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(Venezuela).*

Tribute to the memory of Mr. John F. Kennedy,
President of the United States of America

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the thirty-fifth President of the United States, is dead. He fell at his post, in the service of his country. The treacherous act of the assassin inspired by the hatred and fanaticism against which he fought so hard, has struck down in its prime a life full of achievement and full of promise for his country and for humanity.
2. Not only America, but the whole world mourns his passing, for by it they have lost one of those rare human beings in whom energy and generosity join to produce glorious and fruitful activity in the service of the noblest ideals.
3. John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a leader of peoples in the full sense of the word. His unshakable faith in the need to reaffirm and strengthen the rights inherent in the dignity of the human person and his fight to do away with prejudice, discrimination and inequality won him the support and the love of millions of people who still suffer those injustices.
4. His broad vision of world problems, which enabled him to combine defence of the principles and ideals he professed with the tolerance necessary for the maintenance of peace and better understanding between peoples gained him the admiration and respect of all nations.
5. His simplicity and his tenderness as a son, husband and father permitted him to penetrate very deeply into the hearts of his people and also of peoples beyond his country's frontiers.
6. The image of President Kennedy, the traces he has left behind him, can never be erased. He has left his mark in this very General Assembly hall, in which we are gathered today to pay a tribute to his memory.
7. On the very day of his inauguration as President of the United States, President Kennedy pledged his support to the United Nations in these unforgettable words:

"To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for in-

vective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run."

That pledge was kept.

8. Scarcely two months ago, when no one could suspect the horrible tragedy that would make his address the last he was to make in this forum, President Kennedy told us in words which still ring in our ears:

"The world has not escaped from the darkness. The long shadows of conflict and crisis envelop us still. But we meet today in an atmosphere of rising hope, and at a moment of comparative calm. My presence here today is not a sign of crisis, but of confidence. I am not here to report on a new threat to the peace or new signs of war. I have come to salute the United Nations and to show the support of the American people for your daily deliberations." [1209th meeting, para. 37.]

9. And in concluding that magnificent address, he said:

"Two years ago I told this body that the United States had proposed and was willing to sign a limited test ban treaty. Today that treaty has been signed. It will not put an end to war. It will not remove basic conflicts. It will not secure freedom for all. But it can be a lever. And Archimedes, in explaining the principles of the lever, was said to have declared to his friends: 'Give me but one firm spot on which to stand—and I will move the earth.'

"My fellow inhabitants of this planet: Let us take our stand here in this assembly of nations. And let us see if we, in our own time, can move the world towards a just and lasting peace." [*Ibid.*, paras. 77 and 78.]

10. That was the voice which has been stilled forever by the dastardly bullet of an assassin. The loss suffered by the people of the United States is undoubtedly felt by the whole world; it is certainly a grievous loss for the United Nations.

11. President Kennedy has been snatched away from us at a crucial moment in history, at a moment when the impact of his resolute policy for peace and better understanding among peoples was beginning to yield fruit. The best tribute to his memory is to continue to fight for those objectives.

12. John Fitzgerald Kennedy is no longer with us. His mortal remains are at rest in Arlington Cemetery, next to so many other heroes who have fallen in the service of their great American country. But his noble and generous soul has surely found eternal bliss and his spirit will live on in the hearts of all who love freedom and respect the dignity of man.

13. I now invite the Members of the General Assembly to observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the late President of the United States.

The representatives stood in silence.

14. In this solemn meeting convened in memory of President Kennedy, I wish to invite the following to speak: the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly, the Chairmen of the Main Committees, and lastly the former Presidents of the General Assembly who are present. Before calling on these speakers, I wish to express my profound gratitude to all the representatives for their co-operation in the organization of this solemn meeting of the General Assembly. The speakers on whom I am going to call have all been elected to the positions they occupy by the General Assembly in plenary meeting. The former Presidents were also elected by the General Assembly in plenary meeting, at earlier sessions. I am confident, therefore, that these speakers will express the feelings of all the Governments of Member States and of all the peoples of the world in their tribute to the memory of President Kennedy.

15. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Today we are gathered in this Assembly of one hundred and eleven Member Governments to pay solemn tribute to the memory of a martyr. I feel bound to participate in this occasion not only on my own behalf, but also on behalf of the entire Secretariat.

16. On 20 September 1963, Mr. John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America, addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations. He said, *inter alia*:

"... we meet today in an atmosphere of rising hope, and at a moment of comparative calm. My presence here today is not a sign of crisis but of confidence. ... I have come to salute the United Nations and to show the support of the American people for your daily deliberations." [1209th meeting, para. 37.]

17. Exactly nine weeks later, President Kennedy fell a victim to an assassin's bullet, and all of us at the United Nations felt that we had lost a friend—not only a friend of the Organization, not only a friend of peace—but a friend of man.

18. I recall, with equal vividness, a time some two years ago when the United Nations was plunged in gloom because of the sudden death of its Secretary-General. At that time President Kennedy made a special appearance before the General Assembly of the United Nations, and in the course of his address he said:

"So let us here resolve that Dag Hammarskjöld did not live—or die—in vain. Let us call a truce to terror. Let us invoke the blessings of peace. And, as we build an international capacity to keep peace, let us join in dismantling the national capacity to wage war." [1013th meeting, para. 41.]

19. Although we all know that man is born under sentence of death with but an indefinite reprieve, death is a tragedy whenever it comes. It is human to feel sorrow at the passing away of anyone dear to us, even when death comes as a merciful release from chronic suffering and pain. But when a young and dynamic leader of a great country, with his brilliant promise only half fulfilled, is felled in the prime of life by an utterly incomprehensible and senseless act, the loss is not only a loss to the bereaved family, whose head he was, nor even the country over whose destiny he presided with rare ability and distinction as Head

of State. It is a loss suffered by the entire world, by all humanity, for the late President embodied a rare and quite remarkable combination of intellect and courage, of vigour and compassion, of devotion to the arts and sciences, which was focused on serving his basic concern for the well-being of all mankind.

20. It is a strange irony that President Kennedy, like President Lincoln—I note that some have already begun to speak of Kennedy as a younger Lincoln, dedicated as both were to the paths of peace and reconciliation—should have come to a violent end at the hands of an assassin. I have the feeling that President Kennedy was sincerely seeking to carry forward to fulfilment the monumental task which began in this country a hundred years ago.

21. Throughout his public career President Kennedy sought to reduce tension, to uphold the law and to discourage violence, whether in word or deed. On 10 June 1963 he observed:

"And if we cannot end now our differences, at least we can help make the world safe for diversity. For, in the final analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal."

22. President Kennedy was mortal like the rest of us. Not so his place in history, where he will live as a great leader who sought peace at home and abroad and who gave his life as a true martyr in the service of his country and of all mankind.

23. Let us all, here and now, draw inspiration from his example, and let us resolve that he did not live, or die, in vain. Let us call a truce to terror. Let us invoke the blessings of peace.

24. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria), Vice-President of the General Assembly (translated from French): On 22 November 1963 President John Fitzgerald Kennedy was basely murdered by the hand of a criminal. The tragic death of the President of the United States has profoundly stirred the whole world. It is a heavy blow for all those who cherish international peace and co-operation.

25. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria would like to express its most sincere condolences and most heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy, to Mr. Kennedy's family, and to the people, the Government and the delegation of the United States of America.

26. I have been asked to convey the deepest condolences of the delegations of other Socialist countries which will not be in a position to speak today.

27. The feelings aroused in my country by this criminal act are expressed in the telegram sent to Mr. Lyndon Johnson, the new President, by Dimitar Ganev, President of the Presidium of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Todor Zhivkov, President of the Council of Ministers:

"We have heard with deep regret the news of the sudden and tragic death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, President of the United States of America.

"John Kennedy will be remembered by all those who are devoted to the cause of peace as an eminent statesman whose presidency was characterized by notable steps towards a slackening of international tension.

"On behalf of the Presidium of the National Assembly of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and in our own name, we ask you to accept our most sincere condolences."

28. President Kennedy, though still young, was a widely experienced and intensely realistic statesman. He was fully aware of the development of the international situation and of the peoples' ardent desire to abolish the danger of war and to live in peace. That was clear from many of his speeches, especially that made on 10 June 1963 to the students of the American University.

29. Quite recently important steps have been taken which have brought about a better atmosphere in international relations: the Moscow Treaty on the partial banning of nuclear tests has been signed; undertakings not to place nuclear weapons in orbit have been entered into; a statement of the legal principles governing the peaceful uses of outer space is about to be adopted by the General Assembly.

30. Just as the moment when, through the efforts of peace-loving peoples all over the world, a better international atmosphere had been created in the sphere of international co-operation and the maintenance of peace, the hand of the assassin has struck.

31. At this hour, when we are paying a tribute to the memory of President Kennedy, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria expresses the hope that his efforts to satisfy this ardent wish of the peoples will be continued, both within the United Nations and through the contacts that have been established.

32. Mr. BINDZI (Cameroon), Vice-President of the General Assembly (translated from French): At 8.14 p.m. local time, that is at 4 o'clock in the afternoon in New York, the news of President Kennedy's assassination reached Yaoundé, our capital.

