

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH  
George Frost Kennan

July, 1996

George Frost Kennan is now Professor Emeritus in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, where he served as Professor from 1956 to 1974. Prior to that he was for many years a career diplomat in the Foreign Service. During the mid to late 1920's and early 1930's he served in the Baltic region and in Germany, where he received special training as a Soviet expert. He was then selected to accompany Ambassador William C. Bullitt to Moscow to open the American Embassy there in 1933. Over the remainder of the 1930's he served in Moscow, in Vienna, and in Prague at the time of the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia. With his propensity for being in critical places at critical times, Mr. Kennan was serving in Berlin at the outbreak of war and in Moscow at the end of the war.

Shortly after the National War College opened its doors in 1946, Mr. Kennan became the College's first Deputy for Foreign Affairs. It was there that he wrote the original draft of his famous "X-Article," subsequently published in the July 1947 issue of Foreign Affairs.

In 1947 Mr. Kennan became Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State and then, in 1949, Counselor of that Department. His last diplomatic assignments were as ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1952 and, much later, as ambassador to Yugoslavia, 1961-1963.

Mr. Kennan has written some 20 books, in addition to a large number of articles, most of them dealing with the diplomatic history of Russia and the Soviet Union. A book of excerpts from his personal diaries called Sketches From a Life was published in 1989. Two of his books have been honored with the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award. His latest book, Around the Cragged Hill. A Personal and Political Philosophy received the Ambassador's Award from the English-Speaking Union. He has received a number of other honors, including 29 honorary degrees, the Albert Einstein Peace Prize, the Grenville Clark Prize, the German Peace Prize, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Freedom from Fear Award, the Toynbee Prize for History, the Encyclopaedia Britannica Award, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the George F. Kennan Chair in National Security Strategy established at the National War College, the George F. Kennan Professorship and Memberships at the Institute for Advanced Study and The Grand Cross of the Cross of Terra Mariana presented by the Republic of Estonia. He has been, for many years, a member of the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, and served as President of that Academy from 1968 to 1972. In 1984 he received the Gold Medal for History from that Institute.

One of Mr. Kennan's major concerns has been the improvement of Russian studies throughout this country with a view to providing the American public and American policy-makers with a better background of information about the Soviet Union. In this connection, he helped to establish, in Washington, D. C., the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies.

He has written extensively on the nuclear weapons problem and has been recognized for first proposing the 50 per cent reduction in the nuclear arsenals of the United States and Russia. He has commented extensively in various media forums on the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the regimes in communist eastern European.

## BIOGRAPHIC DATA

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### PERSONAL DATA

Date of birth: February 16, 1904

Parents: Kossuth Kent and Florence James Kennan

Married: Annelise Sorensen 1931

Children: Grace Kennan Warnecke

Joan Elisabeth Kennan (Mrs. Kevin Delaney)

Christopher James Kennan

Wendy Antonia Pfaeffli

### SCHOOLS AND DEGREES

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Diploma, Berlin Seminary for Oriental Languages, 1930

Honorary L.L.D.: Yale University, Dartmouth College, 1950; Colgate

University, 1951; University of Notre Dame, 1953; Kenyon College, 1954; The

New School for Social Research, 1955; Princeton University, 1956; University

of Michigan, Northwestern University, 1957; Brandeis University, 1958;

University of Wisconsin, Harvard University, 1963; Denison University, Rutgers

University, 1972; Catholic University of America, 1976; Duke University, 1977;

Dickinson College, 1979; Lake Forest College, 1982; Clark University, Oberlin

College, Brown University 1983; New York University, 1985; Columbia

University, William and Mary College, 1986; Rider College, 1988; University of

Wisconsin, Milwaukee, 1990.

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BOOKS

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The Decline of Bismarck's European Order, Franco-Russian Relations, 1875-1890.

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979

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Sketches From a Life. New York: Pantheon Books, 1989

Around the Cragged Hill. New York: W. W. Norton, 1993, Ambassador's Award from the English Speaking Union

At a Century's Ending, New York: W. W. Norton, 1996.

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German Peace Prize, October 19, 1982  
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George F. Kennan firetruck, East Berlin, Pennsylvania

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from the English Speaking Union.  
*At a Century's Ending,* New York: W.W. Norton, 1996.  
*George F. Kennan and the Origins of Containment 1944-1946.* Columbia,  
Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1997 (written with John Lukacs).

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## THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

### Historical Studies - Social Science Library

ITEMS REMOVED : GEORGE KENNAN - PROF. H.S. 1956-

- 1) "Kennan Wins Award for Service to Public," The Daily Princetonian, April 4, 1985.
- 2) "Books of the Times: The Fateful Alliance," review by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt, New York Times, October 17, 1984.
- 3) "Kennan Awarded Honorary Degree from Clark University," Town Topics, May 25, 1983.
- 4) "New Challenges to NATO Security," Time Magazine, April 19, 1982. (Offprint.)
- 5) "George Kennan Says Sanctions Were Hasty," New York Times, January 4, 1982.
- 6) CIRCLE: Central Information Resources Center for Life Extension, (Booklet: accompanying letter from Kenton H. Huller Hunter, November 1, 1982.
- 7) "50\$-Million Asked to Reverse Decline in Soviet Studies," April 6, 1983, publication not specified.
- 8) "George Kennan Says U.S. Magnifies Soviet Threat," New York Times, February 28, 1981.
- 9) Copy of, and information concerning Union Medal awarded to George F. Kennan on October 25, 1982.
- 10) "The Kennan Doctrine," New York Times, January 10, 1982.
- 11) "Kennan Wins Peace Prize," New York Times, March 17, 1981.
- 12) The Albert Einstein Peace Prize Foundation. (Pamphlet).
- 13) Program for Albert Einstein Peace Prize Award Foundation Luncheon, May 19, 1981.

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14) Re: Kreminology...New York Times, September 20, 1974.

15) "Kennan Among Social Scientists Chosen Wilson Center Fellows,"  
New York Times, May 26, 1974.

16) "Commitment Fulfilled, Get Out of Viet Quickly, Kennan Says," The Plain Dealer, January 3, 1970.

17) "Kennan Says ABM Could Peril Talks," New York Times,  
February 7, 1970.

18) "Princeton's Man of the Week," Town Topics, August 29,  
1968.

19) "Dr. Kennan Wins 2d Pulitzer Prize," Princeton Packet, May  
8, 1968.

20) "Kennan Named Head of Academy of Arts," New York Times,  
December 9, 1967.

21) "Kennan Statement of Vietnam," The Washington Post, February  
11, 1966.

