

Christmas, 1960.

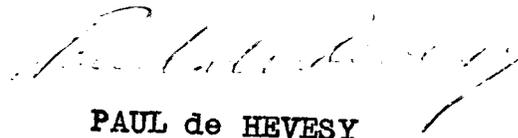
Dear Mr. Dulles,

As 43 years have elapsed since I last met you at the Bellevue Palace in Bern, where I was then an Austro-Hungarian Secretary of Legation, I can hardly expect you to retain a very clear recollection of me.

However, I remember you very well and am therefore sending you my enclosed Christmas Message, which touches upon many a subject of concern to us all.

With cordial good wishes,

Yours sincerely,



PAUL de HEVESY

Mr. Allan Dulles,
Head of the Central Intelligence Agency,
Washington, D.C.

From Paul de Hevesy.

Christmas, 1960.

Dear Mr. Dulles,

Having lived and worked in many parts of the world, I have made numerous friends and acquaintances. As these can be counted by the thousand, it is impossible for me to write a personal letter to each of them. You will therefore, I trust, understand if, in wishing you a Happy Christmas, I add a short account of my thoughts and activities during the past year.

There is the perennial question whether our lives are directed by hazard or by destiny. Are we free agents, or only creatures of circumstance? Is the choice that seems open to us at every juncture real or only apparent? Can we choose between alternatives? Is our conduct moulded into a pattern fixed in advance, or can it be modified at will? Do we move like a railway train over a fixed track to an appointed destination, or can we travel where and how we please? Or do we move like an omnibus, with fixed stopping-places, but with some latitude to steer right and left? Finally, can we move freely like a bird? Is not it a fact that all our actions derive from our character, and that our character is formed by casual influences like those, for example, of the teachers who instructed us and of the fellow pupils with whom we mixed?

Are children born by choice or by chance? Why were we born of given parents and not of others? Why were we born in a given country, and not across the frontier, or in another hemisphere? Why did we meet: you and I? Was it hazard or destiny? Shall we meet again, on this earth, or even after death?

Was it decided in advance, perhaps according to the star under which he was born, which chimney-sweep should sweep which chimney, which man should marry which girl, and that I, for instance, was to remain a life-long bachelor? Is it pre-ordained that a given tree in a forest shall end as a ship-mast in a storm, as a beam in a roof, as a telegraph pole, or as a plank in a factory floor? Oriental peoples treat the sick and the poor with notorious indifference, because they believe that health, wealth, happiness, and everything else are pre-ordained by the laws of Karma. A similar opinion has been expressed by Herbert Spencer who said that "In the moral as in the material world accumulated evidence is gradually generating the conviction that events are not at bottom fortuitous, but that they are wrought out in a certain inevitable way by unchanging forces."

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Yet, if there were no free will, nobody would be responsible for his actions, and right would be identical with wrong, and justice with injustice. On the other hand, nobody is responsible for the fact that he exists and that his body and his mind are constituted as they are. Though I firmly believe that there is a Divine Power reigning over us, I believe also that man is, to some extent, master of his own fate. How could I otherwise explain that I have chosen to live by the sea and to enjoy solitude and tranquillity, in direct contrast to my former way of life? Again, I did not voluntarily renounce my worldly possessions but was deprived of them. Yet I have accepted my fate with humility and resignation. Perhaps this is a blessing in disguise: for working hard no doubt keeps me fit. Even in evils I have learned to recognize only a struggling beneficence. My work still leaves me time for thought and contemplation.

Now that I am poor, I have come upon the following curious passage in one of Friedrich Nietzsche's works: "Wealth ~~unnec-~~essarily creates an aristocracy; for it permits the choice of the most beautiful women and the engagement of the best teachers; it allows a man cleanliness, time for physical exercise, and, above all, immunity from dulling physical labour. So far it provides all the conditions for making man, after a few generations, move and act nobly and handsomely." This would be true only if it were proved that man inherits not only the innate qualities and aptitudes of his parents but also their acquired ones. Does he? How much is really known about the mysterious subject of heredity?