33. The President of the Republic, together with several members of the Government, immediately went in person to express to the United States Ambassador the sorrow of the Cameroonian people and their sympathy with the American people. He also despatched two telegrams of heartfelt condolence, one to Mrs. Kennedy and one to Lyndon B. Johnson, the new President, and appointed a special mission, led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to attend the funeral.

34. At the same time my delegation here offered its own condolences to the permanent United States Mission to the United Nations.

35. That being so, Mr. President, we shall simply associate ourselves with the funeral oration you have just pronounced in memory of President Kennedy. Now that he has become a part of history, he no longer belongs only to the United States; he belongs to the whole world.

36. We mourn the man. First of all and above all, we deplore the brutal, tragic and unspeakable manner of his death. We seem to hear him, from beyond the grave, paraphrasing the words of Napoleon at St. Helena: "I am dying, assassinated, before my time and my body has already returned to the earth". Yes, before his time, before he had had time to bring to fruition the policy which is causing the whole world to weep for him.

37. He was a vallant fighter in the noblest battles of humanity, the battles for peace between nations,

for racial equality in his own country and in the world, for the emancipation of peoples and for understanding between man.

38. As Victor Hugo said, "A man grows greater in memory after his death". Far from having removed him from our affection and admiration, the cruel fate which has befallen him has, on the contrary, rendered him immortal. He will be numbered among the most beloved and the most renowned heroes of our time.

39. Allow me, Mr. President, to conclude with a short prayer:

"Oh God, in the course of this year Thou hast removed from the community of mankind two men who by their merits and their position were marked out to watch over the peace of our threatened world—Pope John XXIII and President Kennedy. We beseech Thee to accept them as sacrifices on the altar of Thy eternal goodness. May the noble ideals of peace and brotherhood which inspired them guide all those who are entrusted with the fate of suffering humanity. Amen."

40. Mr. LIU (China), Vice-President of the General Assembly: We meet here today to pay our last tributes to a great American, a great President of a great nation and a great world statesman. President Kennedy came into his high office at a time when his country and the world were beset by momentous problems. He faced those problems with calmness, wisdom and unflinching courage. In the three brief years of his Presidency he made decisions which unmistakably influenced the course of history. He lighted beacon fires which will burn brightly in the years to come.

41. President Kennedy was a man of vision. He had faith in the United Nations. Twice he came to this Assembly hall in the quest for peace. His noble and stirring words cannot be easily forgotten. When he came the first time to our midst on 25 September 1961, Dag Hammarskjöld had died only a few days before. On that occasion, President Kennedy said:

"The problem is not the death of one man—the problem is the life of this Organization. It will either grow to meet the challenges of our age, or it will be gone with the wind, without influence, without force, without respect. Were we to let it die—to enfeeble its vigour—to cripple its powers—we would condemn our future." [1013th meeting, para. 39.]

These are words that have a particular meaning for all of us in the United Nations. Now the man who uttered these memorable words on the tragic death of Dag Hammarskjöld has himself passed into eternity. He himself died a martyr in the cause of humanity. The sense of loss is all the more poignantly felt because his young and vigorous life came to an abrupt close when he had still so much more to contribute to the future of mankind. President Chiang Kai-shek was voicing the feelings of the entire Chinese people when he said that the free world had lost an inspiring leader. While this is an occasion of deep sorrow it should also be an occasion for renewed dedication. Let us rededicate ourselves to the task of strengthening this world Organization in pursuit of the goals of which President Kennedy spoke so movingly from this rostrum only two months ago. Let his monument be the establishment of a world order in which peace, justice and freedom shall prevail.

42. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus), Vice-President of the General Assembly: On behalf of my President, the

Government of Cyprus and my delegation, I wish to convey to Mrs. Kennedy and the other members of the bereaved family and to the American nation our deep condolences on the tragic death of President Kennedy. The great sorrow that has fallen upon the American people has deeply moved the people of Cyprus, and our hearts go out in sympathy, not only to the family, but also to the nation that is tragically bereaved.

43. The peoples of the world join together with the American people in one common and intense feeling—grief, profound and universal—at the imponderable loss to the world of the death of President Kennedy. Humanity, undivided, mourns. It mourns for the great President and the great man who was eminently an apostle of peace and freedom in the world. For John Kennedy, in the brief but brilliant spell of his enlightened leadership of the American nation, won the conscience of mankind the world over. Amid the growing dangers of nuclear extinction, he became a universal symbol of the hope for survival and peace. The broad vision and endeavour of his basic policy of peace came out, not only in the inspiration of his words, but also in the wisdom of his actions. The Treaty banning nuclear tests has been the first great achievement of that policy, to be followed by others on the long road to world order and peace.

44. As we look back on the events preceding his death, our minds traverse the astonishingly long distance President Kennedy covered in a short time to turn the world from a dangerous path of war and catastrophe towards saner relations among nations. From the anxious days of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly when the Cuban crisis was looming threateningly on the horizon, up to his death, the great departed President laboured to give a new direction and new hope to the world. The thread has been severed. The physical life of John Kennedy has come to a tragic and abrupt end. But his spirit cannot be slain or eclipsed. It will live forever in the hearts and in the minds of men in all lands, everywhere. The torch of freedom and peace he held so firmly will not go out or fade. Sanctified by martyrdom and sacrifice, its flame will spread and grow and, to use his inaugural words, its glow can truly light the world. It must become a conviction and a creed for the abolition of violence, nationally and internationally. His words from the time of his death, must travel the four corners of the earth and strengthen that conviction.

45. A decisive move has to be made forward in the transition of humanity from the concept of force and arbitrariness to that of reason and law, and to those higher standards in human and international relations that are now compellingly demanded by the achievements of science in a nuclear age—demanded by the very need of survival of the human race. Rational thinking can point in no other direction. As the late lamented President said in his historic speech on 10 June 1963 at the American University, "I speak of peace, therefore, as the necessary, rational end of rational men." And he called upon statesmen to labour "... not towards a strategy of annihilation, but towards a strategy of peace".

46. In consistent sequence of pronouncements and deeds, President Kennedy, in addressing the General Assembly on 20 September 1963 and in referring to the test ban Treaty, said:

"... if we fail to make the most of this moment and this momentum, ... if this pause in the cold

war merely leads to its renewal and not its end, then the shaming indictment of posterity will rightly point its finger at us all" [1209th meeting, para. 39].

The shaming indictment of posterity will rightly point its finger at us all if we do not fulfil our duty to carry forward the legacy of President Kennedy. Continuing that great address to the General Assembly, he said:

"So let us not rest all our hopes on parchment and on paper—let us strive to build peace ... in the hearts and minds of all our people" [*ibid.*, para. 76].

This is the challenge. This is the supreme legacy that President Kennedy left the world and this world Organization. For, parallel to his dedication to the American nation, that great statesman was no less concerned with the interest of humanity as a whole, shaping his policies in the wise and enlightened patriotism of our age. In this sense he was a strong supporter of the development of the United Nations as an evolving and effective instrument of peace and freedom in the world.

47. We are gathered here to pay tribute to this outstanding leader of the world, to his moral strength and courage, his intellectual vision and his noble statesmanship, which have made of him the pride of his people and the hope of the world. The ocean of sorrow that has engulfed us shall not become a barren, negative thing; it must be turned into a positive force, dynamic and united, to build the edifice of peace which he sought to erect.

48. The best memorial to the late President is for us to resolve, here and now, to work with the same dedication and consistency for retaining and broadening the areas of co-operation in an objective approach to world problems and in a spirit of allegiance to humanity, so that enduring peace may come in a world of law and justice. When that happy day comes and generations look back to the men who made it possible, the name of John Fitzgerald Kennedy—thirty-fifth President of the United States, apostle and martyr in the cause of peace and human progress—will be recalled with gratitude, with admiration and with infinite love.

49. Mr. ALVAREZ VIDAURRE (El Salvador), Vice-President of the General Assembly (translated from Spanish): Deeply moved by the tragic death of John F. Kennedy, President of the United States, I come to this rostrum to express our feeling of solidarity with the people of the United States in these moments of sorrow and shock which have plunged not only the United States but the whole world into mourning.

50. I should like also to express our horror at this loathsome crime, which has taken the life of the great friend of Latin America who was endeavouring, through his Alliance for Progress programme, to bring well-being and social justice to our peoples.

51. The life of President Kennedy, like the lives of the great apostles, was marked for sacrifice, but he accepted his destiny with the valour of one who knows that he holds in his hands a universal project fraught with peril. We can therefore say that by his death President Kennedy achieved immortality and that, like Abraham Lincoln, he will be the finest model that history will present to coming generations.

52. We cherish the hope that this crime, sterile in itself, will prove fruitful in that it will stimulate men of good will who are eager to see the achievement

of the three great ideals with which President Kennedy's life was imbued: peace, freedom and universal well-being.

53. Speaking on behalf of all the countries of Latin America, and especially the people and Government of El Salvador, I should like to offer our heartfelt condolences to Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, to Mrs. Kennedy and her children, to the parents, brothers and sisters of Mr. Kennedy, to Mr. Adlai Stevenson and to the great people of the United States.