22) "Kennan Named Fellow at Harvard University," date and  
publication not specified.

23) "Kennan Bids U.S. 'Dig In' and Await Talks in Vietnam,"  
New York Times, February 11, 1966.

24) "Kennan Is Named to Harvard Post," New York Times,  
January 3, 1966.

25) "Kennan Says Soviet Will Lose Command of Parties in Bloc,"  
New York Times, January 28, 1965.

26) "Kennan to Direct Institute of Arts," New York Times,  
January 28, 1965.

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27) "Kennan Answers Khrushchev," New York Times, December 21, 1959.

28) "Kennan's Complicated Post Described in TIME Article," The Princeton Packet, January 8, 1962.

29) "Hot to Write History," Observer, November 13, 1955.

30) "History School Invites 3," New York Times, February 20, 1951.

31) "3 Historians Invited to Join Institute," February 19, 1951, publication not specified.

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Das Amerikanisch-Russische Verhältnis. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt,  
1954



- Russia Leaves the War. Volume I of Soviet-American Relations 1917-1920.  
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956. (National Book Award;  
Bancroft, Francis Parkman, and Pulitzer Prizes)
- Russia, The Atom, and The West. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957
- The Decision to Intervene. Volume II of Soviet-American Relations 1917-1920.  
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958
- Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1941. Princeton. D. Van Nostrand Company, 1960
- Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown  
and Company, 1961
- On Dealing with the Communist World. New York: Harper and Row, 1964
- Memoirs 1925-1950. Boston: Atlantic Little, Brown, 1967. (National Book  
Award and Pulitzer Prize, 1968; annual award of the Overseas Press Club of  
America for best book on foreign affairs)
- From Prague after Munich, Diplomatic Papers 1938-1940. Princeton: Princeton  
University Press, 1968
- Democracy and the Student Left. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1968
- The Marquis de Custine and His "Russia in 1839". Princeton: Princeton  
University Press, 1971.
- Memoirs 1950-1963. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown and Company, 1972
- The Cloud of Danger, Current Realities of American Foreign Policy. Atlantic-  
Little, Brown and Company, 1977
- The Decline of Bismarck's European Order, Franco-Russian Relations, 1875-1890.  
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979
- The Nuclear Delusion, Soviet-American Relations in the Atomic Age. New York:  
Pantheon Book, 1982
- The Fateful Alliance, France, Russia, and the Coming of the First World War.  
New York: Pantheon Books, 1984
- Sketches From a Life. New York: Pantheon Books, 1989

HONORS AND AWARDS (partial listing)

- Testimonial of Loyal and Meritorious Service from the Department of State,  
upon retirement, August 30, 1953
- Award of the Richard J. Gross Post. No. 8896, East Berlin, Pennsylvania, of  
the Veterans of Foreign Wars, February 11, 1954
- Benjamin Franklin Magazine Award (of the University of Illinois for an article  
on "Overdue Changes in our Foreign Policy" in Harper's Magazine, 1956).  
May 1957
- Thomas Woodrow Wilson Award of the Whig-Cliosophic Society of Princeton  
University, February 12, 1959
- Three Author Awards of the New Jersey Association of Teachers of English,  
November 8, 1968
- Director General's Cup of the American Foreign Service Association, November  
16, 1973
- John F. Lewis Prize of the American Philosophical Society, April 19, 1974
- American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies Award for  
Distinguished Contributions to Slavic Studies, October 10, 1975.
- Woodrow Wilson Award for Distinguished Achievement in the Nation's Service,  
Princeton University, February 28, 1976

Biographic Data of George F. Kennan, contd.

Page 4

Landmark Medal of the National War College, 1979  
Albert Einstein Peace Prize, May 19, 1981  
Grenville Clark Prize, November 16, 1981  
Pacem in Terris Peace and Freedom Award, Quad City Peace and Justice  
Coalition, sponsored by the Catholic Diocese of Davenport, Iowa, May, 1982  
German Peace Prize, October 19, 1982  
Union Medal of the Union Theological Seminary, October 25, 1982  
Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, Regents Medal of  
Excellence, January 19, 1984  
National Magazine Award for Public Service (for article in the New Yorker,  
"Breaking the Spell,") April 24, 1984.  
American Academy and Institute for Arts and Letters, Gold Medal for History,  
May 16, 1984  
American Political Science Association Charles E. Merriam Award, August 30,  
1984  
James Madison Award of the Whig-Cliosophic Society of Princeton University,  
April 16, 1985  
Author Citation (Golden) for New Jersey's Literary Hall of Fame, 1985  
Literary Lion, New York Public Library, 1985  
Brandeis University Creative Art Award for Non-Fiction, May 7, 1986  
Franklin D. Roosevelt Foundation Freedom from Fear Medal, October 16, 1987  
Physicians for Social Responsibility Annual Award, March 5, 1988  
Toynbee Prize presented by the Toynbee Award Committee, November 13, 1988  
Encyclopaedia Britannica Award, February 22, 1989  
Presidential Medal of Freedom, July 6, 1989  
Governor's Award Program of the State of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson Public  
Service Award, January 5, 1990  
Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament Tenth Anniversary Dinner Tribute, March 11,  
1990  
George F. Kennan Week, City of Milwaukee, May 7 to 12, 1990  
Wisconsin Library Association's Outstanding Achievement Award for Sketches  
from a Life, September 18, 1990

HONORS NAMED FOR GEORGE F. KENNAN

SANE of New Jersey, Annual Peace Award  
The George F. Kennan Peace Essay Contest, Wayne, New Jersey  
The Kennan Award, annually by the American Committee on U.S.-Soviet  
Relations  
George F. Kennan Award, annually by the Citizen Exchange Council  
The Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Affairs, Woodrow Wilson Center,  
Washington, D. C. (named jointly for the elder George Kennan)  
George F. Kennan firetruck, East Berlin, Pennsylvania  
The George F. Kennan Forum sponsored annually by the University of Wisconsin  
at Milwaukee

4/11/85 - 10:20am

Mr. Dilworth called re the attached  
letter from Phi Beta Kappa Associates.  
He will bring it with him Saturday  
to discuss with you.

Ione

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

J. RICHARDSON DILWORTH  
Chairman of the Board

May 16, 1984

Professor George Kennan  
School of Historical Studies  
Institute for Advanced Study

Dear George,

This comes to you with the heartfelt hurrahs of your friends, colleagues,  
and admirers on the Board of Trustees.

