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**President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).**

**AGENDA ITEM 8**

**Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)\***

LETTER DATED 14 OCTOBER 1961 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ETHIOPIA (A/4928)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): At its 1018th plenary meeting, on 27 September 1961, the General Assembly, approving the recommendation contained in the first report of the General Committee [A/4882], decided to refer agenda item 22 (c) to the Third Committee for consideration.

2. In a letter dated 14 October 1961, addressed to the President of the General Assembly [A/4928], the Permanent Representative of Ethiopia requested the General Assembly to reconsider its decision and to refer agenda item 22 (c) to the Second Committee for consideration so that the problem of education in Africa might be examined in the context of the item entitled: "Economic Development in Africa".

3. Rule 83 of our rules of procedure, applicable in this case, states:

"When a proposal has been adopted or rejected it may not be reconsidered at the same session unless the General Assembly, by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting, so decides. Permission to speak on a motion to reconsider shall be accorded only to two speakers opposing the motion, after which it shall be immediately put to the vote."

4. Therefore, I would ask the Assembly whether it wishes to reconsider its decision on the referral of item 22 (c); if the Assembly decides in the affirmative, I shall put to the vote the proposal submitted by the Ethiopian delegation [A/4928] to refer the item to the Second Committee.

5. Does any representative, in accordance with rule 83 of our rules of procedure, which I have just read, wish to speak against the proposal to reconsider the decision made by the General Assembly on the referral of item 22 (c)?

6. Mr. DJERMAKOYE (Niger) (translated from French): As the President has recalled, the General Committee had recommended that the item entitled "Assistance to Africa: African educational development" should be assigned to the Third Committee, since the Third Committee, dealing with social problems, is much better suited to discuss the problem of the development of education in Africa.

7. Moreover, it should be pointed out that the Second Committee is at present overburdened with work and that it would serve no useful purpose to refer to it one more question to complicate its task. This is why in my opinion the General Assembly should not change its decision to refer agenda item 22 (c) to the Third Committee.

8. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Since no other representative wishes to speak, I shall put to the vote my proposal that the Assembly should reconsider its previous decision on the referral of agenda item 22 (c).

*The result of the vote was 42 in favour and 4 votes against, with 33 abstentions.*

*The proposal was adopted, having obtained the required two-thirds majority.*

9. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): This being the case, I shall put to the Assembly the proposal presented by the Ethiopian delegation [A/4928], that agenda item 22 (c), which had previously been assigned to the Third Committee, should be referred to the Second Committee.

10. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): I wish to bring to the attention of the General Assembly the considerations which led my delegation to make this request. In this connexion I have the honour to refer to the request which they made in respect of item 22 [A/4928], and particularly to sub-sections (b) and (c) which, by decision of the General Assembly, were allocated to the Second and Third Committees respectively.

11. Since the Assembly took that decision my delegation has given very close attention to item 22 and has consulted with a number of African delegations on the advisability of discussing jointly in the Second Committee sub-sections (b) and (c) of item 22. We are happy to inform the Assembly that, as a result of our consultations with delegations which are keenly interested in this item, and also as a result of a number of informal meetings among our African delegations, the consensus of views is that a more comprehensive and appropriate discussion of sub-sections (b) and (c) of

\*Resumption of the discussions of the 1036th meeting.

item 22 could be held in the Second Committee, for the following reasons.

12. First, item 22 (c) was initiated particularly by Economic and Social Council resolution 837 (XXXII) which, *inter alia*, "Invites the attention of the General Assembly to the Outline of a Plan for African Educational Development adopted by the Addis Ababa Conference". The plan for African educational development<sup>1/</sup> which was adopted by the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, held in Addis Ababa from 15 to 25 May 1961, and to which the Council's resolution refers is based on a premise which considers education as a factor for economic development. The plan for African educational development presents education as a profitable investment within the over-all national economies of African countries. This particular and revolutionary point of departure which the Conference of African States on education adopted led the participating Governments to declare specifically, among other things:

"1. That education, under appropriate conditions, is gainful economic investment and contributes to economic growth;

"2. That the development of human resources is as urgent and essential as the development of natural resources;

"3. That educational investment is of a long-term nature but if appropriately planned, attains simultaneously a high rate of return;

"4. That the content of education should be related to economic needs, greater weight being given to science and its applications ...".