54. Mr. SEYDOUX (France), Vice-President of the General Assembly (translated from French): All who were present at United Nations Headquarters last Friday when the terrible news reached us will remember that moment for ever. In the silence which immediately followed—that silence which accompanies great events—it was as though the life of this House was suspended. Incredulity, then stupefaction and consternation were painted on all faces. Everyone, whatever his country or his rank, felt the same emotion. One had the feeling that our community instinctively tightened its ranks round our American friends. This emotion was soon shared by the whole world. A man, a young man, a Head of State, the President of the United States of America, one of the great leaders of our times, had just fallen under the bullets of an assassin.

55. Thus, the thread of a brilliant career was abruptly snapped. Until that tragic moment fate had showered blessings on John Fitzgerald Kennedy: he had been endowed with all the gifts which enable a man to assume the highest office with ease. A man of exceptional intelligence, he discharged the enormous responsibilities he had assumed with all the courage and sense of duty which he had already shown during the war, with all the generosity of his nature, with complete devotion to the noblest ideals of American democracy, whose living symbol he will remain for ever, having served the cause of freedom and human dignity up to his last breath.

56. If it is at a time of affliction that a man's friends can be numbered, the great nation whose destiny was guided by this man for three years must feel today that its friends are countless; the presence at the ceremonies held yesterday in Washington of so many men entrusted with the highest responsibilities in their countries illustrates both the decisive role played by the United States in world affairs and the feelings of esteem, respect and admiration with which its President was regarded everywhere. All my compatriots, for whom the visit of President and Mrs. Kennedy to Paris remains a shining memory, turn towards the people of the United States, who have always been our friends. We should like them to know that their affliction is our affliction, their sadness our sadness and their mourning our mourning. We also share their unshakeable faith in the future, despite the heavy loss they must bear, just as our confidence in their great destiny is unshakable.

57. We, who feel our own hearts torn by the shattering of this family whose happy image seemed to belong to everyone, share Mrs. Kennedy's sorrow with the deepest compassion. May she find solace in the universal solicitude with which she is surrounded. We are sure that her children, like all the youth of America, will always find inspiration in the example given by this great President, who, in the words of

General de Gaulle, died like a soldier, under fire, in the line of duty and in the service of his country.

58. Mr. GUDMUNDSSON (Iceland), Vice-President of the General Assembly: I have the honour of speaking here today in the name of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, as well as in the name of my own country, Iceland.

59. In this hour, our thoughts go in deep sympathy to Mrs. John F. Kennedy and her young children, and to the entire American people, whose ideals of freedom, justice and benevolence to all other nations the late President sustained with unequalled brilliance and strength. Our thoughts go equally to all the millions of people throughout the world who placed their hopes for lasting peace and progress in the work of the great leader of a great nation.

60. Seldom, if ever, has the death of a statesman aroused so universal a feeling of tragedy and of loss to humanity. For millions of people, simple men and women as well as men of great power and intellect, President Kennedy was a symbol of encouragement and faith, the morning star of a new and hopeful day which would rise above the anguish and tragic disunity of mankind. He brought into the history of our time his youthful temper and energy, honesty and enthusiasm, a devotion to high ideals and strong belief in man and in God.

61. During the short period of his leadership, we saw the beginning of what might become a new epoch of increasing understanding and trust among nations, a way to fruitful collaboration and the peaceful settlement of all disputes which might endanger the security of humanity.

62. President Kennedy's name will go down in history as a leader who combined human good will with an unflinching courage and broad-minded wisdom, the man who, in times of the most dangerous conflicts humanity has experienced, gave new strength to our hopes for the lasting peace and future of mankind. We bow our heads in deep thankfulness for the work of President Kennedy, in the hope that his spirit will, in the time to come, inspire and guide men of good will and power, and thus help to shape the destiny of future generations.

63. Mr. Nur ELMI (Somalia), Vice-President of the General Assembly: In this moment of grief when the Kennedy family has lost a beloved son and a devoted father, when the United States of America has lost a great and courageous leader, when the United Nations has lost a friend who has been a staunch supporter of its sacred principles, when the whole world has lost a man who has endeavoured to contribute to transform this planet into a place where peace prevails, prosperity extends to all and the dignity of mankind is respected—in this moment of mourning I have the honour to extend our sincere condolences to Mrs. Kennedy, to every member of the Kennedy family and to the people and the Government of the United States of America.

64. Furthermore, as a representative of a Member State from Africa, I feel in duty bound to pay a particular tribute to the memory of President Kennedy for the special role which he, as a young United States Senator, had courageously played in favour of the liberation of the African continent from colonialism, in accordance with the principle of self-determination enshrined in the Charter, and his firm and uncompromising stand against any form of bigotry based

on race, colour or creed. In that respect we are immensely gratified to note that President Kennedy had the personal satisfaction of witnessing the emergence of almost all former African colonies into independent and sovereign States, as we can see today in our Organization.

65. I must also stress the fact that President Kennedy's keen interest in the African continent and his advocacy of the freedom of its peoples did not cease with the emergence of Africa as a free continent. On the contrary, aware of the tremendous political, economic and social problems which the continent might inevitably face as a result of the newly emerged nations, he intensified his efforts in order to establish between Africa and the United States of America the most cordial friendly relations based on mutual respect and understanding.

66. In this connexion I would like to quote what the President of the Somali Republic, Mr. Adan Abdullah Osman, said when he heard of the late President's tragic death: "I am truly saddened by this news which is a blow to the whole world. Humanity has lost a great man, a true champion of peace."

67. In concluding my brief statement of tribute to the late President of the United States of America, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, I feel confident that the ideals for which he stroved so faithfully, so energetically and so diligently, in the cause of peace and understanding between nations, will not be forgotten by mankind and that they will triumph throughout the world, as a well-deserved monument to honour his role.

68. Mr. TARAZI (Syria), Vice Chairman of the General Assembly (translated from French): The tragic death of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy has been deeply felt throughout the world; it will be a long time before the shock and sorrow it has caused will leave us.

69. The General Assembly had the opportunity of hearing the late President speak at the beginning of this session [1209th meeting]. On that occasion we were all able to appreciate the qualities which made him a statesman equal to the problems of our times. By his sober style, the wealth of his language, his careful choice of words, the clarity of his expressions, his effective understanding of problems, the play of analogies and contrasts, John Fitzgerald Kennedy captured our attention and stirred our emotions. A young, devoted and energetic Head of State, conscious of his own responsibilities and those of his country—such was Kennedy. His insight into the essential factors of world politics made him a great President to whom mankind, longing for peace, was greatly attached.

70. In the search for peace, the name of Kennedy remains linked with a series of bold and courageous actions, the last of which was the signing of the Moscow Treaty on the partial banning of nuclear tests. His courage was noteworthy; but, as Bossuet said, this is "but a sad consolation since, despite that great courage, we have lost him: that is the great vanity of all things human".

71. Let us hope that, though Kennedy has left us, his spirit and inspiration will remain and will continue to guide the American nation along the road which he himself had traced out.

72. On behalf of my Government and my delegation, I offer our heartfelt condolences to the widow of the deceased President, whose bitter suffering we understand, to his children, his father and mother, his brothers and sisters and all the members of that stricken family.

73. We offer our condolences also to President Lyndon Baines Johnson, to the Government and people of the United States and to the United States delegation headed by our distinguished colleague Mr. Stevenson.

74. Mr. KURAL (Turkey), Vice-Chairman of the General Assembly (translated from French): It was with a feeling of shock, consternation and deep sorrow that we heard the news—unbelievable at first—of the tragic death of President Kennedy and it is with great sadness that we address the Assembly today on this unhappy occasion. Words cannot express the affliction we feel at this grievous blow of fate, which has plunged the people of the United States and with them the peoples of the whole world, into mourning. The noble American nation has been deprived of one of its greatest leaders and humanity has lost one of its greatest men.

75. John Fitzgerald Kennedy was above all a profoundly human man, and it is that great quality which dominated his whole life, cut short so tragically but nevertheless so full. He had dedicated himself unreservedly to the service of mankind. His constant concern was for the greatness, the welfare and the prosperity of his people. He was equally concerned with the fate of less-favoured nations and a great part of his work has devoted to helping them to advance. A champion of the ideals of the United Nations, peace among men was his goal and he was tireless in his endeavours to bring about the conditions that would make it possible. The world and this hall itself still resound with the noble words which reflected the loftiness of his thought, and his work for peace has already its place in history.

76. The United States of America has lost one of its greatest sons in the person of President Kennedy, and in the presence of his death which has moved the world, my country shares the grief of the American people, its friend and ally.

77. At this tragic moment, I wish to express to Mrs. Kennedy, to the members of President Kennedy's family and the Government and people of the United States the heartfelt condolences of the Turkish Government and people. We mourn with the American people and we bow our heads in memory of this great statesman, whose sudden death represents an immense loss to the American nation and to the whole world.

78. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): It was with profound sorrow that we learned the tragic news of the dastardly assassination of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, President of the United States of America. A criminal has taken the life of an eminent statesman of the United States of America, one who, with his sense of realism, was able to assess the situation and who, with great political tact and insight, strove to find ways of settling international problems by peaceful means.