With warmest regards and best wishes,

As ever,

  
J. Richardson Dilworth

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

May 16, 1984

## RESOLUTION VOTED ON APRIL 28, 1984

The Board of Trustees of the Institute for Advanced Study extends its congratulations to Professor George Kennan on the occasion of his receiving the Gold Medal for History from the American Academy and Institute for Arts and Letters and wishes to express to him its admiration and appreciation for the honor and distinction he brings to the Institute through his work as both scholar and statesman.

*Kennan*

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

HARRY WOOLF  
Director

April 9, 1985

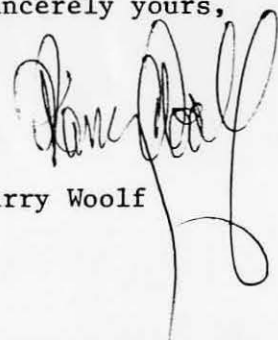
Mr. Stanley A. Frankel  
President  
Phi Beta Kappa Associates  
1811 Q Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20009

Dear Mr. Frankel:

Thank you for sending me a draft copy of your letter to George Kennan. The only change I would suggest is that the proper name of the Institute be given, which is the Institute for Advanced Study.

Thank you. Good luck.

Sincerely yours,



Harry Woolf

*see: PHL*

4/5/85

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Williamsburg, Virginia 23187

**ELIZABETH D. WILLIAMS**  
2306 Westgate  
Houston, Texas 77019

Rough Draft letter copies to Messrs. Woolf, Dilworth and Couper.

Dear Friends: I'd like to send this letter to George Kennan and would appreciate your comments as well as any ideas you may have to secure Dr. Kennan's acceptance. Thanks very much.

**PHI BETA KAPPA ASSOCIATES**

1811 Q Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009

1776 1940



(202) 265-3808

*John*  
*Dr. Woolf -*  
*pls. improve -*  
*and guide me*  
*most grateful*

Dear Dr. Kennan:

As President of the Phi Beta Kappa Associates, I would like to invite you to address our membership at our annual dinner, to be held at the Institute of Advanced Studies on the evening of October 5, 1985. The subject and length of your address would be yours to decide.

I have enclosed a booklet telling you something about the Associates and would be happy to answer any questions you might have. Our past annual dinners have featured other leading scholars such as Stephen J. Gould, Lawrence R. Klein and A. Doak Barnett. Our officers and Board of Directors are unanimous in feeling that your appearance would be the highlight of our many banquets.

I have discussed this invitation with Dr. Harry Woolf, J. Richardson Dilworth, Richard Couper and others and they reinforce the enthusiasm and warmth of our desire to have you speak to us.

Knowing the demands on your time, I am sending this to you well in advance. I hope you will consider our invitation along with the many other worthy requests you receive for appearances. Please let me know at your earliest convenience whether our high hopes might be realized. Thank you very, very much for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Stanley A. Frankel  
President

Enclosure

Dr. George F. Kennan  
Institute for Advanced Studies  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

9/5/84

The Director:

Harry: Should you have any suggestions along this line, I would be glad to sponsor them in reply to this query.

Ripon is, as they go, not a bad small midwestern college. My father graduated there in the 1870's, and both my father and I were/are honorary degree recipients. So I feel a certain obligation to help if I can.

*George*  
George Kennan ✓



# Ripon College

---

Founded in 1851

August 30, 1984

Dr. George F. Kennan  
School of Historical Studies  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, NJ 08540

Dear Dr. Kennan:

I am writing you, as a recipient of an honorary degree from Ripon College, to solicit your assistance in finding a new president for Ripon College. After 18 successful years as chief executive officer, Dr. Bernard S. Adams, the current president, has requested the Trustees to begin a search for a successor.

The Search Committee is interested in receiving nominations of persons from the business, professional, public service and philanthropic communities as well as from the world of higher education. The enclosed guidelines for the Role of the President describe, in general terms, the critical functions which will be necessary to carry this fine academic institution into the future.

Ripon College is a well-established, four-year liberal arts college enrolling 850 students from 37 states and 11 foreign countries. It is accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools, is a member of the Associated Colleges of the Midwest and is one of only 11 percent of colleges and universities nationwide to host a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

The search phase is vital to the quality of our candidate pool and we most earnestly solicit your input. The confidentiality of all nominations will, of course, be respected. Please send your nominations, before October 1, 1984, to:

William F. Hejna, M.D.  
Search Committee Chairperson  
1725 West Harrison Street, Suite 1192  
Chicago, Illinois 60612

Thank you for any help you might be able to give us.

Very truly yours,

*Robert V. Abendroth*

Robert V. Abendroth  
Chairman, Board of Trustees  
Ripon College

## RIPON COLLEGE

### The Role of the President

The President of Ripon College is the chief executive and academic officer of the college responsible directly to the Trustees. Through a charter granted by the State of Wisconsin, the Trustees have the responsibilities and authority to appoint the President and to gather an academic community of superior quality. The Trustees place a President in charge of this community and require a reporting process so that they can determine whether the college is conducting its academic and business affairs in accordance with the terms of the charter.

The college is recognized as a unique community of interrelated constituencies creating a need for the President to be responsible to the entire college community. Crucial to its success is the creation of a climate in which the Ripon educational program can further develop its own particular excellence and one in which the various constituencies will have an ongoing sense of cooperative participation and pride. The President thus is expected to perform many roles, some in the internal life of the college, others more external in the "outside" community and others which include both. These roles include, but are not limited to, those of educator, fund raiser, manager, and symbol of the traditions and high standards of the college. Although common to the functions of chief executive and academic officers of most institutions of higher learning, each of these roles is regarded as having specificity at Ripon. The president will thus be expected to:

1. articulate and communicate Ripon's educational philosophy and standards to both the college community and the outside world. This does not necessarily require that a candidate possess traditional academic credentials. It does require an understanding of and a personal commitment to the concept of liberal education, the skills to communicate this concept, and the intellect and integrity needed to command personal respect. It also requires a commitment to quality education sufficient to ensure that the academic standards of the College be maintained and improved.

Role of the President  
Ripon College  
Page 2

2. take the lead in the development and guide the implementation of phased long-range plans. In particular, this requires the capacity to formulate a long-term vision of the direction in which the College should be moving, to communicate that vision to others, to balance firmness and pragmatism in pursuit of these goals, and to encourage and direct others in taking steps to meet these goals. During the remainder of this decade, it is anticipated that any long-range planning will necessarily emphasize fund-raising. At the same time, all development efforts should be directed toward the long-term enhancement of Ripon College as a liberal arts institution of the first rank.

