our respective homes and destinations, we will remember the good work and stay that we have had in Vienna with the pride. With the declaration as adopted, that is sufficient testimony of the serious commitment of the international community to the sustenance of human rights in our respective jurisdictions.

#### Mr. President,

My delegation, Tanzania, strongly hopes and believes that the declaration and resolution, which we all have passed with acclamation, would only be meaningful if matched with action. As we go home, let us all strive and endeavor to put into action all that we have put down in the declaration. Back home, Mr. President, let us all and at all times comply with the spirit of the declaration and under all circumstances without exception. In that way, Mr. President, our stay and hard work that we have had in this Conference in Vienna will bear the fruit and justify our stay and the work we have done here. Double standards or inconsistent interpretations of the various clauses of the declaration in the course of our implementation of the terms of the declaration should no doubt be avoided, else our hard work and long-hours spent at the Conference would be negated. From Vienna, Mr. President, let us all return to our respective countries with greater hope and inspiration of Vienna for a more successful decade, a decade of unblemished record of human rights.

Mr. President,

Once again, I wish to express our appreciation and thanks to you all and wish every and each of the delegates a good journey back home.

Thank you, Mr. President.

# MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much for your statement. I invite now the representative of Kyrgyzstan to take the floor.

### SULTANOV, Omar (Kyrgyzstan):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - UN High Commissioner for Human Rights - PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,

The delegation of Kyrgyzstan is greatly satisfied with the results of the Conference and especially with a positive decision in regard to the post of High Commissioner on Human Rights. It is our deep conviction that the Vienna Declaration provides a lot of possibilities to make a breakthrough in the field of human rights and we hope that the follow-up to the Conference will be fruitful and constructive.

With a great pleasure we pay a tribute to the hospitality of people of Austria and highly appreciate, dear Mr. President, your personal contribution to the success of this historic Conference.

Thank you very much.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much. I ask the distinguished Representative of the Lebanon to take the floor.

# SALLOUKH, Fawzi (Lebanon), spoke in Arabic:

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION - PEACE - PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION

Mr. President,

The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, which the Conference adopted this evening, will form part of the programmes, codes and conventions governing human rights. This declaration, like previous declarations that were issued here in this ancient city of Vienna, reflects this city's time honored heritage, particularly, since it has not been very long since another conference, of a similarly unique and sacred nature, was held here. I refer to the Conference on the Christian-Islamic dialogue held on a generous invitation from you personally, Mr. President. I believe that both conferences made diligent endeavors for the benefit of mankind as a whole and called for cooperation, reconciliation, love and tolerance among all peoples and earnest efforts to safeguard the sacrosanct integrity of the human person.

The important issues covered in the Declaration that we have adopted by consensus, would, we hope, help many human beings to free themselves from foreign occupation and should help others towards

self-determination and to exercise their right to self-determination or to avoid repression, captivity, torture, displacement, rape and murder, so long as the noble and lofty objective towards which we are aspiring is to turn the world into a vast oasis characterized by just and comprehensive peace, stability, security, peace of mind and all types of freedom.

#### Mr. President,

Our Conference has been crowned with success thanks to your wisdom and your experience and the help of all the members of the Secretariat and all those who have contributed to the preparatory arrangements, particularly, the Secretary-General of the Conference, Mrs. Warzazi and all others. We pray to Almighty God the persons responsible for its application will work hard so that all persons can enjoy, on an equal footing, the rights that Almighty God has bestowed on them. Then the words of Christ, the Messiah of peace on earth and heaven will become true "Love each other as a I have loved you" as well as the verse of Qur'an will become a reality "Hold fast to the rope of God and do not become separated" as well as the other noble verse "Act, so that God, His Prophet and the believers will see you actions".

Thank you. Peace be with you and the mercy and blessings of God.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much for your statement. I ask now the representative of Venezuela to take the floor.

ARTEAGA, Horacio (Venezuela, on behalf of Latin American and the Caribbean Group), spoke in Spanish:

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - WORK OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS

#### Mr. President.

On behalf of the Latin American and Caribbean Group, I have the honor to express to you our sincere congratulations for the effective and competent manner in which you have conducted the work of this Conference.