79. President Kennedy's family has lost a dearly loved father, husband, brother and son, the people of the United States of America has lost one of its

most gifted leaders, the world has lost a wise and sober statesman.

80. The Soviet people shares the grief of the people of the United States of America at this terrible loss. The feelings of the Soviet people are expressed in the following cable which Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, sent to President Johnson:

"I am deeply grieved by the news of the tragic death of an outstanding statesman, President John Fitzgerald Kennedy of the United States of America.

"The death of Mr. Kennedy is a hard blow to all people who cherish the cause of peace and Soviet-American co-operation.

"The heinous assassination of the United States President at a time when, as a result of the efforts of peace-loving peoples, signs of a relaxation of international tension have appeared and a prospect of improving relations between the USSR and the United States of America has opened, evokes the indignation of the Soviet people against those guilty of this base crime.

"From my personal meetings with President Kennedy, I shall remember him as a man of broad outlook who realistically assessed the situation and tried to find ways to reach negotiated settlements of the international problems which now divide the world.

"The Soviet Government and the Soviet people share the grief of the people of the United States of America at this great loss and express the hope that the search for settlements of disputed questions, a search to which President Kennedy made a tangible contribution, will be continued in the interests of peace, for the benefit of mankind."

81. The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of problems, to reduce international tension and to initiate Soviet-American co-operation—one manifestation of which is the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests, so highly prized by the President who has been tragically assassinated—will be carried on both here in the United Nations and outside the Organization. This will be the best memorial to President John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

82. Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom), Vice-President of the General Assembly: Today we mourn a leader of nations, a man who had in his trust the future of us all. He was President of a great country, and we grieve with his people in their loss; but, because his country was the United States of America, he bore responsibilities far beyond the well-being of his own fellow-countrymen. There is not one of us, not one of the nations represented in this room today, but was touched at some point by the actions and decisions of President Kennedy. The Prime Minister of my country, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, said of him on the evening of Friday, 22 November:

"He had in his hands such power as has never been given before in the history of man to a mortal man, and he used it always to high purpose and always to make the world a better place and a safer place for ordinary men and women to live in."

It is because the ordinary man and woman sensed this to be true that we here, representing the peoples of the world, mourn his death today.

83. Mr. President, you and the Secretary-General have already spoken for the United Nations. My task now, on behalf of the United Kingdom, is to pay our tribute to President Kennedy. Her Majesty the Queen has in her message expressed the grief of all her people. There is indeed for my country a particular sorrow. It is not only that President Kennedy knew us and understood us. It is not only that the close friendship and many ties between our peoples in war and in peace now engage our deepest sympathy with Mrs. Kennedy, with her family and with all Americans in their great sorrow. It is not only that so many of our leading statesmen in Britain had come to know and admire the man whose death we mourn. It is all these and more—for all of us, in all walks of life, recognized that here was a man who, in these years of swift and difficult change and, on occasion, of sudden and fearful danger, had in the fullest measure a sureness of vision and a steadfastness of purpose, and we recognized in him that fundamental attachment to ideals which were, and are, ours to go.

84. Peace between nations and the happiness and dignity of man everywhere—that is the purpose of the United Nations. That too is the purpose to which President Kennedy devoted his life and work. The spirit of our Assembly in these past weeks bears witness to his inspiration. The way to achievement seemed at last to be opening, and this community of nations to be moving forward with a surer step. In the shock of his loss, there are those who, at first despairing, ask: Has all his work to be done again? But the answer is already there: in the results he has helped us to achieve and in the direction to which the example of his courage and humanity so clearly points.

85. President Kennedy first spoke in this General Assembly chamber little more than two years ago. Then too the world had just been stunned by a sudden and tragic death—of another statesman on whom had also rested the hopes of millions, the world over, for a future of peace and an end to war. This is what President Kennedy said then of Dag Hammarskjöld:

"A noble servant of peace is gone. But the quest for peace lies before us."

"The problem is not the death of one man—the problem is the life of this Organization." [1013th meeting, paras. 38 and 39.]

We now may say this, in our turn, of President Kennedy himself: not the death of one man, but the life and the hope of peace for all of us, and the life of those abiding causes for which he too had worked so devotedly.

86. I shall recall some further words of my own Prime Minister's. He said:

"There is no comfort that I can bring to the American people, nor indeed to ourselves, nor indeed to men anywhere who care for tolerance and liberty and justice and peace, unless it be this: that this dreadful deed should shock us all to dedicate ourselves anew to those things which he loved and for which he worked during his life. And if we can help to bring to men the liberty, justice and peace for which he did so much, then we shall be doing something to serve the causes in the service of which he himself died."

With that belief in our minds, with the resolve in our hearts, let us now all go forward together and succeed.

87. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands), Chairman of the First Committee: In 1956 John F. Kennedy, then a United States senator, wrote in his Profiles in Courage: "Today the challenge of political courage looms larger than ever before". He did not then know how tremendous that challenge was going to be and how much courage he would need to withstand it. Nor could he have known when five years later, in his inaugural address, he exhorted his fellow Americans to ask what they could do for their country, that the sacrifice demanded of him would be the ultimate one, that of his life.

88. Today in this hall of the nations of the world, where the echoes of his strong and vibrant young voice have scarcely died away, we grieve for the man and we mourn the statesman. When we think of the man, what comes first to our minds is the image of that gay and united family that seemed to have had all the good fortune that this life can bring showered upon it in abundance: happiness, beauty, fame, wealth, success—all of fairy-tale quality and dimensions. Our hearts contract in pain at the knowledge that Mrs. Kennedy has now had so much of this cruelly torn away from her. With deep respect, we offer her condolences in her dreadful sorrow.

89. Although she must be the most sorely stricken, the President's widow is not the only one to be crushed by a sense of overwhelming loss. The peoples of the world, and in particular those in the Benelux countries, feel that when President Kennedy was felled they were robbed of a brave man who somehow represented, not only his own country but them as well, and indeed all men of goodwill. A cold and dark fear crept into our minds and feelings when we heard the shocking news and we were made to realize, with horror, how tenuous are the bonds that hold together a civilized society and a peaceful world and that senseless violence is still among us and can wreak havoc with the precarious calm and safety of our lives.

90. It was precisely these manifestations of evil, namely, brutality and threat, that, as President, John Kennedy sought to combat. He strove for the warm and bright things in life, for peace, for prosperity, and for integration, racially as well as internationally. In doing so, he incorporated the generous ideals which we so admire in his great country. None of these ideals has been achieved. Perhaps in this imperfect world they can only be approximated. But we honour those who are dedicated to them and count them among the world's great ones.

91. Speaking here as Chairman of the First Committee of the Assembly, I can testify that we have greatly benefitted from his efforts. An absence of tension and even the tentative beginning of friendly co-operation between East and West have been the hallmarks of the debates which we have had. Undoubtedly, this was due to the agreements reached between the nuclear Powers on banning nuclear test explosions in outer space, in the air and under water, on keeping outer space free from nuclear weapons, and on establishing a direct communication between the White House and the Kremlin. It is obvious that we cannot claim for President Kennedy alone the merit for these achievements; but if, on what used to be hotly controversial subjects, we have this year been able to adopt resolutions by acclamation, the late President of the United States is among the first and foremost to whom we owe this new and inspiring development.

92. His successor has a hard task awaiting him. May the Western world find in him a strong and wise leader who will continue the endeavours to bring the nations of the world closer together and to banish the spectre of war.

93. In another place in his Profiles in Courage, John Kennedy wrote:

"The courage of life is often a less dramatic spectacle than the courage of a final moment; but it is no less a magnificent mixture of triumph and tragedy."

Triumph and tragedy. He and his wife have known them both. What is needed now for the world is an abatement of passions and a calm and cool striving for justice for all. To achieve this, we need that courage in life of which President Kennedy gave us such an inspiring example.

94. Mr. HASEGANU (Romania), Chairman of the Special Political Committee (translated from French): Yesterday in Washington, in an atmosphere of mourning and profound grief, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the President of the United States of America was taken to his last resting place. In every part of the world the people have shared the grief and sorrow of the American people. The sadness to be read on the faces of all present in this forum of the world's nations is a striking reflection of the feelings that the assassination of President Kennedy has aroused everywhere.

95. Finding himself at the head of a State that bears special responsibility for the maintenance of world peace, President Kennedy made plain his concern that the voice of reason should prevail in the field of international relations. That is why his tragic death is a grievous loss that is felt not only by the American people but by the whole world.

96. The Romanian Government and people share the general consternation and indignation at the assassination of President Kennedy and pay a solemn tribute to the memory of the great man who has left us.

97. In a telegram which he sent to Mr. Lyndon Johnson, the President of the United States of America, Mr. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the President of the Council of State of the Romanian People's Republic said:

"It is with profound indignation and grief that I have learned of the criminal act which has ended the life of John Kennedy, President of the United States of America. In the person of President Kennedy, the American people have lost an outstanding statesman, who has made an important contribution to the efforts to find peaceful solutions to controversial problems, a leader who, at times of difficulty for mankind, showed a high sense of responsibility and a realistic understanding of the need to find reasonable ways of avoiding thermo-nuclear war.