In accordance with the traditions of my family, I have now, in my closing years, reverted to the problems of trade and agriculture. I have the good fortune to work, as a consultant on foreign business matters, for one of the leading British engineering firms. This firm undertakes the design and erection of chemical plants of all kinds, gas plants, and power-stations for the generation of electricity and steam. Some are conventional plants fired by coal or oil, and others incorporate nuclear reactors. Such plants are now being built in many parts of the world, and my task is to keep in close touch with foreign Embassies in London and British Embassies abroad for the purpose of gaining first-hand information about developments and needs. My favourite project, which I initiated, is the establishment of a large fertilizer factory in the Far East, which would indirectly provide more food for the undernourished peoples in that region.

Although many years have elapsed since I retired from the diplomatic service - first that of the Habsburg Monarchy

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and later that of Hungary - my interest in public affairs is as keen as ever. The subjects, outside of my present occupation, that most deeply engage my attention are peace, disarmament, and international integration.

I was born thirteen years after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, and the period of my youth was overshadowed by the intense hatred that prevailed between France and Germany. This hostility towards the Germans was later shared, in consequence of their bitter experiences in the two World Wars, by Great Britain, the United States, and other countries. It is therefore with a profound sense of relief and thankfulness that one can at last discern the gradual fading of the old animosities. Yet they are not quite gone: from time to time they are kindled into fresh flame by some trivial dispute or malicious propaganda. Since I no longer have access to the inner councils of active diplomacy, I cannot fairly judge whether these disconcerting lapses have any justification. I find it hard to believe that they are other than deliberate attempts at mischief and intrigue or crude appeals to a low variety of patriotism alien from the spirit of the modern age.

Special mention should be made of the unseemly rancour with which the British Press has frequently reviled the German Federal Chancellor, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, for things that he has neither said nor done, for errors and offences of which he has not been guilty. Again, the President of France, General Charles de Gaule, has no less frequently been subjected to studied discourtesies and insults and been made the butt of much clumsy ridicule on the part of factious scribblers and cartoonists. No doubt General de Gaule has his weaknesses; but they are the weaknesses of a giant, by comparison with whom his assailants sink into a Lilliputian insignificance. Surely it is high time that the Press should regulate its standards in such matters according to a stricter and more scrupulous code, and take effectual measures to prevent its less worthy practitioners from transgressing the exact limits of good taste and good breeding.

It is much to be regretted that, at a time when all the Western nations should sink their differences in face of the common danger, the relations between Great Britain and France are so often strained. These unfortunate frictions are due to lack of mutual understanding and appreciation, and to mischievous attempts at reviving dormant suspicions and rivalries.

Addressing the Corinthians, Saint Paul declared that, when he had been a child, he had spoken, understood, and

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thought as a child; but, when he had become a man, he had put away childish things. The childhood of Europe has long vanished; but, alas, it does not seem that Europe has yet put away childish things. If it is to survive, Europe must make an effort to assert its manhood; and, since the threat of dissolution cannot be spirited away, that effort must be neither stunted nor delayed. It is not yet too late; but, remember, "the night cometh, when no man can work."

It is far from my intention to minimize Hitler's responsibility for the Second World War or to make light of the crimes of which he and his confederates were guilty. Nevertheless, now that the passions inflamed by war have subsided, cooler and fairer judgments may be heard. It is no longer seriously disputed that the Treaty of Versailles was unjust. Eminent statesmen of that time, such as General Smuts, had profound misgivings about signing it, because they were convinced that it raised more problems than it settled, and that it carried the seeds of another war. It was in fact the indefensible defects of the Treaty that gave Hitler the opportunity to wrest from the German people the absolute power that he needed to fulfil his nefarious aims and policies. The same argument applies to the four subsidiary Treaties: those of Trianon, St. Germain, Neuilly, and Sèvres.

The unworkable and misleading requirement of unanimity, cunningly inserted into the Covenant of the League of Nations - just as a like requirement was later inserted in the Charter of the United Nations Organization - effectually prevented any peaceful change. So the Peace Treaties could not be revised and the situation steadily deteriorated until it became utterly intolerable. All the Western Powers now acknowledge that the Paris Peace Treaties were responsible for the rise of bitter discord and intransigent nationalism. The late Mr. Foster Dulles, who, as a young diplomatist, had been present at Versailles in 1919, deplored "the unfortunate consequences" of these treaties, and expressly warned against the folly of again imposing upon Germany the burden of an unworkable peace. In May, 1959, at the Geneva Conference, Mr. Christian Herter, too, mentioned "the awful results of the Treaty of Versailles" and absolutely rejected the Russian peace plan for Germany, saying: "The Soviet proposal harbours the seeds of future discord and conflict." Ever since 1919, few inhabitants of the Danubian Valley have failed to understand that the political and economic arrangements devised in 1919 and 1920 were untenable; but Paris, London, and Washington would have none of it.