We congratulate the people and government of Austria for the extraordinary efforts that they have made to host this historic Conference and we appreciate the generous hospitality of Vienna, where the United Nations has one of its fundamental supports.

The World Conference on Human Rights that concludes today is one of the most important meetings to have been held by the United Nations in recent times. The motives and goals, which brought us together here as an unequivocal expression of the international community, are destined to enable a new era in the promotion and protection of human rights at all latitudes. Latin American and Caribbean delegations have come here aware of the magnitude of the challenge and the shared responsibility to act, unambiguously, as we have always done for the cause of human rights. We have had a demanding programme in Vienna because everything related to human rights arises great interest on the part of States and individuals. Above all, combining ideas, concerns and different experiences, the compromise and universal determination to harmonize positions and to reach consensus in order to wage a unanimous fight in favor of all human rights have prevailed.

The Declaration and Programme of Action of Vienna, which we have just adopted, sends a clear message to the international community proposing a more systematic, modern and comprehensive vision with regard to the realization of human rights in all their forms. The Charter of the United

Nations calls for respect for human rights, with reason, as a priority area with the promotion of development and the preservation of international peace and security.

We, Latin Americans and Caribbeans, have had an active part throughout the whole preparatory process for this Conference and in the development of this Conference assuming a balanced and constructive approach at all times. We are proud that Ambassador Gilberto Saboia of Brazil, representative of our region, so successfully conducted the complex negotiations of the Drafting Committee.

We also express our appreciation to Mrs. Warzazi, the Chairman of the Main Committee, who also for almost two years presided over intense negotiations of the Preparatory Committee.

#### Mr. President,

We note our appreciation for the enriching participation of non-governmental organizations in our discussions, which undoubtedly have more than ever a significant role to play, given the current challenges in the field of human rights. We also emphasize the participation of intergovernmental organizations, United Nations specialized agencies, national institutions, individuals and other observers who have made a great contribution to this great universal assembly.

We would also like to express particular thanks and appreciation to Mr. Ibrahima Fall, the Secretary-General of the World Conference, who, as we all know, did everything he could and devoted all his efforts to ensure the success of this event. We really congratulate him. All the staff of the Centre for Human Rights also deserve our recognition. We are also grateful to the interpreters, the translators, support staff and all others who have worked so devotedly to facilitate our deliberations in the best possible atmosphere.

We are leaving Vienna with renewed determination to crystallize the enlightening purposes that summoned us here.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much. I ask now the representative of Kenya to take the floor.

### MANJIRA, D.C. (Kenya, on behalf of the African Group):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - AFRICA - PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTTION

Thank you very much, Mr. President, for giving me the floor.

When the decision was taken, Mr. President, to hold this Conference here, this year, this month, and discussions took place on its agenda and as the preparatory process advanced, I became very worried that we might not succeed. So, I negotiated some little betting with some of my colleagues. I chose five. We agreed that whoever would win would give twenty Swiss francs. So, I said I would get a hundred Swiss francs. But they said, I would fail. I said, "Nevertheless, I shall insist that this Conference shall succeed." As the process advanced, I became even more worried I was going to lose my money. Now this morning, I was very encouraged that there was going to be a final document but I do not think I will get the hundred Swiss francs. I think they will refuse to give it to me. In any way, I do not believe that I will get the hundred Swiss francs but I knew it was going to be extremely important to have a final document coming out of this Conference.

Nevertheless, Mr. President, when I can here eighteen days ago, I was very, very worried. The issues were very difficult and some of them appeared to be, and, indeed, they were, too controversial to be resolved in such a very short period of time. The procedural wrangles worried me most. There was something in me, which kept on telling me - listen, you must not give up. It is too important an exercise to be treated lightly. History will never ever forgive us if we fail in this undertaking.

So, Mr. President, my greatest strength has been derived from one particular group, the African Group of nations participating in this Conference and representing that mighty continent of Africa. Yes, Mr. President, I am speaking on behalf of the African Group. The group for which I have been, I am, and I shall always be very proud, the group that has throughout this Conference, and, indeed, throughout the preparatory process for this Conference played a major role.

#### Mr. President,

It was actually in Africa that the idea of having this Conference this year really originated. Whether in Nairobi, in Tunis or elsewhere in Africa our leaders and governments have done their utmost in addressing the question of human rights. I need not over emphasize the crucial role the African group has played whether individually or collectively during the conference we are about to close this evening.