"On behalf of the Council of State of the Government of the People's Republic of Romania, of the Romanian people and on my own behalf, I send you, Mr. President, and the entire American people our sincere condolences."

98. At this commemorative meeting I should like to express once again the Romanian delegation's heartfelt condolences to the delegation of the United States of America and at the same time to Mrs. Kennedy and the bereaved family of President John Kennedy.

99. As Chairman of the Special Political Committee, I know that these feelings of sympathy are shared to the full by all members of the Committee and that they all join in the sorrow felt by our American colleagues.

100. Mr. THAJEB (Indonesia), Chairman of the Second Committee: The assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy is not only an American tragedy, it is a world tragedy. It happened at a time when the people of the world were beginning to see the late President more and more as an embodiment of that great progressive tradition forged in the period of the American struggle for independence. People everywhere increasingly recognized him as one of those world leaders whose statesmanship was devoted to the quest for peace and who would become one of the decisive forces for building a peaceful world, free from both the fact of hot war and the hate and suspicion of cold war.

101. But, above all, we in the Economic and Financial Committee of the General Assembly will treasure the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy as the President of the United States who, two years ago in this Assembly hall, launched the idea of the United Nations Decade of Development as one of the supreme responsibilities of the world community. On 25 September 1961, the late President Kennedy said:

"That is why my nation—which has freely shared its capital and its technology to help others help themselves—now proposes officially designating this decade of the 1960's as the 'United Nations Decade of Development'. Under the framework of that resolution, the United Nations' existing efforts in promoting economic growth can be expanded and coordinated. Regional surveys and training institutes can now pool the talents of many. New research, technical assistance and pilot projects can unlock the wealth of less developed lands and untapped waters. And development can become a co-operative, and not a competitive, enterprise—to enable all nations, however diverse in their systems and beliefs, to become in fact as well as in law both free and equal nations." [1013th meeting, para. 73.]

In the years to come, many of our endeavours will be built on this noble concept of peaceful and friendly co-operation, which is the cornerstone of the Development Decade.

102. As an Indonesian and as an Asian, I should like, in this hour of grief and sorrow, to pay tribute to the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy and to convey to Mrs. Kennedy, to the members of the bereaved family and to the American people our feelings of profound sympathy.

103. May I express the hope that the noble ideals of equality and justice for all, regardless of race, colour, religious or political conviction, in which he believed, as we do, will continue to grow and inspire the peoples of the world in their quest for peace.

104. He is with us no longer, but these ideals of his will live on and become part of that future in which humanity will eventually triumph over the dark forces of reaction, fanaticism and hate.

105. Mr. DIAZ CASANUEVA (Chile), Chairman of the Third Committee (translated from Spanish): In speaking on behalf of the Third Committee, which is concerned with social and humanitarian questions, I may say I am speaking on behalf of the Kennedy

Committee: a Committee which, as was the assassinated President, is concerned with human rights, racial brotherhood, and equality of men and tolerance.

106. My voice is also the voice of the Government and people of Chile, who are shocked and saddened by the misfortune that has overtaken the United States. This moment in history is so overwhelming that conventional phrases will not do. Sorrow and bitterness constrain me to use plain unpolished language. I shall not simply express condolences, sympathy or horror at the death of President Kennedy. I shall not say "the President of the United States", I shall simply say "Kennedy", as I might say "Lincoln" or "Gandhi". I do not bow my head in mourning before a tomb to mumble a funeral oration. I raise my head before that tomb, so fresh and so terrible, expressing sorrow and indignation and above all protest and hope. I do not simply convey condolences, nor do I stand in silence. I feel that from this tomb one who is dead but who yet is more alive than any of us, says to me: fight. Let me quote the words of his friend Robert Frost:

[The speaker continued in English.]

*But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep.*

[The speaker resumed in Spanish.]

107. I do not weep, I protest; the lament of millions upon millions of human beings echoes in my heart. I accept the speeches of the statesmen, the funeral honours, the sacred music, the tears of the multitude, but I want you to hear the breath catch in the throat of common men, of Peter and John, let us say, at this senseless and terrible crime. John, who was driving the plough, looked up to the sky and sank to the ground. Peter, who was wielding the hammer, looked up to the sky and clenched his fists. I want you to see clearly the glistening tears of the peasants and workers of every continent, of the victims of persecution and injustice, of enslaved women, of the homeless starving families, of the children for whom there is no future.

108. Behind those who followed Kennedy's bier there went millions and millions of human beings. I see them with painful clarity and I want you to see them. Look at them, I beg you: they are the starving, the persecuted, they are those who hunger for bread and justice.

109. A great tree in the forest of man has fallen, and it has fallen across our hearts. A spiritual astronaut has fallen. A star of flesh and blood has fallen. He fell but a few hours after the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination had been approved here. He fell but a few days before our celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. With him fell the strongest and finest member of the Third Committee.

110. On behalf of the Third Committee I assert that he died for our ideals. Kennedy was a champion of human rights, of fundamental freedoms, of a better life for all, of a universal order based on a durable peace.

111. I want to say, to cry out, that the death of Kennedy is a fruitful death. Death is our enemy, who lies in wait for us at every moment, but it sometimes seems that death is not a pure chance but a matter

of intelligence and design. Death, allied to life, produces a hero or a martyr, as though men needed a symbol to guide them. The fatal scythe suddenly cuts down a human life. Death, terrible and anonymous, has now produced a martyr and a hero.

112. The blood of Kennedy laves all mankind. We are all bathed in his blood. It is a blood that bears flower; let us be worthy of it. On his tomb there will always grow a rose bedewed with the tears of all mankind, grieving and sorrowful yet filled with hope.

113. I am not simply expressing condolences and sorrow, but protests and hopes. Kennedy is listening to us. It is fitting that the dead of his great stature, submerged in the silence of infinity, should hear an ardent voice and an irrevocable promise.

114. Kennedy is a watchword. What is the watchword? It is peace, equality of rights, social justice, freedom for all peoples, well-being, bread for the hungry, schools for poor children who are the victims of discrimination, a smile. Kennedy died that we might all smile. It is so hard to keep the whole world smiling. It calls for sacrifice, vigour and responsibility.

115. The Third Committee sees in the life and death of Kennedy his testament: I swear that we shall be faithful to it.

116. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea), Chairman of the Fourth Committee (translated from French): It is with a heavy heart that I come to add my voice to those of the two African speakers who have preceded me in expressing the fervent tribute of Africa to the memory of John F. Kennedy.

117. News of the tragic death of President Kennedy was received throughout the world with unanimous consternation. To those who from near or far have followed this great American in his constant efforts in support of freedom, the equality of all peoples, progress and peace, John F. Kennedy symbolized one of the greatest hopes of our era, an era fraught with anguish and danger but also rich in experiment and creative possibilities. With courage and perseverance, he had succeeded in a relatively short time in projecting on the international scene the eloquent and promising image of the great American democracy, with all its human qualities and all its generosity, transforming international relations and vastly improving them.

118. As an African, I cannot fail to mention the prodigious activity, the clear-sighted determination, the unflagging courage of John F. Kennedy in the search for radical solutions to the racial problem, which he faithfully strove to settle equitably, for the honour of his nation and the dignity of man. Never did we feel closer to the American people and their brilliant President in the universal revolution for justice and freedom served with such devotion by John F. Kennedy. Never had we Africans felt so much confidence in the desire of American leaders to help us to find remedies for our manifold problems so that we could achieve greater freedom, justice and progress in peace. This was because John F. Kennedy never spared any effort to bring a favourable influence to bear on the course of African problems, from the first years of the Algerian revolution, when he was a Senator, until the time when, as President of the United States of America, he gave the activities of the United States Government a new direction in working for the liberation of the peoples still subjected to colonial injustice, and in efforts to assist

the under-developed countries in their relentless struggle against hunger, disease, ignorance and poverty.

119. If today the whole world mourns John F. Kennedy, one of the greatest statesmen of all time, to the African peoples his death is a grievous loss which is likely to have a profound effect on their destiny and that of all peoples.

120. My country, the Republic of Guinea, has been particularly affected by this violent and tragic assassination of the man whom our people and our President, Ahmed Sékou Touré, considered a true friend, imbued with the ideals which are closest to our hearts, a friend who always showed a full and complete understanding of our efforts and our hopes. The flags of Guinea, flying at half-mast on the occasion of this infinitely sad event, reflect the great sorrow felt by our people.

121. In paying a profound tribute to the memory of this great man, we must reaffirm the desire of the African peoples, and without any doubt of all peoples throughout the world, to co-operate with the American people to ensure the victory of freedom, justice and peace on our planet.

122. At this solemn moment, allow me, on behalf of the African delegations and on behalf of all the members of the Fourth Committee, to ask the delegation of the United States of America to convey to Mrs. Kennedy, to the Kennedy family and to the Government and people of the United States our deep grief and condolences on the cruel loss of the man of whom they had every reason to be proud.

123. In these sorrowful hours of meditation and contemplation, we express also the fervent wish that the words of rare beauty and vast sweep spoken in this hall by the late President Kennedy on 20 September last [1209th meeting] will continue to inspire us all in our concerted efforts to build a world of justice, equality, brotherhood and peace.