3. function as the chief administrative officer of the College. The President is accountable to the Board of Trustees for providing overall supervision and direction to those responsible for the development and implementation of the academic program, for the raising of resources, for the recruitment and retention of students, and for the management of college finances, personnel, and plant. In providing this leadership, the President should remain attentive to the College's organizational structure, mediate constructively among constituent groups, support the creative efforts of individuals, and work effectively with people of widely differing views and temperaments.

4. participate in the life of the College so as to encourage a sense of unity and community. This involves a commitment to the supportive, conciliatory, and tolerant leadership style noted above, a capacity to set a high ethical tone in all actions, and a willingness to participate in ceremonies and activities in which the College seeks to express a sense of its identity as a quality educational institution and as an academic community.

Trustees  
Faculty  
Alumni, Students and Friends

Kennan

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone 609-734-8000

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

September 4, 1984

TO: Professor Irving Lavin

FROM: Professor Emeritus George Kennan

Dear Irving:

In response to your note of August 28 concerning the report on the members of the school for the academic year 1983-84, here is a summary of my academic work and the recognition it received.

#### ACTIVITIES:

1. I completed, edited and submitted for publication the 2nd volume of my study on the history of the Franco-Russian Alliance. This volume is now in process of publication under the title of The Fateful Alliance; and is expected to be on the market next month.
2. I lectured, during this period, at three academic centers: Brown University, Lake Forest College, and Grinnell College.
3. I chaired the American delegation to a conference of Soviet and American historians in Kiev in June 1984. This conference was addressed to Soviet-American relations from the turn of the century, through the Russian Revolution, down to World War II.
4. I accepted a considerable burden of correspondence and interviews having to do with questions of recent diplomatic history.
5. In addition to the invitations for academic lectures and conference attending that were accepted, there was a long list, probably running into the hundreds, that were declined--the declining itself demanding a good deal of time and effort.

#### HONORS:

1. Honorary degree from Oberlin College, September 24, 1983.
2. Honorary degree from Brown University, November 17, 1983.

Professor Irving Lavin

-2-

September 2, 1984

3. Regent's Medal of Excellence from the University of the State of New York, January 14, 1984.
4. The Gold Medal for History (conferred every 6 to 7 years) by the American Academy/Institute for Arts and Letters, May 16, 1984.
5. The Charles E. Merriam Award, presented by the American Political Science Association, for the "person whose published work and career represents a significant contribution to the art of government through the application of social science research," August 30, 1984.

Sincerely,

*George K.*  
George Kennan

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

HARRY WOOLF  
Director

March 27, 1984

Professor George Kennan  
School of Historical Studies  
Institute for Advanced Study

Dear George:

Before your birthday party, in addition to contacting the Mayor of Milwaukee and the Governor of Wisconsin, I arranged through Senator Bradley's office to have the enclosed flag flown in your honor. Allow me to present it to you as part of that wonderful celebration of your 80th birthday.

Cordially yours,



Harry Woolf

Encl.

*Kennan*

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

HARRY WOOLF  
Director

February 20, 1984

Professor George Kennan  
School of Historical Studies  
The Institute for Advanced Study

Dear George:

Here is the letter from Governor Earl which I read to you and our friends  
that wonderful evening.

Cordially yours,

*Harry*  
Harry Woolf

Encl.

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

HARRY WOOLF  
Director

February 20, 1984

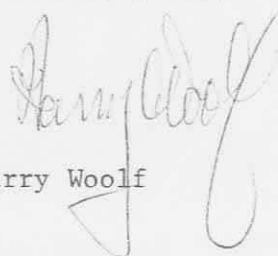
Anthony S. Earl  
Governor  
State of Wisconsin  
Office of the Governor  
State Capitol  
P. O. Box 7863  
Madison, WI 53707-7863

Dear Governor Earl:

I am writing to tell you how wonderfully your letter to George Kennan was received, both by Ambassador Kennan and the assembled guests at the special dinner honoring him last week. I read the letter to the group and everyone thought it apt, important, and entertaining at the same time.

Thank you for your help in celebrating George's 80th birthday. I hope that your travels will bring you this way and enable me to play host to you.

Sincerely yours,



Harry Woolf



# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

HARRY WOOLF  
Director

February 14, 1984

Governor Anthony S. Earl  
State of Wisconsin  
Office of the Governor  
State Capitol  
P. O. Box 7863  
Madison, WI 53707-7863

Dear Governor Earl:

Thank you so much for your letter of 16 February 1984 to celebrate George Kennan's birthday. It will be a pleasure to deliver your letter to him and to share it with the small circle of family and friends that will gather that day.

I shall write you again after the event, but I did want to get my thank you off to you right away and to express the hope that one day we will meet so that I may do so in person. Indeed, if your travels bring you this way, do let me know, so that we can arrange for a visit to the Institute.

Sincerely yours,



Harry Woolf



State of Wisconsin  
Office of the Governor

Anthony S. Earl

February 16, 1984

The Honorable George F. Kennan  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Olden Lane  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Ambassador Kennan:

On behalf of the people of your native state of Wisconsin, I extend warmest wishes and a toast to your happiness on your 80th birthday.


Few sons have distinguished their birthplace as brilliantly as you, or for so many years. Your work for peace and an end to the nuclear arms race reveals a continued harmony of spirit with the people of the state which first called, in referendum, for a nuclear freeze.

We would like to think the imprint of Wisconsin also shows itself in your stubborn good sense, in your irreverence toward conventional wisdom, in your intuition about nations and leaders, in your clean style of speaking and writing, and — we are reminded today — in your hardy constitution. I have little doubt that a part of the credit for your performance in Moscow belongs to Wisconsin winters.

Your state is proud, and today we hold you in our thoughts with special affection. Your hometown of Milwaukee raises a glass. Around the countryside, a thousand cowbells chime.

Many happy returns from Wisconsin!

Sincerely,

  
ANTHONY S. EARL  
G o v e r n o r

ASE:rm

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

**HARRY WOOLF**  
Director

February 15, 1984

Senator Bradley  
731 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington DC 20510  
Attention: Ellen

Dear Senator Bradley:

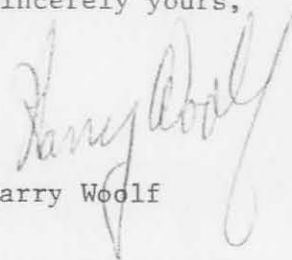
Enclosed you will find a check for \$6.90 to cover the cost of the flag to honor Ambassador George Kennan's 80th birthday.

It should be sent to:

Dr. Harry Woolf  
Director  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
Olden Lane  
Princeton, NJ 08540

Thank you very much for your cooperation in this matter as in the dispatch of a birthday greeting to him.

Sincerely yours,



Harry Woolf

Encl.