#### Mr. President,

Africa has made a contribution. Right to your right, is Dr. Ibrahima Fall, an illustrious son of Africa. Further to your right is Madame Halima Warzazi, an illustrious daughter of Africa. We have given you everything that we have. And we will continue to give you everything that Africa has.

#### Mr. President,

I wish to assure you, Sir, that the African countries will do their level best to participate in the implementation process of and overall follow-up to this Conference.

On behalf of the African Group, Mr. President, I wish to thank you and your government and delegation for everything you have done to facilitate our negotiations during this extremely important Conference. May I also thank your entire Bureau and, in particular, the Chairpersons of the two Main Committees, two main bodies of this Conference. I wish to thank Ambassador Gilberto Saboia and Madame Halima Warzazi as well as the Rapporteur-General of this Conference Dr. Kedzia for the excellent job they have done during this Conference. I wish further to thank, Mr. President, my counterparts, the regional coordinators of the other groups with whom we have had constructive and close consultations and contacts with a view of finding ways and means of bringing together our minds.

#### Mr. President.

May I also thank the entire Secretariat and the interpreters and everybody else who has helped us: security personnel, the drivers who have brought here and taken us back to our hotels. Everybody has done an excellent job.

#### Mr. President,

We hope that, sometime in the future, we shall have time to come back and see what this beautiful city has to offer - that is one regret that I have. But we have succeeded, and we thank you very much, and we hope that we shall participate in the implementation of this Final Document to the best of the abilities of our respective governments.

I thank you very much, Mr. President.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

I give the floor for a point of order to the distinguished delegate of Saudi Arabia.

### AL-NOWAISER, Eisa (Saudi Arabia), spoke on a point of order:

Keywords: WORK ORGANIZATION

Mr. President,

Thank you very much. Long time ago my grandfather told me "You have two years and one mouth." He said "try to use the spare," that is the two years. I am trying. But with all due respect to you, Mr. President, to all those sitting next to you with all the appreciation we have in heart, with due consideration to all the delegations that have participated throughout the last two weeks to make this end successful and with due consideration to all those who participated in the work until this 6 o'clock this morning, I move under Rule 26 of the Rules of Procedure to close the debate.

# MOCK, Alois (President):

I understand that the motion was carried by acclamation. If there is no objection?

I give the floor to the representative of Malawi.

### MWAUNGULU, Ngelesi (Malawi):

*Keywords*: World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - DECLARATIONS - MALAWI - AMNESTY - POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Mr. Chairman,

It so happens that the hour is late, and the motion was moved, I believe, possibly when I was amongst one of the last to make some very brief observation but extremely important for my country. Mr. Chairman, I have no full knowledge of the procedures so I cannot quote any particular rule, but I believe that I have a right to make a statement, a brief observation on a matter of importance to my country and seek to be allowed to do so.

May I proceed, Sir?

MOCK, Alois (President):

Yes.

MWAUNGULU, Ngelesi (Malawi):

Thank you.

Mr. Chairman.

As I said, the hour is late. The adoption by unanimous acclamation of the Vienna Plan of Action on world human rights represents a momentous event. There is no doubt at all that the Chairman of the Drafting Committee was possibly the most visible, instrumental person in a successful conclusion of this plan. But it is impossible to ignore the background work that the Under-Secretary-General and the members of the Bureau contributed in the success of this important Conference.

Mr. Chairman,

The Malawi delegation is very pleased with the outcome of this Conference and is hopeful that in time the post of High Commissioner for Human Rights will be established with appropriate safeguards.

My delegation is particularly happy that the need for additional resources for the Centre of Human Rights has been recognized and specifically required by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to pursue.

Malawi has just concluded a very successful national referendum on democratization. I would like to state here, Mr. Chairman, that this important historic exercise for Malawi has been done with a great deal of assistance from the Centre of Human Rights. So, it is a matter of great satisfaction for Malawi that the Centre of Human Rights will have the possibility of having more or rather additional resources in order to enable it to assist countries like Malawi.