124. Mr. GREGG (Canada), Chairman of the Fifth Committee: On behalf of the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly, I express the deep sorrow and the deep sympathy of all its members to the American people and to the family of the late President of the United States of America.

125. It is a sad reflection on mankind that prejudice, ignorance and fear can play such devastating roles in the history of our world. But nearly always tragedy has brought out the best there is in man, and has inspired new dedication to ideals which for the moment have been overshadowed by the forces of evil.

126. The preservation of peace is an unending task. It demands unselfishness, insight, patience and courage, such as the man we mourn did demonstrate. We must keep his memory bright, so that it may inspire us today, and again and again in the future, in the task that is always before us. I should like to quote here the words used on the afternoon of Friday, 22 November, by my Prime Minister, Mr. Lester Pearson:

"The world can ill afford at this time in our history to lose a man of his courage, a courage which he displayed both in war and in peace. It can ill afford to lose a man of his wisdom, his determination to advance the cause of freedom in his own country and in all the world."

127. Inspired by the zeal and the courage of John Kennedy in the struggle against hatred and violence in the world, let us renew our efforts to translate the ideals and principles of our Charter into an even greater living reality.

128. Mr. RUDA (Argentina), Chairman of the Sixth Committee (translated from Spanish): I believe I am interpreting the unanimous feeling of the Legal Committee of the General Assembly in extending to the delegation of the United States, to the family of President Kennedy, and to the Government and the great people of the United States, our deepest sympathy on the tragic death of the President.

129. As representative of my country, I wish to express in addition the condolences of the Government and people of the Argentine Republic on the tragic loss of one whom we admired and whose abiding interest in the problems of Latin America we appreciated. President Kennedy sought to strengthen democracy in this hemisphere and shared our desire to see power politics replaced by a policy of justice; and he strove to place his country's immense resources in the service of the ideals of progress and humanism.

130. Great grief can be expressed in few words. John Fitzgerald Kennedy lived passionately for the future. Many of his speeches evoked the past, but his thoughts and actions were always turned towards the future. He visualized a world in which culture, technology and science would serve all mankind; but, above all, he believed that the crisis of our times should fundamentally be resolved in the hearts and minds of men. He was therefore the advocate of a world in which the rule of law would prevail over the rule of force. His idea of true peace was not that of an armed camp, but rather of peace buttressed by laws which grant equal rights and opportunities to men and nations.

131. The late President understood that a nation's proudest and noblest possession is its right to act in accordance with its own wishes, choose its own institutions and stand on its own feet.

132. He urged States to strengthen the rules of law governing their relations and strove to create a system of law based on justice and honour, without which what might be an instrument of co-operation can become a weapon of domination.

133. His future-oriented message will guide many of our deliberations. No man dies in vain and even less so when his death charts the course the living must pursue.

134. Mr. SPAAK (Belgium), President of the first session of the General Assembly (translated from French): The assassination of the President of the United States has shocked the men and women of my country to an extent impossible to imagine. They wept at this human tragedy and are concerned about the possible political consequences.

135. When death strikes down one of the great men of this world who has reached the end of his career and whose work is done, one accepts the inevitable and bows before an event that was bound to come. But when death blindly strikes a man who is in full possession of his faculties, who is growing in stature and from whom so many things are still expected then minds and hearts are filled with stupefaction and revolt.

136. President Kennedy had already given us much but we were confident that we could expect much more.

137. Among the elder statesmen he represented a new generation. He was youth in the ascent, youth which asserts itself. As I saw him and as I think I understood him, he was a rare combination of courage and imagination, of daring and composure, of a will that would not yield an inch on essentials and a determination to miss no opportunity to improve international relations.

138. Like so many great Americans, he had confidence in democracy. He cherished freedom and wanted peace. He did not shrink from responsibility; on the contrary, he accepted it with a contagious and moving enthusiasm.

139. In the few conversations that I was privileged to have with him, I felt my affection, my esteem and my admiration for him grow. I like to recall that the first time, he let me talk. The second time, he questioned me. The third time, he gave me his opinion. And the fourth time, he took the decisions. Thus his personality developed as the heroic officer of the last war, the young senator and the President of the United States added their various qualities. The statesman was born.

140. Since his life was too short for his work to be completed, he will remain essentially the man who promoted civil rights and racial equality, the man who, without bravado but with rare composure, faced the grave danger which threatened his country and, still more, the man who signed the Moscow Treaty, which brought a glimmer of hope to the world.

141. Cordial and simple, he had the gift of an extraordinary presence. I still cannot accept the idea that he is no more. Immobility and nothingness are so contrary to his vitality and ardour. How can we accept the idea of the death of John Kennedy when he was so extraordinarily alive and could have remained so for so much longer?

142. To his family, his friends, those who worked with him and his compatriots we do not merely express our condolences, profound and sincere though they are. There is more to it than that: their grief is our grief. What they have lost we have lost and the man whose memory we are honouring today was not only the President of the United States, he was a citizen of the world who belonged to us as he belonged to them.

143. John Kennedy, thirty-fifth President of the United States of America, we shall long cherish your memory, we shall be inspired by your example and in the great struggle which we shall carry on for our common ideal, you will remain our companion until the day of victory.

144. Mr. PADILLA NERVO (Mexico), President of the sixth session of the General Assembly (translated from Spanish): Two months ago [1209th meeting] President Kennedy, standing at this rostrum, expressed the desire of his Government and people for peace. We shall never more see him in this hall nor shall we ever again hear him speak. But the echo of his words and the impact of his lofty ideas will continue for a long time and indeed will gain force with time.

145. In all the countries here represented there is consternation and grief at his death, but he will continue to live in the minds and hearts of all men who

share the ideals of peace, tolerance and understanding which he served with his strong will, his deep faith and his great hope.

146. Kennedy was a man of great vigour, impetuous and serene at the same time; he was a good man convinced of the danger and futility of violence; he was a statesman of strong will, mind and heart; he was a man of action capable of making his highest dreams come true.

147. Efforts to overcome hatred and intransigence will be the best tribute to his memory. Any effort to promote understanding among the Powers and the pacific settlement of international disputes is a contribution to the task of building peace which Kennedy wanted for all and forever.

148. He knew and affirmed that the defence of mankind's highest interests was at the same time the defence of the legitimate interests of every nation.

149. In a speech about peace he made in Washington on 10 June 1963, he had this to say:

"While we proceed to safeguard our national interests, let us also safeguard human interests. And the elimination of war and arms is clearly in the interest of both."

Let us see to it that these prophetic words from his Inaugural Address of 20 January 1961 come true:

"In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. Now the trumpet summons us again ... to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out ... against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself."

150. My delegation shares the grief of this great nation, as do the people and Government of Mexico whose sentiments were expressed by President López Mateos in his condolences to Mrs. Kennedy and the United States Government. We also share the ideals and aspirations which President Kennedy, during his visit to Mexico on 30 June 1962, summed up as follows:

"First, we are determined to reinforce the inter-American principle of absolute respect for the sovereignty and independence of every nation.

"...

"Secondly, we are dedicated to the ideal of a peaceful and free hemisphere of free and equal nations. 'Democracy,' said Benito Juárez, 'is the destiny of humanity; freedom its indestructible arm'.

"Thirdly, we are devoted to increasing social justice for all. National independence, a fact of political freedom, means little to the man who is not yet independent of poverty and illiteracy and disease."

151. On this solemn occasion I am proud to recall these words spoken by President Kennedy in telling the people of Mexico of his faith, intentions and aspirations, all of which we share, because they are valid for all the peoples of the world.

152. All over the globe sorrowful crowds observed with deep religious feelings the State funeral and accompanied the body of John F. Kennedy on its last journey from the Capital to the Arlington National Cemetery.

153. Statesmen and envoys of all the nations gathered together in Washington in a spirit of humility and concord in honour of a man who had combated hatred, intolerance, racial discrimination and injustice.

154. May the simultaneous presence of the representatives of so many Governments united by the same sentiment and a common mission be a symbol, a forecast and a promise of co-operation and understanding among the nations of the globe.

155. In tribute to the memory of the late President Kennedy, I repeat, let us see to it that these prophetic words of his come true:

"In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. Now the trumpet summons us again ... to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out ... against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself."

156. Kennedy has left an indelible mark on his country and on the world, in which he wanted the strong to be just and the weak to feel secure. Let us remember for our inspiration and guidance the words he spoke from this very rostrum on 20 September 1963:

"Let us complete what we have started for 'No man having put his hand to the plow and looking back,' as the Scriptures tell us, 'is fit for the Kingdom of God'." [1209th meeting, para 71.]

157. Again quoting from the Scriptures, President Kennedy said: "There is an appointed time for everything." Let us now carry on with our work in the spirit of the high mission of our Organization: to promote co-operation among nations in order to preserve peace in justice and freedom.

158. Let me once more quote President Kennedy, who said on 10 June 1963:

"But wherever we are, we must all, in our daily lives, live up to the age-old faith that peace and freedom walk together."