13. Second, the Conference established specific plans and targets for the development of education in Africa. The short-term plan adopted by the Conference—that is, for the years 1961-1966—for example, envisages an annual increase at the primary level of an additional 5 per cent of the beginning school age group, with the final target to increase the present level of school enrolment from the present 40 per cent to 51 per cent. Secondary level education, it is agreed, will be increased from the present 3 per cent of the age group to 9 per cent.

14. The long-term plan—that is, 1961-1980—is to provide compulsory and free universal primary education to all school-age children. The Conference, after estimating that the financial efforts needed on the part of the African Governments should be doubled in the next five years to achieve the targets of the plans, established also the necessary external financial assistance required for the duration of the short-term plan. For example, it is estimated that the external aid needed in 1961 is \$US 140 million and in 1965 \$US 450 million.

15. Third, item 22 (c), on African education, which was initiated by Economic and Social Council resolution 837 (XXXII) is not, as my delegation sees it, open to a fundamental discussion on educational policies and priorities in Africa. The matters of policy, as regards African educational development, are being decided by African Governments acting on their own and in concert with other African Governments in the appropriate forum with the aid of the most important body in the United Nations system. What we expect the General

Assembly to do in the course of the sixteenth session is to take note of the African educational development plan. Basically the discussion on item 22 (c), therefore, will be in connexion with financial and technical assistance, which is within the domain of the activities of the Second Committee.

16. Fourth, I would also like to point out that item 22 (b), which deals with assistance to Africa, is to be allocated to the Second Committee. One cannot in this connexion possibly discuss in a vacuum assistance to Africa and economic development of Africa without referring to specific problems. It is universally agreed that the most serious bottle-neck in the economic development of Africa, in which massive external assistance is needed, is education. For this reason, I believe that the General Assembly will be well advised, both in the interest of economy of time and logic, to discuss the two items jointly in the Second Committee.

17. In conclusion, I would like to repeat that the consideration so far of item 22 (c) in the Conference on African education and in the Economic and Social Council demands that it be considered in the context of African economic development, which is in the domain of the activities of the Second Committee. Therefore, I have the honour to request that item 22 (b) and (c) be allocated to the Second Committee.

18. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): If there are no more speakers on this point, I shall ask the Assembly to vote on the Ethiopian representative's proposal that item 22 (c) should be referred to the Second Committee, so that it may be discussed there at the same time as item 22 (b), which has already been transmitted to the Second Committee. Since no representative wishes to speak, I now put this proposal to the vote.

*The proposal to refer item 22 (c) to the Second Committee was adopted by 65 votes to 1, with 20 abstentions.*

19. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): This decision will be communicated to the two Committees concerned.

## AGENDA ITEM 93

**An international investigation into the conditions and circumstances resulting in the tragic death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld and members of the party accompanying him**

20. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We now come to a consideration of the investigation into the conditions and circumstances resulting in the tragic death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, and members of the party accompanying him. In this connexion, the General Assembly has before it a draft resolution [A/L.356 Rev.1 and Add.1-5] and a document on the financial implications of the said draft resolution [A/4933]. I shall call on the speakers on my list, after which I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

21. Mr. JHA (India): In the early hours of the morning of 18 September there was enacted a grave international tragedy. The aircraft carrying Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General, and members of his party, who were destined for Ndola, a town on the frontier between the Congo and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, failed to reach its destination and was subsequently reported to have crashed causing the death of the Secretary-General and members of his party.

<sup>1/</sup> Transmitted to Members of the General Assembly by a note of the Secretary-General (A/4903).

The sole surviving member, a security guard, ultimately died also.

22. This news shocked and stunned the whole world. A tragedy of this magnitude would in any case have been taken to heart by the international community. But the tragedy was particularly deep and profound because it meant the loss of the executive head and chief administrative officer of the United Nations and of his very valuable and trusted colleagues who were engaged in a mission of peace. Mr. Hammarskjold and his party were trying to stop the difficult situation that had arisen in Katanga in which United Nations troops have been involved with the mercenaries and parts of the local "gendarmarie". The mission was motivated by the highest ideals of humanity and of peace. Mr. Hammarskjold and his trusted collaborators died in the cause of peace and in the cause of the United Nations.

