Finally, Mr. Chairman, we must look with the gravest concern upon the activities of a government which dominates a vast section of the earth's surface, and which systematically isolates from that area the free play of moral, intellectual and spiritual forces upon which the Western world has grown. From roots in Hebrew and in Greek civilization, a vast and complicated civilization has developed in the Western world. Again and again this civilization has reached out and made contacts with the people of other civilizations. It has accommodated itself to these other civilizations, enriching them and being enriched by them. Now for the first time in history there is the possibility that a true world community may develop. From the most Western positions of the Soviet army in Europe, westward across the Atlantic and across the Pacific to the Eastern boundaries of Siberia, there is a vast and complex free society in which the moral and ethical values of religion play freely upon the daily operations of government, in which spiritual values are cherished rather than denied and cynically reviled, in which the free play of one idea upon another, of one political philosophy upon another of one religious concept upon another is the basis of progress and happiness. It is only in this free environment that the individual can possibly attain a relationship with his fellow citizens which makes him truly peaceful. This is the kind of progress towards peace that we must encourage and in which we must have faith.

Cannot we remove these iron curtains? Cannot we abandon these barriers which seek to divide the people of the Soviet Union from the rest of us?

Cannot we recognize that the basic reality of international politics as of village affairs, is the individual man and woman?

The individual is an end, not a means to an end. When this principle is abandoned, error begins -- and we have not yet seen where this error may end. In 1848 Karl Marx, in the first volume of Das Kapital, wrote this:

"I speak of individuals insofar as they are personifications of economic categories and representatives of special classes of relations and interests."

It is the beginning of sanity and wisdom, Mr. Chairman, to realize that the individual man and woman is never the personification of categories, economic or otherwise. The individual is nothing less than the image of God.

To the extent that this principle is recognized, we will be on the path to human brotherhood and the achievement of lasting peace.

The concepts which I have been discussing underlie and explain the attitude which my delegation will adopt on the resolutions which are before us, and explain why we intend to support the draft resolution that stands in the name of the United States and the United Kingdom Governments.

In summary, I would express these concepts in political terms by saying that the General Assembly must call upon each member of the United Nations

To renew the solemn pledges of the Charter,

To renounce all theories that war is inevitable,

To co-operate fully and loyally with every effort of the United Nations and all its specialized agencies to prevent war by removing the causes of war,

To maintain or restore the freedom of its people to communicate fully with all other peoples in the world,