159. Mrs. PANDIT (India), President of the eighth session of the General Assembly: We meet her today in deep sorrow to honour the memory of a great and noble man. Three shots fired in Dallas, Texas, on 22 November 1963 took one's mind back to three other shots fired on a January afternoon in India fifteen years ago, when Mahatma Gandhi became a victim of the assassin's bullet. Though the time and place were different, the deed in both cases represented the ascendancy, for the moment, of the powers of hatred and violence which both Mahatma Gandhi and John Fitzgerald Kennedy fought against all through their lives.

160. The hands that struck these men had hoped, perhaps, not only to end their lives, but to strike a blow at the ideals those lives stood for. But fifteen years after the death of Gandhi his life and message continue to guide and strengthen people, not only in India but everywhere in the world.

161. John Kennedy had become a symbol of the values he so unswervingly upheld, and there is not the slightest doubt that his message will be a source of unending inspiration to future generations in every part of the globe. He was prophetic when he said in his Inaugural Address on 20 January 1961 that "the torch had been passed to a new generation of Americans".

This torch is the legacy he has left to his country and to the world.

162. The assassination of such a man is a crime against humanity, and the blow has not fallen on the United States alone: it is shared by every country.

163. In less than three years John Kennedy proved himself in many ways, as a man of high principle, strong determination, great goodwill and immense dynamism. He possessed grandeur of vision, loftiness of ideals, youth and vigour, humanity and generosity, and, above all, belief in the equality of man regardless of race, religion and colour. These and his dedication to the cause of peace have assured him a place in history. Mankind will cherish his luminous and fragrant memory.

164. He was a staunch friend and supporter of the United Nations and of the ideals of the Charter of the Organization. He endeavoured with considerable success to work for the removal of the tensions which have, since the end of the last war, plagued this world. To the developing countries he was ever willing to give help and aid so that people everywhere could share the blessings of freedom and democracy. He was, in fact, in the midst of completing the unfinished task of another great American President when the assassin's bullet struck him in the prime of youth.

165. John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a sincere and understanding friend of my country. On behalf of the people and the Government of India, and on my own behalf, I extend to Mrs. Kennedy the homage of our grief in her irreparable loss. We offer our respectful condolences to the other members of the family. We pray that, in spite of the insanity by which we seem to be momentarily surrounded, the spirit of love will triumph over hate and that John Fitzgerald Kennedy's death will not have been in vain.

166. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru), President of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly (translated from Spanish): The death of President Kennedy has had the profoundest repercussions among the Peruvian people. Permeated and inspired as it is by the ideal of social justice, Peru, which is the inheritor of an age-old civilization and is ruled today by a Government which wishes to bring about by democratic means a transformation in its economic system and a just redistribution of wealth, could not but share the grief of the people of America and of the whole world at the death of the great statesman who stood for a programme of justice and liberty.

167. His eloquent words, some of which have been felicitously recalled by preceding speakers, still echo in this Assembly hall, President Kennedy's unique spiritual make-up could be gauged from his words alone. He believed in liberty and was a passionate advocate of racial equality and justice among men. He dreamed of seeing all the countries of the American continent live in unity, on a basis of equality and honour. He looked on with satisfaction at the well-nigh miraculous rehabilitation of a free and independent Europe working side by side with the great American nation to achieve a just and honourable peace with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which had helped to win the last war. But he wanted more than that: he wanted to give added strength to the wind of freedom which had blown across Africa and Asia, and he wanted the great nations, those fortunate architects of industrial progress, to use their resources to consolidate the independence, the sove-

reignty and the personality of the young nations and to help them to play a brilliant role in guiding men's destinies. That was President Kennedy's spiritual make-up as it shone forth from his own words, which were all the more telling because of his youth and vigour and his position as Chief Executive of a great nation.

168. A mysterious crime has plucked him from among us. Henceforth his life, cut short at its highest point, will have the infinite beauty of broken plinths and shattered columns. The shade of Lincoln seems to float over his memory. Lincoln, however, had finished his work—all that it lacked, perhaps, was the coping-stone—whereas President Kennedy was at a crucial moment in his struggle.

169. What must we think of destiny? Ah, gentlemen, holding back my emotion, I say that this martyrdom, this sacrifice, this blood shed by an unknown and criminal hand have made President Kennedy's heroic figure still greater. No longer can he help us with his physical energy, but his ideals remain alive and present. They are a sacred call to us—a summons we cannot ignore. President Kennedy tells us to maintain our faith in the United Nations and to continue working, through that Organization, for the ideals which he made his own by reading and re-reading on those sleepless nights when every conscientious statesman knows so well, the magnificent Preamble to our Charter. He tells us to persevere. Once he gave us, in a very few words, the best definition given of the United Nations: "our best hope for peace". That was what the United Nations meant to President Kennedy, as it did to all those who signed the Charter: a hope for peace.

170. Associating ourselves with the grief of the American people, which was expressed at yesterday's funeral in a manner which transcended creeds and religious differences, since it was an expression of the grief of all mankind, let us express our sympathy, our warm feelings and our human charity to this noble family and this model wife and mother. The villainy or madness of one man has stamped the majesty of grief on the beauty which God had already given her. To her children, who have watched, without fully understanding them, the events of this funeral which they will never forget, and to the American people, to whom President Kennedy expounded his ideals and his goals, the people of Peru, like the rest of the continent of America and the whole of mankind, offer their sympathy and their prayers.

171. I should like to say to the noble shade of John F. Kennedy: "Be our inseparable companion along the hard and stony road of our hopes".

172. Mr. BOLAND (Ireland), President of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly: I am very grateful to be afforded this opportunity of expressing to the delegation of the United States and through it, to Mrs. Kennedy and to the family of the late President, the profound and heartfelt grief which has been occasioned throughout the length and breadth of Ireland by the death of the gallant, wise and noble-minded man whom we mourn here today.

173. I need hardly say with what intense interest and attention the rise of John Fitzgerald Kennedy to the stature of a great world leader was followed by the people of Ireland, the land of his forbears. When he was elected President, it became our constant hope and prayer that it would be given to him to bear him-

self worthily and with honour in the great position of responsibility and power to which he had been called. Looking back now, it is impossible not to feel what a fortunate circumstance it was for the world that John F. Kennedy was President of the United States during the three critical years which have since elapsed. He not only proved himself equal to the hardest tests: he brought new and creative insights to the handling of the immense problems and tasks which confronted him. He measured the realities of the age in which we live with courage and integrity and he faced them boldly with a deep sense of his great responsibilities. His refusal to be daunted by reverses or difficulties—above all, his unswerving championship of the essential dignity of the human person and his sincere and untiring efforts to lay the foundations of a stable peace between the nations—proclaimed in him those qualities of statesmanship which inspire men everywhere to face the problems of the present without fear and the problems of the future with confidence and hope.

174. During last summer, the late President did us the honour of coming to Ireland. His visit was a moving and an unforgettable experience for the Irish people. Before he came, we had already come to know and admire many of the eminent personal qualities which distinguished him—his elegance and grace, his care for the things of the intellect and the spirit, his calm courage under stress and his disciplined restraint in moments of success. But as he moved about among the thousands who thronged to greet him during his stay in Ireland, we gained a new and sharper insight into the magic of his personality. We came to know his gaiety and wit, his unaffected simplicity, his human kindness and his thoughtfulness for others. He completely captured the hearts of the Irish people and won for himself an enduring place in their affectionate regard. Today they mourn not only because a great leader is lost to the world but because they feel that they themselves have lost a well-loved friend.

175. Shortly after I ceased to be President of the Assembly, President Kennedy came to New York to address the sixteenth session. When I met him, he asked me a question which those who knew him well may perhaps consider typical of his style of humour. "Tell me," he said, "what does it feel like to be an ex-President?" I said something to the effect that I hoped it would be a good many years yet before he knew. He never knew. Because he died in office. He died—as President de Gaulle has expressed it—like a soldier in action doing his duty in the service of his country, the kind of death which in all ages has been counted as one of the noblest.

176. In the words of the Greek historian, Thucydides, all the world is the sepulchre of famous men. Their sepulchre is not the grave in which their mortal bones are laid, but the minds of men, where—in Thucydides' own words—"their glory remains fresh to stir speech or action as occasion may demand". So it will be, we believe, with John Fitzgerald Kennedy. May the world keep green the memory of his life and work! And—as my own President, Mr. de Valera, said the other day—may the bright example he gave of steadfast courage and of wise and prudent statesmanship for long continue to inspire and encourage all those who have the destinies of peoples in their hands.

177. Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia), President of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly (translated

from French): Our eighteenth session opened under the sign of hope regained—hope of a world freed at last from the obsession of war, hope of mankind reconciled and more conscious of what makes the unity of its destiny beyond the barriers of fear and distrust. This renewed hope we owe in large measure to the work of President Kennedy, whose message of faith and hope is still ringing in the ears of all those who had the privilege of welcoming him in this Assembly.