23. As a matter of fact, the death of Mr. Hammarskjold was typical of the man; he died in harness, he died as he lived: in the cause of peace and dedication to the United Nations. Many tributes have been paid to Mr. Hammarskjold by statesmen, by parliaments, and by public opinion all over the world. This is not the time to repeat them here. My Government has paid the highest tributes to Mr. Hammarskjold and to the members of the United Nations who were lost in this mission of peace. A great servant of humanity, an international civil servant, was lost to the world. In the death of Mr. Wieschhoff, Mr. Fabry and others who were outstanding international civil servants, the international Organization lost some of its most valuable workers who had struggled for many years in the cause of the United Nations. The martyrdom of Mr. Hammarskjold and of his trusted colleagues, will we feel sure, strengthen the roots and the sources of the United Nations and give it a strength and durability despite the temporary difficulties that that tragedy has created for the United Nations.

24. A tragedy of this nature is bound deeply to affect world public opinion and the international community. This means that there is a certain international responsibility with regard to the ascertainment of the causes and circumstances of the tragedy. Since the concern is so deeply wide-spread in international character, we feel that there must be an international investigation, that there is a responsibility for an international investigation into this awful tragedy. We also feel that this responsibility properly belongs to the United Nations whose chief administrative officer Mr. Hammarskjold was, and for whose mission of peace he and others lost their lives. We, therefore, feel—and that is why we have co-sponsored this draft resolution [A/L.356/Rev.1 and Add.1-5]—that the United Nations must discharge its responsibility for an international investigation into all the circumstances of this great tragedy. This is a proper function of our Organization, and it is a function which we should undertake.

25. These are the motivations behind this draft resolution which is before the General Assembly. I should like to make it clear that this draft resolution has not been submitted in a spirit of conflict or contradiction with inquiries of a national nature that have been undertaken or may be undertaken with regard to this tragedy. The draft resolution itself, in the fourth paragraph of the preamble, notes that inquiries have been or are being conducted by Governments or parties concerned into the accident which caused the death of Mr. Hammarskjold and members of his party. We also

feel that the international investigation has to be in the largest framework; it has to take into account all the circumstances preceding and related to the tragedy; it is necessary that the investigation should be on the broadest possible basis so that lessons should be drawn from it, so that there should be no repetition of these tragedies, and so that the United Nations might be fully prepared in the event of responsibilities of this nature coming to it to afford the maximum protection to its officials and others engaged in the implementation of its resolutions. We feel that far from there being any conflict, it is quite possible that there may be harmonization of mutual assistance between the international investigation, which is contemplated in the draft resolution, and the various inquiries that may be going on or are being conducted at the present moment into the accident.

26. In operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution there have been detailed some of the circumstances to which particular attention might be given by the commission of investigation which the Assembly is requested to appoint in accordance with the terms of the draft resolution. Operative paragraph 5 states:

"Requests all Governments and parties concerned and the appropriate specialized agencies of the United Nations to extend their full co-operation and assistance to the said Commission in making this investigation".

This paragraph is very succinctly worded, but it is our hope and belief that all Governments—and I underline the word "all"—whether they are Members of the United Nations or not, must render to this Commission every possible assistance and facility. We would like to see a complete and unreserved co-operation by all Governments in this investigation.

27. There is one other point touched by the draft resolution, which in our view is also of great importance. We feel that it will be admitted by everyone that the United Nations owes it to its devoted civil servants to see that their families and dependants are not left stranded and are suitably remunerated or compensated in the event of tragedies overtaking international civil servants in fulfilling missions of peace or otherwise implementing missions of the United Nations. That is why we have operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, which says:

"Decides to consider, in the appropriate Committee during the current session, the question of offering suitable remuneration to the families of the victims of this grave tragedy."

It is our hope that the Fifth Committee, after the adoption of this draft resolution, which we hope will receive unanimous support, will engage itself without delay in the consideration of operative paragraph 6.

28. I would not wish to take more of the Assembly's time. This is a simple draft resolution. I have tried to explain its motivations. I would again emphasize that there is no conflict with any other inquiry that might be going on, but we feel that there is a great international responsibility on the United Nations which it must discharge, a responsibility which I might say is really elementary and which follows necessarily from the fact that great responsibilities are coming to the United Nations by virtue of resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly, and that United Nations officials have to undertake missions involving grave responsibility and often grave risks.