Secondly, Mr. Chairman, my government has already declared an amnesty for all political exiles to return to Malawi to take part in the general election that possibly will be due in a very short time. Also, Mr. Chairman, my government is taking action next week to amend the Constitution in order to provide for the establishment of more political parties in the country. This has been done because of the collaboration, which Malawi has received from the United Nations System and, in particular, from the Centre of Human Rights. I thought this is an important point for my country to make and I thank you for your indulgence.

Thank you.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

I ask the representative of Saudi Arabia whether in view of the fact that there are only three speakers more – Poland, the Philippines and Palestine - whether he maintains his motion. Otherwise if it does not maintain this motion, I would proceed according to Rule 23 and propose the list closed.

Thank you very much, then the list of speakers is closed, I give now the floor to the representative of Poland.

### NOWAK, Jerzy M. (Poland on behalf of Eastern European Regional Group):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION

Thank you, Mr. President.

I am speaking in my capacity as the Chairman of the Eastern European Regional Group. I should say that the States members of this group are very pleased to join their voice to the previous speakers in paying tribute to you, Mr. President, for the excellent manner you have conducted the Conference and for the Austrian hospitality extended to us. Our thanks also go to the Secretary-General Dr. Ibrahima Fall and to the Chairperson of the Main Committee Madame Halima Warzazi. Our special gratitude is extended to the members of the Drafting Committee and, in particular, Ambassador Gilberto Saboia whose wisdom, impartiality and skill substantially contributed to working out the document reflecting our common views on human rights at this stage. We highly appreciate the contribution of other officers of the Conference, the Secretariat, the interpreters and the administrative staff. I should not end this list without mentioning the non-governmental organizations and their contribution to this event and for reminding us about many dimensions and facets of the human rights.

It is not the task of the Chairman to make assessment of what we have just achieved, therefore, I may only say that having in mind the difficulties and diversity of the UN community, we have the feeling

that goodwill and common sense have eventually prevailed. May I express the conviction that if this spirit prevails in the future we will be able to step by step to further promote the common cause of human rights. We are leaving this Hall with a feeling that it was an important meeting, the results of which will be felt long after it was held. We have, perhaps in a modest way, contributed to the cause of the human rights. What is ahead of us is a shared responsibility to implement this what was achieved and look for further development in this field.

I thank you, Mr. President.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

I ask the representatives of the Philippines.

# LAVINA, Nelson (Philippines):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - ANGOLA - PALESTINE - SOUTH AFRICA

Thank you, Mr. President.

We will be brief. We wish to join others in extending to you, the members of your Bureau, to the Chairmen of the two Committees, to the members of the Secretariat our warm congratulations for the success of this Conference.

The international instrument, the Vienna Declaration we just adopted, is a great document. We would like merely to allude to the real significance of only two decisions made by the Conference that on Bosnia and Herzegovina and on Angola. The vote in favor of the declaration on Bosnia and Herzegovina is an answer of the World Conference to the surging call of the anguished voices in that beleaguered land. It was a vote for life, indeed.

Our decision on Angola, on the other hand, points to the fact that international community is not numb, after all, on the long-suffering of a people.

These two cases proved that the so-called "gentleman's agreement" not to mention country-specific cases is not sacrosanct rule when gross or flagrant violation of human rights assault the conscience of humanity.

# Mr. President,

It is a matter of regret that the World Conference on Human Rights, and we repeat on human rights, would end without any mention of two other cases that on Palestine and South Africa. It is hoped that all of us could go back to our respective capitals with clear consciousness or sleep soundly tonight.

I thank you.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

I ask now the observer of Palestine to take the floor.

### TERZI, Z. (Palestine):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - PALESTINIANS - TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL - UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President,

The mere fact that the World Conference was convened in this beautiful city under your auspices, Sir, is a great achievement in itself but the achievement becomes even greater when this evening we have adopted by acclamation the final document A/CONF.157/DC/1 and the addenda. I would express our appreciation and thanks to the perseverance and the prudence and stewardship of Mr. Saboia, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, and all the members of the Secretariat. Naturally, Sir, the preparatory work over many months under the stewardship of Mrs. Warzazi has contributed greatly to this success.