178. Who would have thought at that time that that message would be the last he would deliver in this hall? Alas, the hard and sorrowful truth must be faced: the great voice of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy has been silenced forever. And it is in this Assembly, which he twice visited, in this Organization, of whose role and preoccupations he was well aware, that the magnitude of the loss which the American people has just suffered, and which the entire world feels with it, can best be measured. "We meet again", he said in his remarkable speech, "in the quest for peace" [1209th meeting, para. 33]. The finest tribute that we can pay to his memory today is to stress the importance and effectiveness of the contribution which he made to that quest.

179. The treaty on the partial banning of nuclear tests is undoubtedly the starting point for a long-term effort to redeem the nuclear mortgage so that international relations can be released from the impasse of the cold war and the arms race. But that treaty, as President Kennedy himself so well described it, is "a milestone—but it is not the millennium" [*ibid.*, para. 39] on the long and difficult road to peace. It is the duty of all nations, large and small, to carry on the effort to build peace started under the auspices and within the framework of the United Nations. We have no doubt that that effort will continue to receive the effective and decisive support of the great Powers and, in particular, of the new President of the United States of America.

180. We are also convinced that any further progress towards the relaxation of tension and towards harmony in international relations must come about as part of a general effort to eliminate the last bastions of the colonial system and the political, economic and social inequalities which are its sad legacy.

181. In that field, which is of vital importance to the peoples of Africa, President Kennedy showed clear-sightedness and courage that are beyond all praise. The clarity and vigour of the positions taken by the young senator that he then was already compelled our admiration. At the White House he remained true to his convictions as a free man, convinced that freedom is a snare unless based on justice and the equality of man and peoples, in law and in dignity. Those convictions he defended with admirable strength and courage. His tragic and premature death is a heavy ransom paid to the cause of freedom in the world. But his example remains with us and his name will for ever be associated with man's eternal fight for dignity and justice, for peace and freedom. I bow my head respectfully before his sacrifice and his memory.

182. On behalf of President Bourguiba and the Government and people of Tunisia, as well as in my own name, I should like to convey our deep and sincere sympathy to President Lyndon B. Johnson, to the Government and people of the United States, and to Mrs. Kennedy and all the members of the Kennedy

family, so sorely afflicted by this loss. Finally, may I offer our sincere and sad condolences to our colleagues of the United States delegation and to Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the head of that delegation.

183. Mr. Zafrulla KHAN (Pakistan), President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly: Mankind around the globe mourns the sudden and tragic passing away of the chief watchman—in his own phrase—"on the walls of world freedom". He was the youngest man elected to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of his exalted office, and that at a time when those responsibilities had been multiplied many times and the problems that the holder of that office was called upon to resolve had assumed global proportions. The courage, devotion and vigilance that he brought to bear on the discharge of those responsibilities have been universally acknowledged and affirmed. In the discharge of those responsibilities he was greatly helped by the strength, vision and idealism of youth. He strove diligently to remove inequalities within the nation, to establish equality of status to peoples and nations, to foster freedom, to reduce international tensions and to buttress peace. He sought zealously to promote unity and co-operation, the dignity of man and the welfare of all the peoples of the earth. While he grappled with the tasks that confronted him in the domestic as well as the international sphere, all those who watched—and they comprised the whole world, those who agreed with him as well as those who differed—were impressed by and admired his grace, his courtesy and his geniality. To many he appeared to be their ideal of the happy warrior.

184. He has been removed in mid-career by violence and at a time when the promise of further achievement shone even more brightly than that which had already been accomplished or put in hand. Our sense of loss, of grief, of sorrow at this parting is deepened by the awareness that there are still to be found among the most advanced sections of human society individuals whose minds, whether sane or diseased, are capable of conceiving and whose arms have the strength to carry out, designs so utterly destructive as the one that has removed from the scene of his activities a figure so youthful, so vigorous, so devoted and so deeply loved as John Fitzgerald Kennedy. The loss is bitter, the bereavement poignant and the sense of tragedy overwhelming.

185. Our hearts go out in sympathy and condolence to that gracious young mother, so suddenly and so tragically widowed, who, in the hour of this shattering calamity, has comported herself with so much calm dignity and restraint; to the innocent children, scarcely conscious yet of their great loss; to the parents, stricken with this great sorrow centering on one who was not only the pride and consolation of their declining years but who was indeed dedicated to the service of mankind in the cause of justice and peace; to all the other members of the bereaved family; and to the people of the United States, bereft of a great leader. We are their partners in sorrow.

186. In his precepts and his examples, President Kennedy has left us a rich legacy. Let us ask, as he adjured his countrymen and, through them, all of us, in the concluding words of the speech he was about to deliver when he was struck down,

"... that we may be worthy of our power and responsibility—that we may exercise our strength with wisdom and restraint—and that we may achieve

in our time and for all time the ancient vision of peace on earth, goodwill toward men. That must always be our goal—and the righteousness of our cause must always underlie our strength. For, as was written long ago: 'Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain'."

187. In this hour of tragedy and loss our chief consolation must be that, though man is mortal, God, to whom we all belong, and to whom we must all return, is ever-living. As one pair of hands falters and loosens its grip, the torch is passed on to others who, let us hope, will carry it worthily. In this manner, we, in our turn, and those who come after us, may become heirs to the courage, the steadfastness, the grace and the nobility that were characteristic of the late President and of those who, in all ages and all lands, lived and worked as he did. Their example should constitute our inspiration and our hope. Let us therefore lay aside the sense of bitterness and of loss, and embrace the hope and consolation.

188. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): My privilege in this sad hour is to convey to you, Mr. President, and to you, Mr. Secretary-General, and to you, the assembled representatives of the world community, the profound gratitude of the people of my country for what has been done and for what has been said here today. Our grief is the more bearable because it is so widely and so genuinely shared; and for this we can only say, simply but from the depths of our full hearts: thank you.

189. President Kennedy was so contemporary a man, so involved in our world, so immersed in our times, so responsive to its challenges, so intense a participant in the great events and the great decisions of our day, that he seemed the very symbol of the vitality and exuberance that is the essence of life itself. Never once did he lose his way in the maze; never once did he falter in the storm of spears; never once was he intimidated. Like the ancient prophets, he loved the people enough to warn them of their errors; and the man who loves his country best will hold it to its highest standards. He made us proud to be Americans.

190. So it is that after four sorrowful days we still can hardly grasp the macabre reality that the world has been robbed of this vibrant presence by an isolated act conceived in the strange recesses of the human mind.

191. We shall not soon forget the late President's driving ambition for his own country—his concept of a permanently dynamic society spreading abundance to the last corner of this land and extending justice, tolerance and dignity to all its citizens alike.

192. We shall not soon forget that, as the leader of a great nation, he met and mastered his responsibility to wield great power with great restraint. "Our national strength matters," he said just a few weeks ago, "but the spirit which informs and controls our strength matters just as much."

193. We shall not soon forget that he held fast to a vision of a world in which the peace is secure; in which inevitable conflicts are reconciled by pacific means; in which nations devote their energies to the welfare of all their citizens; and in which the vast and colourful diversity of human society can flourish in a restless, competitive search for a better society.

194. We shall not soon forget that by word and by deed he gave proof of profound confidence in the present value and the future promise of this great Organization, the United Nations.

195. We shall never forget these ambitions, these visions and these convictions that so inspired this remarkable young man and so quickened the quality and tempo of our times in these fleeting past three years. And our grief is compounded by the bitter irony that he who gave his all to contain violence lost his all to violence.

196. Now he is gone. Today we mourn him. Tomorrow and tomorrow we shall miss him. So we shall never know how different the world might have been had fate permitted this blazing talent to live and labour longer at man's unfinished agenda for peace and progress for all.

197. Yet for the rest of us life goes on; our agenda remains unfinished. Minutes after his spirit departed, Lyndon B. Johnson took his oath of allegiance to the permanent institutions of this country, institutions which outlast violence and outlive man. These hours of mourning are, then, but a pause in a process, not a break in purpose or policy. President Johnson has directed me to affirm to this Assembly that there will be no Johnson policy towards the United Nations, any more than there was a Kennedy policy. There was, and is, only a United States policy. That too outlasts violence and outlives men.

198. As long ago as 1948, President Johnson told an American audience: "... our long-term and sus-

tained foreign policy must include full support of the United Nations." Now, on his behalf, I repeat to you that my Government will, as it has over the years, support every practical move to add to the capacity of the United Nations to keep the peace and aid new nations to reach the stage of self-sustaining growth. The foreign policy of this Government will continue to be, as regards the troubling issues of today and tomorrow, to work for agreement, where agreement is possible, and to negotiate with patience and persistence until agreement is possible. President Johnson is determined that the better feeling of these past few months shall not be lost, rather that it must be increased. In that spirit, we shall not falter on the stony path to peace.

199. Finally, let me say that John Kennedy never believed that he or any man was indispensable. As several speakers have reminded us this afternoon, he said of Dag Hammarskjöld's death: "The problem is not the death of one man—the problem is the life of this Organization." [1013th meeting, para. 39.] But he did believe passionately that peace and justice are indispensable and he believed, as he told this Assembly in 1961, "... in the development of this Organization rests the only true alternative to war..." [*ibid.*, para. 40].

200. So, my friends, we shall honour him in the best way that lies open to us—and the way he would want—by getting on with the everlasting search for peace and justice, for which all mankind is praying.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.