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Policies should be judged by their results: it is usually at least a generation before the true nature of these results manifests itself. Viewed from this distance of time, it is obvious that Masaryk's and Benesh's "liberation" led to the balkanization of Central Europe, and that the Treaties signed in 1919 and 1920 created a situation incomparably worse than that which they were supposed to remedy. Such were the thoughts that revolved in my mind when recently a monument was erected to the memory of Lloyd George, who must bear a large part of the responsibility for the cruel and unwise settlements imposed on Central Europe after the First World War.

The political, economic, and military union of the Western world has become an immediate and absolute necessity. I rejoice whenever I see some advance, however slight, towards this union. But I am grieved at the reluctance of France to subordinate its national ambitions to the need for Western union. I also much regret the hesitancy of Great Britain in joining the political union of the six European countries forming the Common Market. For it is neither the ties that bind Great Britain to the rest of the Commonwealth nor the benefits of Imperial Preference that are the stumbling-block. The truth is that Great Britain recoils from joining the common political institutions set up by the six countries of the European Common Market.

The benefits of Imperial Preference have been calculated in terms of money for each country of the Commonwealth. They are not very substantial. Nor can it be said that Imperial Preference holds the Commonwealth together. Before 1932 (Ottawa Agreement) there was no Imperial Preference and the Commonwealth did keep together.

In his address at the opening of the Political and Economic Conference of the Seven (7th November 1960), Mr. Macmillan declared: "I am convinced that the countries on this side of the Iron Curtain must strive to achieve the maximum degree of unity. We cannot all be united in our defence policies or in alliances on the political plane. It is therefore all the more important that we should be united economically." I am at a loss to understand why all the free countries cannot be united in their defence policies and in their political alliances. What, then, is the purpose of N.A.T.O.? And, if N.A.T.O. is a reality, then surely all its members are already in political alliance with each other. In any case, as Robert Schuman said: "Without Britain there

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can be no Europe." Many Frenchmen hold that Britain is indispensable as a counterweight to Germany and as a preventive against German domination of the Common Market and of the European Continent.

According to Nietzsche, we must await the conversion of mankind to wisdom. When that has been achieved, women as well as men will be economically independent; and, above all, the foolish and futile aspirations of nationalism will be abandoned and the money now spent on armaments will be spent on education. In Nietzsche's view, nationalism was the stumbling-block; and so he became an enthusiastic supporter of the movement for a United Europe. He thus anticipated by a century the noble efforts of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, Aristide Briand, and Winston Churchill.

Nietzsche or Coudenhove or Briand or Churchill did not explain how a United Europe could be brought into being. With prophetic vision, however, Nietzsche predicted that the overwhelming power and threatening demeanour of Russia might compel Europe to abandon the comedy of petty politics and to unite against so barbarous a country.

As things stand to-day, there are many dangers to its material welfare if Great Britain stays out of the Common Market. Thus a large potential market will be lost. True, only one-eighth of British trade is with the Common Market as against two-fifths with the Commonwealth countries. But the former trade is expanding much more rapidly than the latter. The Common Market - it is absurd to call it "Little Europe" - offers incalculable possibilities for British products. By comparison, the Free Trade Area is much smaller and presents fewer opportunities for British trade. It is still to be hoped that a bridge will soon be built between the Six and the Seven.

The free world to-day presents a conglomeration of disparities and antagonisms for the Communists to turn to their own evil advantage. In view of the deadly menace from the Soviet Union and from China, resistance to immediate and full union of Europe is a criminal blunder. Public opinion in Great Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth should therefore be prepared for full union with free Europe, and indeed with all the countries of the West. Posterity will condemn those who failed to rise to the great challenge of our time.

Yet it is my firm belief that neither the Common Market nor the Free Trade Area, nor a combination of both, would

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to-day suffice without the adherence of the entire British Commonwealth and of the United States. All these countries should gradually coalesce into one economic and financial union, throughout which men, goods, and capital could move with ever-growing freedom. Sooner or later the countries of South America and Africa will adhere to this union. In any case, this is the shape of things to come; for all these countries will thus achieve a prosperity that will put both socialism and communism to shame. The aim of free competition is to produce and exchange - thanks to that increase in efficiency which is one of its inevitable consequences - ever more, better, and cheaper goods, and thus to reach the highest possible degree of abundance and of good living. All this would be achieved in human freedom and in defiance of the socialist doctrine of regimentation.