29. My delegation hopes that the draft resolution will quickly receive the unanimous support of the General Assembly.

30. Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia) (translated from French): Mr. President, my delegation has already had the privilege of paying its compliments to you on the occasion of your unanimous election to the Presidency of this session of the General Assembly and to tell you how proud it feels to see its former chief enjoying the esteem which has been accorded you.

31. I ask the indulgence of the Assembly if I introduce a personal note into the discussion in which we are now engaged. It is indeed difficult for me, I confess, to remain impersonal when I take the floor to pay what I consider a sacred debt to the memory of Dag Hammarskjöld, the man whose disappearance makes us feel even more keenly how much his presence meant when he occupied his chair next to the President.

32. The very fact that this chair has remained empty for so long is the best proof of what I have been saying. Our purpose, however, is not to debate the question of installing a new Secretary-General but rather to try to find out how and why this chair came to be empty.

33. Why, in fact, have we felt it necessary to discuss the question of opening an international investigation into the conditions and circumstances resulting in the tragic death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld and of the persons who accompanied him in this flight on a mission of peace?

34. Indeed, are we not entitled to ask another question first? Why did the aircraft which was to carry Mr. Hammarskjöld and his co-workers to their tragic fate undertake a flight in such abnormal circumstances as those which have been described since the accident? To be more precise, why did the crew, before departure, file a flight plan indicating Luluabourg as its destination and Leopoldville airport as an emergency landing field, thus keeping secret the true destination, Ndola, which was revealed only after five hours of flight, by a radio message to the Salisbury information centre? Why, once the destination had been revealed, did the crew feel it necessary, after five hours of flight, to make a detour which carried the aircraft over Lake Tanganyika?

35. It was only as a last resort and only when the goal had practically been reached that the aircraft finally established radio contact with the Ndola control tower, thus showing that throughout the flight, from the time of departure until reaching a point a few miles from the destination, it was feared in the aircraft—and feared for the aircraft—that certain marauders would be given a chance to continue their aerial piracy. There was a great deal of talk about those two pirate aircraft whose appearance in the Congolese sky astonished and shocked the world, not only by the crimes they were committing but also and especially by the very fact that they had been placed at the disposal of the rebel authorities of Katanga. When I speak of these authorities, it will of course be realized immediately that this word is merely an euphemism describing the real criminals, the mercenaries who have themselves chosen the appellation "Les Affreux", since another name, "Les Centurions", had already been pre-empted by some other heroes of these colonial wars which are the shame of our century.

36. The precautions which Mr. Hammarskjöld and his co-workers felt compelled to take are sufficient

indication that the personal safety of our Secretary-General and, through his person, the very fate of the United Nations Operation in the Congo—particularly in view of the latest events resulting from the aggressive attitude of the Katanga rebels—were the subject of serious anxiety. In the face of all these elements, how can one help feeling greatly disturbed and arriving at the conclusion that this tragic accident, this death of a man who, by his qualities, his virtues, his scrupulous honesty, his carefully guarded independence, was the very incarnation of the ideal of the United Nations which the world so badly needs, was too pat, suited too many people, and was too obviously to the advantage of certain political and economic groups. It is for this reason, to relieve these apprehensions, that Tunisia has the honour of co-sponsoring the draft resolution to order an international investigation for the purpose of answering these two questions: the why and how of this accident.

37. It goes without saying that such an investigation, if it is ordered by the General Assembly, cannot but profit from those undertaken on a smaller scale which doubtless have already collected some information on the circumstances of this accident.

38. For the honour of mankind we hope that our fears and the surmises to which they give rise are unfounded. But we are confronted by so many ugly things that for the honour of mankind a serious investigation must be undertaken, especially the one which we recommend, for our Organization owes at least that to its first servant and to those of his co-workers who shared his tragic fate.

39. Mr. SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Venezuela together with the delegations of Brazil, Cambodia, Cyprus, Ghana, India, Morocco, Nigeria, Togo and the United Arab Republic requested the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly of the item entitled "An international investigation into the conditions and circumstances resulting in the tragic death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, and members of the party accompanying him". I do not think it is necessary to relate in detail the events which led the sponsors of the item to request this investigation, events which have stirred the conscience of the world and are well known to all representatives here present. I need only recall briefly the general outline of this tragedy.

40. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, accompanied by Dr. Heinrich Wieschhoff and six other members of the Secretariat, two Swedish soldiers from the 11th infantry battalion stationed at Leopoldville and a crew of six, left Ndjili airport in a DC-6B aircraft on 17 September 1961 at 5 p.m., for Ndola, a city very close to the frontier which separates Katanga province from Northern Rhodesia. Mr. Hammarskjöld, making a supreme effort to ensure strict compliance with the decisions of the Security Council relating to the tense situation existing in the Congo, was flying to Ndola to have conversations with Mr. Moïse Tshombé of Katanga. For reasons that are still open to conjecture, Mr. Hammarskjöld's aircraft did not land at that airport. A few hours later, news agencies were transmitting to the furthest corners of the world the tragic news that the wreckage of the burnt-out aircraft and the bodies of Mr. Hammarskjöld and his party had been found a few miles from Ndola airport. The sole survivor of the tragedy, Mr. Harold Julien, died in a hospital a few days later.

41. It cannot be denied that, from the very first, this accident was shrouded in mystery. Mr. Hammarskjöld was travelling at night, without an escort, in an aircraft that was not his. Bullets and fragments of cartridges and explosives were found in two of the bodies. Without any apparent reason, the DC-6B aircraft, after having made contact with the Ndola tower and received permission to descend from 16,000 to 6,000 feet, had broken off communication with the airport.

42. This is not a matter in which hasty decisions should be made, and such was not the intention of the sponsors of the item. On the contrary, aware of the great concern prevailing in the world in regard both to this tragedy and to the circumstances surrounding it, we considered that a thorough international investigation was warranted, since, if it were not undertaken, the present undesirable speculation might continue.

43. Moreover, this is not only a question of the dramatic disappearance of an eminent servant of the cause of peace or of establishing who was responsible for it—if, indeed, that can be done—but rather of shedding light on every aspect of the tragedy in order to avoid its repetition in the future. It must be determined whether there was negligence or carelessness, or possibly a premeditated criminal act. All the circumstances must be clarified. The United Nations has the right and the duty to do so. In order to guarantee the efficacy of the world Organization in this disquieting period of history that we are living through, it is essential that all its principal organs should be able to function without hindrance. The Secretariat occupies a position of outstanding importance among these organs. It is the duty of all Member States to protect it from possible hazards, as in the present instance, in order to ensure its effective discharge of the serious responsibilities devolving on it under the Charter.

44. This Organization, which represents the majority of the peoples of the world, must also satisfy world public opinion, which is rightly demanding that there should be a thorough investigation into the causes of the fatal accident and that the uncertainties and doubts which still persist should be dispelled. Questions are being anxiously raised and they must not be left unanswered.

45. The draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly by my country along with Ceylon, Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Ghana, India, Nepal, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic [A/L.356/Rev.1 and Add.1-5] mentions some of these questions, such as, why the flight had to be undertaken at night without escort, and why its arrival at Ndola was unduly delayed as reported. It should also be ascertained whether, after having established contact with the Ndola control tower, the aircraft lost that contact, whether the fact of its having crashed did not become known until several hours afterwards, and if so, why; and, further, whether, after the damage it was reported to have suffered earlier from firing by aircraft hostile to the United Nations, the aircraft was in a proper condition for use. We have considered it advisable to propose to the Assembly that an international commission of five eminent persons should be set up to carry out a complete investigation and report its findings to the President of the General Assembly. While we believe that the commission's terms of reference should be broad so as to enable it to investigate all aspects of the tragedy, we deemed it appropriate, without in any way restricting the commission, to

stress some of the circumstances of this tragedy particularly requiring investigation.

46. The fundamental reason why we and the other sponsors of the draft resolution are proposing an international investigation is the belief that the United Nations has a clear obligation to take direct charge of definitely establishing the circumstances resulting in the loss of life, in the exercise of their duties, of the highest officer of the Secretariat and other distinguished servants of the Organization. This is, moreover, a sacred duty that the United Nations must fulfil as a tribute to the memory of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld and the other civil servants who died with him.