HARRY WOOLF

NUMBER  
1849

February 16 19 84

55-305  
312

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Keeper of the Stationery \$ 6.90

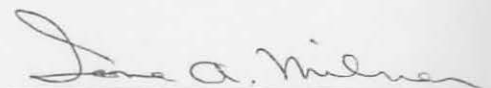
Six-----and 90/100 DOLLARS



**The First National Bank  
of Princeton**  
90 Nassau Street, P.O. Box 151, Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Princeton, N

MEMO



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THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

*Kennan*

HARRY WOOLF  
Director

October 18, 1983

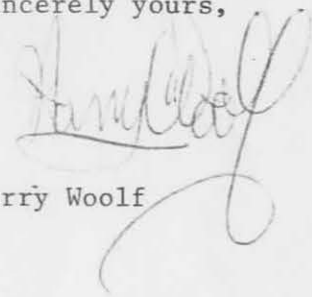
Professor David D. Buck  
Department of History  
University of Wisconsin  
P.O. Box 413  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

Dear Professor Buck:

I hope you will find the enclosed material on Ambassador Kennan useful to you in order to nominate him for an honorary degree at the University of Wisconsin.

Forgive me for being so late in replying to your request which arrived this summer and seems to have been inadvertently misplaced for a while.

Sincerely yours,



Harry Woolf

Enclosure

(George Kennan biographic data - Summer 1982)



THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN—MILWAUKEE/ P. O. Box 413, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

COLLEGE OF LETTERS AND SCIENCE  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
HOLTON HALL

(414) 963-4361

12 August 1983

Dr. Harry Woolf, Director  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, NJ 08540

Dear Dr. Woolf:

George Kennan is being nominated to receive an honorary degree from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in May 1984. Ambassador Kennan was born in Milwaukee in 1904 and received his primary education at the Laboratory School attached to a predecessor institution. It is in part because of this local connection that he is under consideration for an honorary degree at our institution.

George Kennan's contributions as a diplomat, student of American foreign policy and historian are known to most Americans. Our procedures for honorary degrees, however, require a number of letters of support.

May I please prevail upon you for a brief letter supporting George Kennan's nomination for the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters.

Thank you.

David D. Buck  
Department of History

DDB/is

Futo

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Thurs. p.m.

Harry,

George Kennan dropped by to tell you of the progress of his Institute's plans.

(Kennan)

He has received a lot of support from the Washington folk both at the Wilson Center and the Smithsonian and now is setting up his board of Friends of the k. Institute. Candidates are : Taplin, Dilworth, Tom Watson, Sal Lillienthal, possibly Ann Eaton, Abby McNeill.... George will probably chair it himself. All solicitation and correspondence will be handled by the Institute there.

He is very pleased and grateful to you for your suggestions and he feels that now things will move forward.

He will try to see you himself but will be away during early part of week.

Patsy

PATRICIA H. LABALME

*With the Compliments  
of  
George F. Kennan  
The Institute For Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey*

Copy for Dr. Harry Woolf

## THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone 609-734-8000

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

16 September, 1983

Dear Gene:

In the letter I had from you (of May 31) when I was in Norway last summer, you were kind enough to refer to the problem of fund-raising for the Kennan Institute and to offer once again to be of help to whatever extent you could. I deeply appreciated your interest, and I am writing now to tell you what has happened and is happening.

I decided, late last spring, after extensive consultations with a number of persons, that I would

(a) proceed on the assumption that the tie of the Kennan Institute to the Wilson Center and the Smithsonian was to be preserved; and

(b) that I would see what I could do, upon my return from the summer in Europe, to set up a "Friends of the Kennan Institute," which organization would not seek independent incorporation but would merely use its influence to persuade a number of people to make contributions to the fund that already exists at the Wilson Center (unfortunately, it is called the "George F. Kennan Fund"), the resources of which are reserved for the support of the Kennan Institute. The project found the strong support both of Dillon Ripley, the head of the Smithsonian, and of Mr. Wm. J. Borooody, Jr., the chairman of the board of the Wilson Center; and both those gentlemen agreed that the "friends" should have the privilege of nominating, on a rotating basis, three members of the fund-raising Council of the Wilson Center, who would form a subcommittee to look after the interests of the Kennan Institute. Both were also optimistic about the possibility for finding more office space for the Kennan Institute, and were prepared to use their influence (and, in Ripley's case, authority) to see that this was done.

Thus by the end of the summer, things were very well set up to proceed with the establishment of the "Friends," and I have recently been busying myself with that question. I believe that Tom Watson, head of IBM, will join the board; I would also like him to chair it, but think it doubtful that he will, for reasons of health. Mrs. Averell Harriman has agreed to join the board, as has my neighbor, Frank Taplin, head of the board of the Metropolitan Opera in New York, a marvelous person and a great fund-raiser. I have strong support in the Rockefeller entourage, and am sure of the participation of one member (not David, whom I don't want to ask on account of Christopher's position) of the Board of Rockefeller brothers. I am about to approach the former Secretary of State, Cy Vance, and also Michael Forrestal, who is a trustee of the Institute for Advanced Study and has a number of other distinctions. This would make a very strong board; but it leaves two serious problems. First, it is too exclusively eastern-establishment-colored. Secondly, it leaves the question of a chairman.



Mr. Eugene Hotchkiss

-2-

16 September, 1983

As to the first of these questions: I think it likely that Bill Roth, until recently a resident of San Francisco and a prominent figure in its financial and social life, will consent to join. I have no one, however, from the Chicago area. Should you have any suggestions, I would greatly value them. It should be someone who can demonstrate a reasonable interest in higher cultural studies, if not in Russian ones.

I should add that several ladies are interested in inducing the members of the board of the "Friends," as soon as it is established, to begin their efforts by hosting a rather high-powered dinner in New York, next February, partly in honor of my 80th birthday, partly as a fund-raising event kicking off a much wider appeal for financial support to the Institute.

Well--there, dear Gene, you have the situation as it stands. I don't know how I am going to find a chairman of this board. I quail, wilt, and have dreams of escaping to a South Pacific island, at the thought of the fund-raising dinner; but such is the high-poweredness of some of the ladies involved that it is, if I know their determination, likely to take place. Even Annelise favors it. My problems, therefore, are far from over. The time will come, I know, when I shall wish to lean on your wisdom, if not on your pocket-book, which, I am assuming, is no larger than my own, particularly not when there is a daughter in college.