Neither Imperial Preference nor concern for the future of the British farmer should prevent the complete economic union of the Six, the Seven, the rest of the Commonwealth, and perhaps the United States. Instead of Imperial Preference, which should be abolished, it would suffice to give each member of the Commonwealth an import quota carrying preferential treatment for average quantities of those goods which had been imported by them during, say, the last five years. In other words: though the Six, the Seven, the rest of the Commonwealth, and perhaps the United States, would combine to establish a customs union, a limited Imperial Preference would still be maintained for given quantities of goods and for given periods of validity. Such an arrangement could be renewed on expiry.

As for British agriculture, there is no need to fear for its future, provided that the farmers produce the right things. Great Britain has a climate well suited for most agricultural pursuits and for all branches of meat-production, such as beef, mutton, veal, and pork; milk and milk products; poultry and eggs; some fruits, many kinds of vegetables, and all kinds of root crops. Wheat-production in this country should be reduced by half and restricted to those districts where the composition of the soil and the incidence of the rainfall are adequate. This consideration is less important for coarse grains.

Why should the British farmer be protected from international competition any more than the Danish or Dutch farmer, who has a soil and climate like those of Great Britain and who, without any subsidy, is quite prosperous? Why does the

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Danish farmer produce dairy products, beef, eggs, and pig-meat at two-thirds of British costs? Why should not the British farmer export bacon and butter to Denmark, and tomatoes and lettuces to Holland?

The farmer has, however, not only to sell but also to buy. He cannot be expected to sell his products cheap in the open market and to buy his requirements, both professional and personal, dear in the protected market. Not only agricultural subsidies, but also customs duties and cartels, should therefore be simultaneously abolished. Thus the prices of all goods would be brought into their proper relations and farmers everywhere would be just as prosperous as manufacturers and traders. The consumers would greatly profit by this policy, since free trade leads to the lowest possible prices and the highest possible qualities of goods. The inescapable pressure of international competition would be most beneficial to every farmer, manufacturer, and trader.

The most urgent need of the Western nations is both political and economic unity. The division of Europe into two trading groups flagrantly disregards this need. The fact that the Six and the Seven have not yet been able to reconcile their interests by creating one all-embracing market for Western Europe may gravely weaken Western cohesion. The present division has already made bad blood and provoked needless suspicion and distrust inside the two groups of States. Dissension is an evil, fatal to the spiritual power of the Western nations in their struggle with the formidable coalition of Russia and China.

The political and economic progress of the Soviet Union may conduce not only to a gradual improvement in social conditions but also to a sense of personal liberty and security. It will become more and more difficult to stop or reverse this trend in the Soviet Union without provoking wide-spread revolt. The coming generation - or perhaps even the present one - in Russia may attain a degree of political maturity that will not readily tolerate demagogues of Mr. Khrushchev's type. As Emerson wrote a hundred years ago: "To educate the wise man, the State exists; and with the appearance of the wise man, the State expires." Sooner or later we may therefore expect that the improvement and stabilization of Soviet society will result in better relations between the Soviet Union and the Western world. It may even not be altogether absurd to begin thinking of Russia as a future ally.

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This argument should not be construed as an advocacy of appeasement. It would be sheer folly if we were to let ourselves be deluded into the belief that everything will come right without immense efforts and sacrifices on our part. The price of our survival and of the ultimate liberation of the enslaved countries must be paid day by day in the pure gold of determination, patience, perseverance, and - above all - unity. By our example we shall become a source of inspiration and encouragement to those brave patriots who struggle to throw off the shackles of tyranny.

Many of the problems and incidents about which Russia continues to raise noisy protests are being deliberately exaggerated for the purpose of diverting the attention of the world from the fate of the 100,000,000 people in the ten Russian-occupied countries of Europe. What is the incidental violation of the Russian skies by one or two unarmed reconnaissance planes by comparison with the permanent violation of the sovereignty of all these countries?

Had it not been artificially created, there would be no Berlin problem at all. As for the problem of a divided Germany, it can be left to solve itself after the departure of the occupation forces. This departure should be not preceded but followed by negotiations on disarmament, which is not the most urgent task of mankind. For the utmost that can be achieved in the foreseeable future is partial disarmament, which would still leave, for many years to come, both sides on an equal footing of military strength, and would in no way diminish the danger of war.