### Mr. President,

President Arafat from this rostrum brought a message from our Palestinian people conveying their hopes and aspirations for a better tomorrow through the recognition and respect of our human rights, our right to live free, our right to development and our democratic independent state where human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected. This, the document, Sir, gives us hope for a new world order based on the recognition and respect of all human rights of all peoples without selectivity or discrimination. Naturally, Sir, we do sense and we do know that the document did carry reference to Palestine, Sir. It is mentioned in paragraph 1 (ter), where the "people under foreign occupation" are mentioned. Although we had hoped that this paragraph would refer to a general situation but then the distinguished representative of Israel immediately felt with his guilty conscience that he admitted the Palestinian people who were a people under foreign occupation and that his government is violating our rights and that the international community is called upon to take effective legal protection against this violation. This is why, Sir, he had protested because he admitted through a guilty conscience knowing the crimes that his government is committing against my people in occupied Palestine.

May be, Sir, I would like to make a short reference to what His Excellency, the distinguished representative of the United States, had said. He had opposed the reference to foreign occupation in some paragraphs and he said he did not believe that foreign occupation per se is an obstacle. But then if we read in paragraph 5 it says "democracy, development and respect for human rights are interdependent and mutually reinforcing" and then in paragraph 19 A it is clearly stated that "systematic violations [...] constitute serious obstacles to the full enjoyment of all human rights" and these "continue to occur in different parts of the world." There is no better example, Sir, than what foreign occupation is doing to our people. Sealing off of all the occupied territory in itself is an obstacle to our development. So, I wish the distinguished representative of the United States would realize that foreign occupation is not just an expression, it is a fact that should be condemned.

### Thank you, Sir.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

Thank you very much. The Conference will now turn to the draft report of the Conference contained in document A/CONF.157/L.1 and Add. 1-2.

I now give the floor to the Rapporteur-General of the Conference, Mr. Zdzislaw Kedzia.

### KEDZIA, Zdzisław (World Conference on Human Rights. Rapporteur-General):

Keywords: World Conference on Human Rights (1993: Vienna) - DOCUMENTS

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I should like to introduce the draft report of the World Conference on Human Rights, contained in documents A/CONF.157/L.1 and addenda 1 and 2.

Document A/CONF.157/L.1 constitutes the main body of the draft report. Document A/CONF.157/L.1/Add.1 contains the proceedings of the action taken on 21st – 24th June 1993 by the World Conference on the draft special declaration on Bosnia and Herzegovina and the draft special declaration on Angola. Document A/CONF.157/L.1/Add.2 contains Section I of the draft report, which lists the speakers who participated in the general debate at the plenary meetings. The paragraphs contained in document L.1/Add.2 and L.1/Add.1 should be inserted under Section I of document L.1 in that order.

Mr. President,

I should like to draw your attention to the following points:

First, since the draft report had been prepared before the completion of the Conference, it has to be updated, so as to reflect the proceedings of the last two meetings of the Conference.

Secondly, the title of the final document adopted was decided by the Drafting Committee as Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action. Therefore, the title of Chapter 3 should be corrected accordingly.

Thirdly, the annexes as listed in the table of contents should be attached to the report when it is officially issued.

Fourthly, another annex should be added listing the official activities that took place from the start of the preparatory process for the World Conference.

Mr. President, let me express my personal view that it will be very important not only to disseminate the report but also to publish the documentation of this important Conference for obvious reasons. The message of the Conference and its process should be available as widely as possible.

Now, Mr. President, let me make some comments related to corrections of the document. The following errors appear in the text of the paragraphs adopted by the Drafting Committee.

First, the last preambular paragraph in part I should read "solemnly adopts the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action." I repeat "solemnly adopt the Vienna Declaration and the Programme of Action." This is addendum one. The second correction, in part II, paragraph 19 bis, line 9 of the English text, in part 2, paragraph 19, line 9 of the English text the word "health" should be replaced by the word "housing." "Health" by "housing," addendum 1.

The third correction. In part II, paragraph 25, line 8, please insert the word "all" before the words "human rights," the word "all" before the words "human rights."

Fourth correction, please insert the word "international" before the words "humanitarian law", "international" before the words "humanitarian law" in Part II, paragraph 1 (ter), addendum 2. The paragraph to be inserted between paragraphs 12 and 13.

Part III, Section 2C, paragraph 3, Part III, Section 2D, Freedom from torture, third paragraph and Part III, Section 4, paragraph 5.