I still have in mind your suggestion that I should come to Lake Forest for the informal talk you mentioned ; and Connie Goodman has told me of her telephone conversation with you on this subject. The nature and timing of my contribution at Grinnell still remains to be determined; but I am thinking of proposing the days beginning the 25th of January for my visit there, in which case I would see no reason why I could not be available at Lake Forest on the 23rd and 24th of that month. Would something like this suit you?

Affectionate greeting to Sue;

Yours,

George Kennan

Mr. Eugene Hotchkiss  
President, Lake Forest College  
Lake Forest, Illinois 60045

Summer 1982

BIOGRAPHIC DATA

PROFESSOR GEORGE F. KENNAN

George F. Kennan is now Professor Emeritus at the Institute for Advanced Study,\* in Princeton, New Jersey, where he served as Professor from 1956 to 1974. Prior to that he was a career diplomat in the Foreign Service, ending his career with service as Ambassador to Russia and to Yugoslavia.

In the course of his academic career, Professor Kennan has written some fifteen books, in addition to a large number of articles, most of them dealing with Russian and the Soviet Union. Two of these books have been honored with the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award. He has received a number of other honors, including honorary degrees from Oxford, Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, the Albert Einstein Peace Prize (1981) and the Grenville Clark Prize (1981). In October of this year, Professor Kennan is to be awarded the peace prize of the West German book trade (Friendenspreis des Deutschen Buchhandels). He has been, for many years, a member of the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, and served as President of that Academy from 1968 to 1972.

One of Professor Kennan's major concerns has been the improvement of Russian studies throughout this country with a view to providing the American public and American policymakers with a better background of information about the Soviet Union. In this connection, he helped to establish, in Washington, D. C., the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies.

Recently, Professor Kennan's writings on the nuclear arms race have received wide attention, both in this country and abroad. Many people consider them to be the philosophical foundation of the rapidly-growing anti-nuclear movement. (See enclosed publications of the American Committee on East-West Accord).

\*Please note that there is no connection with Princeton University.

BIOGRAPHIC DATA

George Frost Kennan

BORN: Milwaukee, Wisconsin; February 16, 1904.

PARENTS: Kossuth Kent and Florence James Kennan

SCHOOLS: St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, Wisconsin.  
and A.B., Princeton University, 1925.

DEGREES: Diploma, Berlin Seminary for Oriental Languages,  
1930.

Honorary LL.D.: Yale University, Dartmouth College,  
1950; Colgate University, 1951; University of Notre  
Dame, 1953; Kenyon College, 1954; The New School  
for Social Research, 1955; Princeton University,  
1956; University of Michigan, Northwestern University,  
1957; Brandeis University, 1958; University of  
Wisconsin, Harvard University, 1963; Denison Uni-  
versity, Rutgers the State University, 1966;  
Marquette University, 1972; Catholic University of America, 1976;  
Duke University, 1977; Ripon College, 1978.  
Honorary D.C.L., Oxford University, 1969

FAMILY: Married Annelise Sørensen, 1931.  
Children: Grace (Mrs. John C. Warnecke);  
Joan Elisabeth (Mrs. Walter Pozen);  
Christopher James Kennan;  
Wendy Antonia (Mrs. Claude Pfaeffli)

CAREER: Appointed Foreign Service Officer, September 1,  
1926.  
Vice Consul, Geneva, 1927; Hamburg, 1927; Berlin,  
1928; Tallinn, 1928.  
Third Secretary, Riga (Kovno and Tallinn), 1929.  
Language Officer, Berlin, 1929.  
Third Secretary, Riga, 1931.  
Accompanied Ambassador William C. Bullitt to  
Moscow, to reopen American Embassy, 1933.  
Consul, Vienna, 1935.  
Second Secretary, Prague, 1938.  
Consul, Prague, 1939.  
Second Secretary, Berlin, 1939; First Secretary,  
1940 (interned at Bad Nauheim; repatriated in  
June, 1942).  
Department of State, Washington, 1942.  
Counselor, Lisbon, 1942.  
Counselor, American Delegation to the European  
Advisory Commission, London, 1943.  
Minister-Counselor, Moscow, 1944.

CAREER: Deputy for Foreign Affairs, National War College,  
Washington, 1946.  
Director, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State,  
Washington, 1947.  
Counselor, Department of State, 1949.  
Leave-of-absence, at The Institute for Advanced  
Study, Princeton, New Jersey, 1950-1952. (Charles R.  
Walgreen Foundation Lecturer at the University  
of Chicago, 1951).  
Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., 1952.  
Retired from the Foreign Service, July 29, 1953.  
Member, The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton,  
1953. (Stafford Little Lecturer, Princeton  
University, 1954).  
Permanent Professor, School of Historical Studies,  
The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton,  
since January, 1956.  
George Eastman Visiting Professor, Balliol College,  
Oxford University, 1957-1958.  
BBC Reith Lecturer, 1957.  
Ambassador to Yugoslavia, 1961-1963 (leave of ab-  
sence from The Institute for Advanced Study).  
Visiting Fellow, All Souls College, Oxford Univer-  
sity, January-June, 1969 (Chichele Lecturer).  
Professor Emeritus, The Institute for Advanced  
Study, Princeton, effective July 1, 1974.  
Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for  
Scholars, October 1, 1974-December 31, 1975

CURRENT AFFILIA- American Philosophical Society (member since 1952).  
TIONS: National Institute of Arts and Letters (since  
1962; President, 1965-1967).  
American Academy of Arts and Letters (since 1964;  
President, 1968-1972). Order of the "Pour le Merite"  
for Arts & Sciences (since 1976).

BOOKS: American Diplomacy, 1900-1950. Chicago: Univer-  
sity of Chicago Press, 1951. (Freedom House  
Award, 1951).  
Realities of American Foreign Policy. Princeton:  
Princeton University Press, 1954.  
Das Amerikanisch Russische Verhältnis. Stuttgart:  
Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1954.  
Russia Leaves the War. Vol. I of Soviet-American  
Relations 1917-1920. Princeton: Princeton  
University Press, 1956. (National Book Award;  
Bancroft, Francis Parkman, and Pulitzer Prizes).  
Russia, The Atom, and The West. New York: Harper  
and Brothers, 1958.  
The Decision to Intervene, Vol. II of Soviet-  
American Relations 1917-1920. Princeton:  
Princeton University Press, 1958.

- BOOKS: Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1941. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1960.  
Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1961.  
On Dealing with the Communist World. New York: Harper and Row, 1964.  
Memoirs 1925-1950. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1967. (National Book Award and Pulitzer Prize for Biography, 1968).  
From Prague After Munich. Diplomatic Papers 1938-1940. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.  
Democracy and the Student Left. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1968.  
The Marquis de Custine and His "Russia in 1839." Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.  
Memoirs 1950-1963. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown and Company, 1972.  
The Cloud of Danger: Current Realities of American Foreign Policy. Atlantic-Little, Brown and Company, 1977.