47. This does not, of course, imply that we question the thoroughness and impartiality of any investigation undertaken, or to be undertaken, by the competent authorities of the region in which the accident occurred. It is not for us to pass judgement on the steps which, in accordance with their own legislation, the authorities of these territories may have deemed proper to take or which they intend to take, for the specific purpose of clarifying the cause and circumstances of the final phase of the tragedy. The investigation which we are proposing and which is based, as I have said, on a clear obligation of the world Organization, covers a much wider field, which certainly includes the direct ascertainment of the final and most tangible facts connected with the tragedy, but which extends much further, embracing the whole complex of circumstances that made the accident possible.

48. We are confident that all Governments and parties concerned will offer their full co-operation and assistance to the commission appointed by the United Nations to carry out this investigation.

49. In conclusion, I should like to refer to two other proposals contained in our draft resolution, which we felt it was only just to include. The first is the public expression of profound sorrow and shock caused in the General Assembly by the death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld and the following persons who died in the service of the United Nations as a result of the air crash: Mr. Heinrich A. Wieschhoff, Mr. Vladimir Fabry, Mr. William Ranallo, Miss Alice Lalande, Mr. Harold M. Julien, Mr. Serge L. Barrau, Mr. Francis Eivers, Mr. S. O. Hjelte, Mr. P. E. Persson, Mr. Per Hallonquist, Mr. Nils-Eric Aahréus, Mr. Lars Litton, Mr. Nils Göran Wilhelmsson, Mr. Harold Noork and Mr. Karl Erik Rosén.

50. The second proposal relates to the decision that we believe the Assembly must take to consider at the current session and in the appropriate Committee the question of offering a suitable remuneration to the families of the victims of this grave tragedy.

51. On behalf of my own delegation and of the other sponsors, I express the sincere hope that the draft resolution will be unanimously approved by the General Assembly.

52. Mr. UNDEN (Sweden): On behalf of the Swedish Government, my delegation will support the draft resolution which envisages an international investigation into the conditions and circumstances resulting in the tragic death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld and of members of the party accompanying him.

53. Sweden is represented on the commission of experts which has already been established and which

has not yet concluded its work. This commission is conducting an investigation in accordance with the established rules for air accidents involving the interests of several countries. The Swedish Government sees no reason not to trust the investigating measures so far taken and expects, as a matter of course, that all possible theories on the causes of the accident are being and will be taken into account and evaluated in the report on the investigation. We sincerely hope that the complete report of the Commission's findings will shed light on such points as now appear to be somewhat obscure.

54. Considering the political consequences of the catastrophe and the flood of speculation which soon afterward spread among the public and in the Press there seem to be well-founded reasons for a complementary investigation under the auspices of the United Nations. If an international commission is set up for this purpose, the results obtained by the previous investigation might, of course, be of value when the new body begins its work.

55. Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom): My delegation welcomes the initiative which was taken about a month ago to set in train an international investigation into the tragic air crash on 18 September which led to the death of our late Secretary-General. It was recognized at the time that some international inquiries would be taking place in consequence of the legal obligations of the countries concerned. Members of the Assembly will be aware, from statements which my delegation has asked to have circulated, of the progress made by the initial inquiry now being conducted by the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and of that Government's intention to hold a public inquiry in due course. But the dimensions of this tragedy, resulting as it did in the death of the Secretary-General of this Organization and others in its service, are such that many Members of the United Nations have expressed the view that the United Nations should take measures of its own. My delegation shares that view, and we support the sentiments and proposals set out in the draft resolution before us. My delegation welcomes the statements of the representatives who have preceded me here this morning that the investigation proposed in the draft resolution before the Assembly is not in any way in conflict with the national investigations to which I have just referred.

56. Finally, let me give an assurance that if this draft resolution is adopted, as we hope it will be, the United Kingdom will co-operate in its implementation and in assisting the work of the United Nations Commission.

57. Mr. QUAISON-SACKY (Ghana): On 18 September of this year, the aircraft carrying the late Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, and fifteen United Nations officials and others on a peace mission crashed in the vicinity of the Ndola airport in Northern Rhodesia, resulting in the tragic death of Mr. Hammarskjold and his entire party. It is more than five weeks since the air crash and I am sure that it is the unanimous view of the Assembly that an international investigation into the conditions and circumstances surrounding the tragic accident is called for. In fact, this world Organization owes it to Mr. Hammarskjold and the others who perished with him that a proper investigation should be held.