These errors have been corrected in the comprehensive English text, which is being distributed for the convenience of the participants.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

# MOCK, Alois (President):

I thank the Rapporteur-General. In accordance with the practice followed, delegations having correction of a minor or an editorial nature have to communicate them directly to the Rapporteur-General.

On this understanding may I take it that the Conference is prepared to adopt this report?

I see no objection. It is so decided.

Now I give the floor to the Secretary-General of the World Conference on Human Rights.

FALL, Ibrahima (World Conference on Human Rights. Secretary-General), spoke in French:

Mr. President, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to begin by reading to you the message that the Secretary-General of the United Nations Dr. Boutros-Ghali has asked me to convey to you.

BOUTROS-GHALI, Boutros (UN. Secretary-General) as read out by Ibrahima Fall:

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION - HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION - PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION

The World Conference on Human Rights is coming to a close. With the adoption of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action for Human Rights you have renewed the commitment of the international community to the promotion and protection of human rights and you have taken into consideration as never before the concerns of the United Nations to make human rights a priority in its action worldwide. You have given us a new vision of global action for human rights into the next century. Responding to the expectation of the people of the United Nations as set out in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, is a heavy responsibility, indeed. This will mean, for us in the United Nations, a more vigorous approach to human rights. I wish to assure you all of my full commitment to the effective and meaningful implementation of the results of this Conference.

Let me end by saluting the intensive efforts of all involved in the deep spirit of respect for human rights shown throughout the entire Conference process. I also wish to thank the Austrian people and government for providing the ideal venue for this Conference.

FALL, Ibrahima (World Conference on Human Rights. Secretary-General), spoke in French and English:

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - COOPERATION BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS - CHILDREN - WOMEN - INDIGENOUS PEOPLES - UN - PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION

Mr. President, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen.

We have now reached the end of a long and arduous road that began some three years ago with the General Assembly's decision to convene a World Conference on Human Rights.

From the beginning, the Conference was seen as a dynamic process aimed at involving ever-large sectors of society in our quest for effective protection of human dignity. Here, I think we can claim success. Our meetings here, in Vienna, have been a "world" conference in the true sense of the term. People from every corner of the earth were represented and took part and the subjects dealt with are daily preoccupations of all human beings.

Never before have so many governments representing so many diverse peoples and cultures given such in depth attention to human rights. Throughout the preparatory process as well as during the Conference itself, also in our official meetings and in the unofficial NGO activities, intense debate and deep reflection, which characterized the dialogues among governments, international organizations, international institutions, NGOs community and human rights experts, have dissipated many misconceptions and made real progress in mutual understanding as well as common views and strategies.

This enormous mobilization and wide participation sparked by the Conference may well be one of its most significant outcomes. Especially if it is reinforced in the future by a closer cooperation and coordination among institutions and organizations active in the field of human rights and/or development.

Another achievement of this Conference is the direct participation of the people concerned in the conference itself. Children spoke directly to the plenary castigating the violations of their rights and expressing the hopes that they place in our work. The women directly addressed the governments represented and the international community as a whole on discrimination and violence to which they are subjected. The representatives of the world's indigenous peoples spoke to us about the problems that affect them directly. We also benefited from the technical contribution from the UN of United Nations Treaty Bodies, special rapporteurs, working groups, United Nations specialized agencies and bodies and regional human rights organizations.

Naturally, the governments played the central role during our meetings, for only governments can undertake international obligations and only governments are ultimately responsible for human rights protection.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,

When opening this session, it was my intention to make a sort of speech as a brief synthesis of the results of our work. However, it is late and bearing in mind the great achievements in this Conference over the last two weeks, I decided not to do this. However, there is something I would like to emphasize. Our Conference will have been decisively a record one. 14,000 badges distributed; 10,000 people registered; 165 governmental delegations; 800 NGOs recorded totaling 3,300 people; 8 Heads of State and government; 176 Ministers of Foreign Affairs. But above all, and this is what I would like to emphasize lastly because the last are the first, 142 hits of the gavel to seal the consensus decisions on the 142 paragraphs that make up the document that we have just adopted.

If we have attained this result, we owe it to the diligence of our President, to the commitment of the Chairmen and the rapporteurs of the Committees but also, undeniably today, the one to whom all our looks are turned, is Ambassador Saboia for the record he established in making possible to adopt such a long document by consensus, paragraph by paragraph without ever loosing neither his courtesy, nor his negotiating sense nor, above all, his capability resisting fatigue.