\*

\*\*

- RECENT HONORS AND AWARDS: Awarded Director General's Cup of the American Foreign Service Association, for "distinction in the Foreign Service," November 16, 1973.  
Recipient of the Emory Buckner Medal for Distinguished Public Service of the Federal Bar Council of New York, November 21, 1973.  
Recipient of the Knight Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany, December 13, 1973.  
Recipient of the John F. Lewis Prize of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, for an important paper presented to and published by the Society. April 19, 1974.  
Recipient of the Woodrow Wilson Award, for "distinguished achievement in the nation's service," Princeton University, February 28, 1976.  
Recipient of the Albert Einstein Peace Prize, May 19, 1981  
  
Recipient of the Grenville Clark Prize, November 16, 1981  
Recipient of the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade, October 10, 1982.  
Recipient of the Union Medal of the Union Theological Seminary, October 25, 1982

\* The Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875-1890. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

\*\* The Nuclear Delusion: Soviet-American Relations in the Atomic Age. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

KENNAN

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

17 July 1980

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

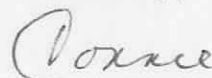
Dear Judith:

In connection with your memo of July 10, I have looked over Professor Kennan's writings for the year July 1, 1979 through June 30, 1980. While there are lots of miscellaneous tidbits, I think for your purposes you need note only the publication of the first volume of his work on the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1894:

The Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875-1890

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979. 449 pp.

Sincerely,



Constance Goodman,  
Secretary to Professor Kennan

Mrs. Judith Grisham  
Office of the Director  
The Institute for Advanced Study

GEORGE F. KENNAN. Diplomatic History

Born February 16, 1904, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Princeton University, BA 1925; Diploma, Berlin Seminary for Oriental Languages 1930.

Career Foreign Service Officer 1926-1953; Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. 1952; The Institute for Advanced Study, Member 1953; Princeton University, Stafford Little Lecturer 1954; The Institute for Advanced Study, Permanent Professor 1956; Oxford University, Balliol College, George Eastman Visiting Professor 1957-1958; BBC Reith Lecturer 1957; Ambassador to Yugoslavia 1961-1963; Oxford University, All Souls College, Visiting Fellow 1969; Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Fellow 1974-1975; The Institute for Advanced Study, Professor Emeritus 1974-.

September 1979

BIOGRAPHIC DATA

George Frost Kennan

**BORN:** Milwaukee, Wisconsin; February 16, 1904.

**PARENTS:** Kossuth Kent and Florence James Kennan

**SCHOOLS:** St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, Wisconsin.  
and A.B., Princeton University, 1925.

**DEGREES:** Diploma, Berlin Seminary for Oriental Languages,  
1930.

Honorary LL.D.: Yale University, Dartmouth College,  
1950; Colgate University, 1951; University of Notre  
Dame, 1953; Kenyon College, 1954; The New School  
for Social Research, 1955; Princeton University,  
1956; University of Michigan, Northwestern University,  
1957; Brandeis University, 1958; University of  
Wisconsin, Harvard University, 1963; Denison Uni-  
versity, Rutgers the State University, 1966;  
Marquette University, 1972; Catholic University of America, 1976;  
Duke University, 1977; Ripon College, 1978.  
Honorary D.C.L., Oxford University, 1969

**FAMILY:** Married Annelise Sørensen, 1931.

Children: Grace (Mrs. John C. Warnecke);  
Joan Elisabeth (Mrs. Walter Pozen);  
Christopher James Kennan;  
Wendy Antonia (Mrs. Claude Pfaeffli)

**CAREER:** Appointed Foreign Service Officer, September 1,  
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Vice Consul, Geneva, 1927; Hamburg, 1927; Berlin,  
1928; Tallinn, 1928.

Third Secretary, Riga (Kovno and Tallinn), 1929.

Language Officer, Berlin, 1929.

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Accompanied Ambassador William C. Bullitt to  
Moscow, to reopen American Embassy, 1933.

Consul, Vienna, 1935.

Second Secretary, Prague, 1938.

Consul, Prague, 1939.

Second Secretary, Berlin, 1939; First Secretary,  
1940 (interned at Bad Nauheim; repatriated in  
June, 1942).

Department of State, Washington, 1942.

Counselor, Lisbon, 1942.

Counselor, American Delegation to the European  
Advisory Commission, London, 1943.

Minister-Counselor, Moscow, 1944.



Biographic Data of G. F. Kennan

Page 2

- CAREER: Deputy for Foreign Affairs, National War College, Washington, 1946.  
Director, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State, Washington, 1947.  
Counselor, Department of State, 1949.  
Leave-of-absence, at The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, 1950-1952. (Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lecturer at the University of Chicago, 1951).  
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Biographic Data of G. F. Kennan

Page 3

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- Recipient of the Knight Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany, December 13, 1973.
- Recipient of the John F. Lewis Prize of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, for an important paper presented to and published by the Society. April 19, 1974.
- Recipient of the Woodrow Wilson Award, for "distinguished achievement in the nation's service," Princeton University, February 28, 1976.

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\* The Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875-1890. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

*Kennan?*

**HARRY WOOLF**  
Director

September 7, 1982

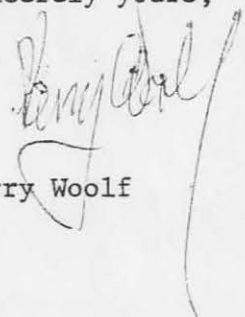
Mr. Norman Cousins  
Albert Einstein Peace Prize Foundation  
1430 West Wrightwood Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60614

Dear Mr. Cousins:

Thank you very much for yours of 22 August 1982. We approve wholeheartedly of your selection for the Einstein Peace Prize this year, and are most pleased to have the invitation to attend the event itself. Unfortunately, the October 7th date conflicts with an obligation I have elsewhere and so my wife and I cannot attend.

Naturally, I am pleased that George Kennan was again named, even though because of his receiving the award last year he is ineligible in 1982. Do keep me informed of the continuing work of your Foundation. If I can be helpful do feel free to call upon me.

Sincerely yours,



Harry Woolf

## ALBERT EINSTEIN PEACE PRIZE FOUNDATION

1430 WEST WRIGHTWOOD AVENUE • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60614 • (312) 472-8832

### Board of Directors

**Bernard Feld**, President and Chairman  
Professor of Physics, MIT

**Abram Chayes**, Vice-President  
Felix Frankfurter  
Professor of Law,  
Harvard University

**Carolyn Chin**, Secretary  
Manager of Strategic Planning,  
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.

**Marshall Bennett**, Treasurer  
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**William Swartz**, Executive Director  
President, Embosograph  
Display Mfg. Co.