Though even partial disarmament and a tentative agreement on nuclear weapons should not be disparaged, yet the task of supreme importance and immediate urgency is to ensure that the Russian forces should be withdrawn from all the countries that they occupied during and after the Second World War. Their prolonged and unwelcome presence is not only an insult to the occupied countries, but also a grave threat both to the rest of Europe and to the United States. For, if the Russians fasten their grip on the ten European countries, they may gradually, by a combination of subtle pressure with cunning subversion, succeed in dominating the rest of Europe.

Mr. Walter Lippmann, in summing up a talk that he had with Mr. Khrushchev in Moscow in 1958, wrote (The Communist World and Ours): "I feel sure that the Soviet domination of Eastern Germany, of Poland, Csechoslovakia, and Hungary is

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precarious and impermanent. Moreover, I think that the rulers of Russia know this and that, if they could think, which they have not, of any safe way to disengage, they would eventually accept some such settlement." It should be recalled that the Russians did in fact find a safe way of withdrawing from Austria. In 1959 Mr. Khrushchev seems to have found also the formula of general disengagement when, in his speech before the United Nations, he offered to withdraw the Russian forces garrisoned in Europe behind their national frontiers on condition that the Western Powers should withdraw their forces and give up their bases.

There would appear to be no insuperable difficulty in recalling the British and French forces to their own countries. As for the United States forces, a wise course might be to withdraw them southwards to a distance not greater than that of the Russian frontier from Central Europe. As for the American and British bases overseas, it is evident that they cannot be unilaterally dismantled for fear of Russian aggression. However, it might be possible to reach an agreement by which all bases, including Russian bases on Russian territory, might be removed to given distances from Central Europe and subjected to international supervision. It should not be forgotten that to-day the whole of Eastern Europe, and in particular East Germany, has become a vast Russian military base. It may be added that, as a result of notable progress in the technical perfection of intercontinental ballistic missiles, the importance of overseas bases is gradually declining.

To-day Russian propaganda misses no opportunity to persuade the captive nations that the balance of power has so decisively shifted in their favour that the complete triumph of Communism in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America will be only a matter of time. The liberation of Eastern and Central Europe from the tyranny of Communism would not only gain valuable allies for the Western Powers but also strike a fatal blow at the very roots of Communist intrigue throughout the world. On the other hand, for the Western Powers not even to try to liberate the captive nations would be at once a shameful betrayal and a gross blunder.

It is profoundly disquieting to see how mutely the Western Powers acquiesce in the tragedy of Eastern and Central Europe. It is deplorable that they have not even taken the trouble to reply to the Russian initiative of general withdrawal. Their apathy, and the fact that they have been

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tricked into long-drawn and sterile discussions on Berlin, disarmament, and espionage, afford a flagrant proof that they either fail to understand the Russian stratagems or lack any sense of priority.

Under these circumstances, it occurs to me to suggest a compact plan that would be so attractive to all governments that they might feel disposed to adopt it. With this thought in mind, I have formulated the following brief but comprehensive plan, and should like to commend it, in all humility, to governments and public opinion in the West and in the East:

1. To transform the United Nations Organization into a World Parliament, which, abolishing the right of veto - in other words, discarding the absurd requirement of unanimity - would henceforth decide all international disputes by a vote of, for example, a three-quarter majority. If it is to discharge its responsibilities, the United Nations must become an organization capable of resolving disputes and of preventing any Power from obstructing its procedure and nullifying its decisions.
2. To establish an International Police Force (I.P.F.).
3. To decide upon the withdrawal of occupation forces and the transference of bases to distances to be determined by negotiation. The withdrawn troops should be succeeded, and the relinquished bases manned, by contingents of the I.P.F.
4. To restore to the 100,000,000 souls thus liberated the right of self-determination under the control of the I.P.F.
5. To decide upon the simultaneous re-unification of both China and Germany.
6. To abolish, by rapid stages, customs barriers throughout the whole world, and thereby endow all people with the right to buy and to sell whatever and wherever they wish.
7. To prohibit international trusts and cartels, which seek to evade competition.