We have finished a path. We are going to take a second path, that of implementing our decisions. We said at the beginning of this session that for the symphony to be beautiful and for the agreement to be

resolute it was necessary for us not only to ensure success of the Conference but also that the adopted decisions be put into practice afterwards.

I will not say anymore. I would like just to say once again to draw your attention and your sympathy to ensure that the decisions we have taken will be put into practice in the context of the General Assembly.

[spoke in English]

Now, Mr. President,

I wish to turn to you and to extend our deepest thanks to the people of Austria, their government and the city of Vienna for having provided the hospitality and conditions of work, which have contributed so much to our success. I wish again to congratulate you, Mr. President, for your leadership. We can leave Vienna with a sense of accomplishment, of hope and with a knowledge that a solid foundation of principle, understanding and commitment has been laid for future progress.

Finally, Mr. President, today in adopting this declaration the Member States of the United Nations have solemnly pledged to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms and to undertake both, individually and collectively, actions and programmes to make enjoyment of human rights reality for every human being. Our undertaking here has been made in front of the eyes of the world. History will judge us not by the words on the pages of this declaration but by the sincerity of our efforts and the success we achieve in bringing about changes in the way people live. We must not fail for the credibility of the whole United Nations is a stake.

I thank you for your attention.

### MOCK, Alois (President):

*Keywords:* World Conference on Human Rights (1993 : Vienna) - DECLARATIONS - PROGRAMMES OF ACTION

I thank the Secretary-General of the World Conference for Human Rights.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

The World Conference on Human Rights is a unique pulling together in its work all the forces, which have a role to play in the promotion of human rights: governments, international and regional organizations, non-governmental organizations, last but by no means least, individuals. All of these have given their input to varying degrees and have each in their own way contributed to shaping the results of the Conference.

The Conference resembled a living mosaic and as such reflected, in my view, the actual situation of human rights: there are many single pieces in a mosaic, which first have to be polished and refined before they are put into their right place to form a meaningful and coherent whole. That is what we have attempted to do in the field of human rights. We have tried to define - in many cases to re-define and re-affirm - human rights principles that are with us since decades if not centuries. Several of these principles may have been somewhat controversial in the past, but this Conference has now given them universal authority.

The fight for human rights is not over. As I reminded the Conference in my opening address to promote and protect human rights is a never-ending task. It will stay with each of us. It will stay with each government and with the United Nations for the decades to come. What we now have to work for is giving effect perhaps step by step but in any case consistently to the recommendations and the ideas contained in the Final Document.

When we separate today, when you, fellow delegates and representatives of so many institutions, start your journeys home to your respective countries, we should reflect on the new responsibilities placed

on all of us: those responsibilities which, I believe, are the essence of this multidimensional gathering, including taking firm action in the years to come, to see to it that what is embodied in the Final Document becomes, indeed, a living reality. This is the minimum we must do and I am sure many of us will do much more.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

I am about to close the World Conference on Human Rights. Before doing so I wish to express to you on behalf of the people and the government of the host country our gratitude for having come to Vienna for this important forum. As President of the Conference, I thank you for your cooperation and the understanding, which you have shown in some difficult moments. And they existed, these difficult moments.

I should like to mention in this context the invaluable contribution that the Secretary-General of the World Conference, Ibrahima Fall, who is seated at my right, has made at all stages of the work of the Conference including its preparatory phase.

I also want to state my appreciation for the excellent cooperation given by the members of the Bureau, in particular, the Chairperson of the Main Committee Mrs. Halima Warzazi and the Rapporteur-General Mr. Zdzislaw Kedzia. A special expression of gratitude has to be addressed to the distinguished Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Ambassador Gilberto Saboia, who was instrumental in obtaining the final consensus.

Finally, I wish to thank the staff of the United Nations, the substantive staff, the conference personnel and the translators and interpreters for their relentless work and, above all, their patience. I think we have given them a lot to do during the past two weeks but also for the future. I am confident that they will continue to carry out the important tasks in the interest of mankind.

May I wish everyone a safe return to his or her country and Godspeed.

I declare the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights closed.