58. My delegation has taken note of the investigation undertaken by Rhodesian authorities and also by a commission of experts that was set up. That investi-

gation, to our mind, was of a purely technical nature and was indeed to be expected of the United Kingdom authorities in Northern Rhodesia, in whose territory the air crash occurred.

59. However, what is required is that there should be set up an international commission, composed of five eminent persons who will conduct a thorough and impartial investigation into all the circumstances relating to the tragic death of Mr. Hammarskjold and the others.

60. While we do not want the commission's work to be restricted in any way, it is my delegation's firm opinion that the following questions, which are contained in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution that my delegation is co-sponsoring [A/L.356/Rev.1 and Add. 1-5] should be highlighted:

"(a) Why the flight had to be undertaken at night without escort;

"(b) Why its arrival at Ndola was unduly delayed, as reported;

"(c) Whether the aircraft, after having established contact with tower at Ndola lost that contact, and the fact of its having crashed did not become known until several hours afterwards, and if so, why;

"(d) Whether the aircraft, after the damage it was reported to have suffered earlier from firing by aircraft hostile to the United Nations, was in a proper condition for use".

61. We also want the commission to know that there are rumours that in fact the aircraft landed and that in fact Mr. Hammarskjold had talks with Tshombé. All those are wild rumour, and we feel that an investigation into all this is called for.

62. In our opinion the commission should be appointed by the President of the Assembly, assisted by Members of the Assembly, with whom the President will consult. There should be on the commission eminent persons from Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America. We also suggest that at all costs there should be an eminent person from Sweden. We feel that these persons must be people of great administrative capacity and that they should be helped by experts and officials of the Secretariat. We believe that it is necessary that the Commission should have a free hand to undertake its job, and we appeal to all Governments and all States to render every assistance and co-operation required. We welcome very much the co-operation which has been so readily offered by the representative of the United Kingdom. We think that the co-operation of the United Kingdom in this matter is most important, and I am glad that it has been given so willingly.

63. Lastly, it is our view that everything should be done by the Assembly through the appropriate Committee, at this session, to consider the offering of suitable compensation to the families of the victims of this great tragedy.

64. The world has indeed suffered a grievous loss, and it is our hope that we shall not just sit down and see nothing done. We hope, in fact, that the draft resolution will be adopted unanimously today so that all its paragraphs may be implemented.

65. Mr. AKAKPO (Togo) (translated from French): We were all deeply moved at the news of the tragic death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General of our Organization, and of his co-workers. We all felt a profound sadness and sincere regret at the brutal disappearance of this apostle of peace whose subtle

mind, integrity, almost religious faith in our Organization and self-identification with it were valued by all of us.

66. Upon reading the newspaper reports of his tragic death, we experienced an equally strong feeling of indignation and outrage. The circumstances surrounding his death seemed to us, indeed, extremely suspicious.

67. As mentioned in operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution before us [A/L.356/Rev.1 and Add.1-5], the following points must be emphasized:

(1) That the aircraft carrying the Secretary-General had been fired upon by an aircraft hostile to the United Nations and, having suffered damage, had undergone repairs;

(2) That the flight had been undertaken at night without escort;

(3) That the arrival of the aircraft at Ndola had been delayed;

(4) That the aircraft had lost the contact which it had earlier established with the Ndola tower;

(5) That the crash of the aircraft was not reported until several hours later;

(6) That a number of detonations had been observed.

68. These are disturbing pieces of information, which call for an investigation of the cause of the death of the Secretary-General and of the persons who accompanied him. We ask for an international investigation. It should be patient, it should be meticulous, and it should produce results. It is only fitting, in the case of the Secretary-General, that this investigation should be made with all due care. It is important to throw all possible light upon the subject. It is our duty to discover the criminals, if any, responsible for this tragedy and to see to it that justice is done. This will be the supreme and final tribute rendered by us to the memory of the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld.

69. For all of these reasons, we hope that the draft resolution presented by fourteen countries, including my own country, Togo, will be adopted unanimously.

70. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): We owe it to the memory of Dag Hammarskjöld; we owe it to his dedication to the United Nations and to the sacrifice which he made in the cause of peace; we owe it to the United Nations itself, to see that this tragic event, which in some way or other has been clouded with a sense of mystery giving rise to wild and disturbing rumours, should be fully and properly investigated. Such rumours and speculations are a matter for concern to all people, and particularly to all Members of the United Nations. It is in the interest of all who are concerned in this matter and in the United Nations as a whole that an international body should be set up by the General Assembly, a body which, by its very composition, would ensure an independent and impartial investigation. Such an investigation is desirable irrespective of other technical inquiries which have been carried out by competent authorities legally constituted, but on a national rather than an international basis. What we seek is an international inquiry more embracing in its character, one which goes beyond the technicalities of the accident itself.

71. We feel confident that, between the two bodies—the one which is now making inquiries and the one which we are about to establish—there will be full

co-operation in finding out the truth and in acting with justice; and we welcome the statement by the representative of the United Kingdom that such co-operation will be forthcoming from his Government.

72. We are confident that the General Assembly will give its unanimous support to the draft resolution before us, and we hope that all Governments and all specialized agencies will extend their co-operation in this matter.

73. With reference to the proposed compensation to the families of the victims of the tragedy, we would support wholeheartedly the need for a liberal one. We would go further and suggest that there should be a moral compensation. What we have in mind at the moment is that a suitable plaque, giving the names of all those staff members of the United Nations who have given their lives in the cause of peace and in the cause of the United Nations, should be placed in an appropriate spot in the United Nations.

74. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (translated from French): I believe that the draft resolution submitted this morning to the General Assembly [A/L.356/Rev.1 and Add.1-5] is one of the most important documents ever placed before the Assembly, not because of its wording, to be sure, but because of its significance and its implications for the history of the United Nations and the record of responsibility of its Members.

75. I shall not dwell on the physical circumstances of the accident. The representatives who have spoken before me have given details which already, from the technical standpoint, leave us puzzled and justifiably sceptical about what was reported to us during the earliest days regarding what may be the real causes of the accident. The existence of pirate aircraft and the circumstances in which the Secretary-General's aircraft was attacked justify our raising the question of an investigation going beyond an international or national inquiry concerning a passenger or freight aircraft, and, in the circumstances, we cannot remain satisfied with the reports of certain local services.

76. The Moroccan delegation joins the other delegations which have already expressed their satisfaction with the statement of the United Kingdom representative, who assured us that the authorities of Rhodesia and Nyasaland are prepared to offer all their facilities and to co-operate to the best of their ability in order to throw all possible light on the circumstances of this accident.

77. We do this not only to carry out a task which is one of our primary obligations. We do it as a duty to the United Nations, because the Secretary-General went to Africa for the purpose of bringing to completion the United Nations action in a crisis which, as we all thought at the time of his departure, was nearing its end. Unhappily, what we have had to witness instead has been the end of the Secretary-General.

78. We owe it also to Sweden, which on other occasions has already given men to the world who, being men of worth and objectivity, had to and were willing to assume the burden of mediation and conciliation in international conflicts. And it was again a Swede, Mr. Hammarskjöld, who suffered a tragic fate in much the same circumstances as Count Bernadotte.

79. I take this opportunity to say that by doing this we shall be fulfilling our individual and collective obligations towards the families of the Secretary-General's co-workers, who have all shown so much devotion

in this crisis and who, in this final effort, have paid with their lives. The United Nations must pay a tribute to this tragic end and this devotion, and it must determine the truth, for we know that we shall discover the culprits.

80. Mr. MILLA BERMUDEZ (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Honduras announced [1025th meeting] in the general debate that it would support the desire expressed by several countries for an official investigation into the extraordinary circumstances surrounding the accident in which the Secretary-General of the United Nations lost his life. Speculations and rumours are rife, and they must be dis-

pelled once and for all. Therefore Honduras will wholeheartedly support the draft resolution on this question which has been submitted to the Assembly; in our opinion, this draft resolution is of the highest importance and fills a crying need.

81. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I have no other speaker on my list. I now put to the vote the fourteen-Power draft resolution [A/L.356/Rev.1 and Add.1-5].

*The draft resolution was adopted by 97 votes to none.*

*The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.*