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8. To make, under the authority of the World Bank, all currencies (including possibly those of Russia and China) convertible and transferable and to keep them so.
9. To concert the efforts of the principal industrial countries, not for the manufacture of thermo-nuclear weapons, but for the swift mass-production of inexpensive atomic reactors for peaceful purposes.
10. To use these reactors for generating cheap power with which to extract from the seas and the air unlimited quantities of chemicals that could be turned into fertilizers to replenish the soil and to increase the starvation-low crop-yields in the underdeveloped countries.
11. To crown all these measures with the final achievement of total and universal disarmament on land, on the sea, and in the air.
12. To control disarmament by means of the I.P.F., reinforced for this purpose by scientific observers, and to subject the progress of specific measures of disarmament to international inspection.
13. To ensure unrestricted travel and communication between all countries by land, by sea, and in the air.
14. To allot a given percentage of the fabulous amounts now spent in all countries on armaments to raising the standards of health, education, agriculture, and industry in the underdeveloped countries.
15. To invite, after agreement reached with them, re-united China and re-united Germany, as well as Switzerland and Tibet, to become members of the World Parliament.
16. To invite, as a token of final reconciliation, Mr. Chou-En-lai and Dr. Adenauer to participate in a well-prepared conference.
17. To grant long-term ^{summit} loans at low rates of interest to Russia and China.

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The plan here suggested aims at promoting a general reconciliation at a time when enmities seem more irreconcilable than ever before. It aims at nothing less than resolving the conflict between East and West. The adoption of these proposals would mean not only that the Iron Curtain would be raised, but also that the world would be thrown open to free commercial intercourse. Universal competition would enable goods of the highest qualities to be produced at the lowest costs and to be sold at the lowest prices, thus increasing purchasing-power or, in other words, raising the general standard of living. Unsaleable stocks would then no longer encumber the world market, nor would the State continue the folly of wasting the taxpayers' money on payments to farmers for crops that they do not grow.

Socialism of the Russian and Chinese variety involves the expansion of heavy industry at the expense of the general standard of living; the imposition of tyrannical rule for the purpose of silencing protest and suppressing opposition; and the induction of an illusory frame of mind disposed to accept persecution and hardship as the only methods by which a pretended enemy of monstrous iniquity can be effectually confronted and overcome.

Disarmament would everywhere result in a substantial decrease in taxation and increase in national savings. These savings would help all countries to finance their industrialization, and would enable Russia and China to fulfil their plans of industrial expansion without condemning the present generations of Russians and Chinese to stint themselves in anticipation of a more abundant future. This new affluence, strengthened by loans from the West, would tend to make the social and economic systems of Russia and China less austere, and would thereby render co-existence between East and West progressively easier and smoother.

As time passes and education spreads throughout the Soviet Union, the Russian people may begin to think for themselves and to imbibe liberal ideas. Since competition was invented not by man but by nature, it cannot be perpetually suppressed. It is therefore by no means impossible that, having withdrawn behind their own frontiers, the Russians may adopt the competitive system as the foundation of their economy, which could then be integrated with that of the rest of the world. The open market would then embrace the whole world, and an era of peace, freedom, and prosperity would ensue.

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A society like that of Soviet Russia, scientific in outlook and dynamic in economy, will be irresistibly driven to transform its political institutions into conformity with purer notions of justice, tolerance, and veracity. It will thus achieve liberty for itself and for those nations which it had deprived of this indispensable foundation of human dignity.

*With warmest good wishes,
Yours sincerely,
Paul de Hevesy*

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UNCLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
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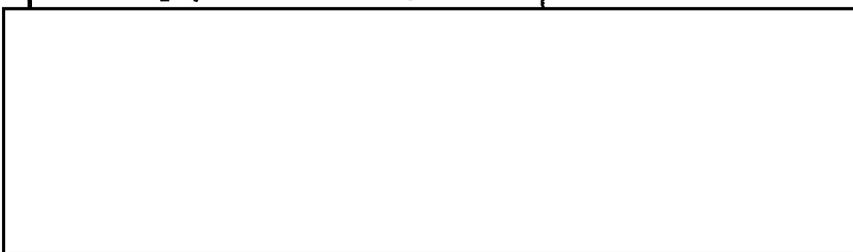
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Remarks:

Frank: The Boss asked that somebody here read this and send it to whomever would be interested. I do not think a reply is necessary.

ILLEGIB



FOLD HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER

FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.	DATE
JSE	23 Dec 60