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President, Stone  
The Adler Corporation

**Harrison Brown**  
Director, Resource Systems  
Institute, East-West Center,  
Honolulu

**Paul Doty**  
Director, Center for Science  
and International Affairs,  
Harvard University

**Franklin Long**  
Professor Emeritus of  
Science and Society,  
Cornell University

**Matthew Meselson**  
Professor of Biochemistry,  
Harvard University

**Gerard Piel**  
Publisher,  
The Scientific American

**George Piercy**  
Retired Director  
and Senior V.P.  
Exxon Corporation

**Bernard Weissbourd**  
Chairman,  
Metropolitan Structures

**Victor Weisskopf**  
Professor Emeritus of  
Physics, MIT

**Herbert York**  
Professor of Physics and  
Director, Program in Science,  
Technology & Public Affairs,  
University of California, S.D.

### Selection Board

**Norman Cousins**, Chairman  
Adjunct Professor,  
UCLA School of Medicine

**Robert O. Anderson**  
Chairman of the Board,  
Atlantic Richfield Co.

**Bernard Feld**

**Gerald Holton**  
Mallinckrodt Professor of  
Physics & Professor of the  
History of Science,  
Harvard University

**Franklin Long**

**Franklin D. Murphy**  
Chairman of the Board,  
Times Mirror Co.

**Susan Buffett**

**Louis Sohn**  
Woodruff Professor of  
International Law,  
University of Georgia

**Paul Warnke**  
Partner, Clifford & Warnke

**Jerome B. Wiesner**  
President Emeritus, MIT

August 22, 1982

Dr. & Mrs. Harry Woolf  
97 Olden Lane  
Princeton, NJ 08540

Dear Dr. & Mrs. Woolf:

The Albert Einstein Peace Prize Foundation's Peace Prize Selection Board has chosen Peace Prize Laureates for 1982.

We hope you will be pleased with the results of the Board's decision. Robert S. McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Gerard S. Smith and George F. Kennan, co-authors of the article proposing the serious discussion of an agreement prohibiting first-use of nuclear weapons, as published in Foreign Affairs, Spring 1982, were selected as 1982 laureates. George F. Kennan, however, was ineligible, having received the Peace Prize in 1981.

The lifetime experiences of this group, generally known as hardheaded realists, combine to make them appropriate choices.

We are informing you of the choice before formal announcement because of the importance we attach to your presence at the award ceremony on October 7, 1982 at 12:30 p.m. at the Capitol Hyatt Regency, Washington, D.C.

As you know, the Kennan award last year turned out to be a significant catalyst in the widespread response to the world's arms race. We believe that this year's award will continue and expand this process.

Sincerely,

*Norman Cousins*  
Norman Cousins

Date: October 7, 1982  
Time: 12:30 p.m.  
Place: Capitol Hyatt Regency  
Washington, D.C.

R.S.V.P.

We are saving<sup>ing</sup> space for you at  
the luncheon — Please be sure to  
come.

October 29, 1979

Professor George Kennan  
School of Historical Studies  
Institute for Advanced Study

Dear George:

I was delighted with your note of  
26 October, and the copy of your new book.  
I look forward to reading it very much, as  
does Pat too. We are especially honored  
by your expression of friendship and  
affection, and more than reciprocate.

Not connected with this at all, but  
as part of a conversation between Annelise  
and Pat, or perhaps you and Pat, a box of  
kasha is on its way to you.

Cordially yours,

Harry Woolf

*HW*

May 30, 1979

Dear George:

Thanks for passing on the copies of the exchange of correspondence between you and John Lukacs. I will await your return before passing it on to the members of the School of Historical Studies.

Have a good summer.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Woolf

Professor George Kennan  
School of Historical Studies  
Institute for Advanced Study

hold

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

5/17/79

The Director:

The attached is, I suppose, one of the first fruits of the advertisement.

Lubacs is, by profession, a modest ~~teacher~~ teacher of history - I believe at Temple Un. I have known him for some years and have high respect for him as a thoughtful man and a philosopher of European history. He has written one book about "historical consciousness," as a European phenomenon, which I do not have at hand.

(over)

www.Postal.com

POSTNET

You will see what I have told him.

I should think that such a person should  
~~be~~ be encouraged to ~~to~~ apply, even though  
his accomplishments are different from those  
that have been thought of, in the past, as  
normal prerequisites for consideration in  
this respect.

Kindly return the materials to Mrs.  
Goodman.

George K.



THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

17 May 1979

Dear Mr. Lukacs:

This is my last day in the office before leaving for a long absence in Europe, and I am therefore replying in some haste to your letter of the 8th.

Thank you so much for the information about the Cardozo book and about Mrs. Gonne's involvement in the Ferdinand letters. All this was quite unknown to me; and while it is now too late to get it into the book, I still value the information, and will try to pursue it.

About the possibility of a professorship at this Institute: I am not optimistic, but would not like to throw a wet blanket on it completely before talking with those members of the faculty here who are most concerned with modern history. Both of them, unfortunately, are now away, and it will be August-September before I could consult them. I will, however, gladly do it at that time, for I have, as you know, high respect for your work, and feel that it should be much more widely known than it is.

Let me wish you all of the best for the summer. I hope that we may find an early occasion to meet when things pick up again in the autumn.

Very sincerely,

  
George Kennan

Mr. John Lukacs  
"Old Pickering School House"  
Valley Park Road  
Williams' Corner  
Phoenixville, Pennsylvania 19460

"Old Pickering School House"  
Valley Park Road  
Williams' Corner  
Phoenixville, Pennsylvania 19460

Telephone  
215-933-7495

8 May 1979

Dear Mr Kennan,

There are three things about which I wished to talk to you last week but I could not get through to you by telephone, wherefore I'm writing this letter.

My "interview" with Mr Harriman will take place on 22 May, by which time you will have left the country. Not having heard from you about this I assumed that you preferred not to participate in this kind of discussion. I told this to Mr Harriman when he called me on the phone. It seems that he had heard of the possibility of a three-way conversation from the owner of American Heritage and he would have liked you to participate -- he insisted that no date be set until we find out about your best convenience -- but I told him that, to the best of my knowledge, you would be abroad by the time which would be suitable for him as well as for myself. Let me repeat that the entire idea of this kind of discussion came from the owner of the magazine (a friend of Mr Harriman's, whom I do not know, though I know the editor and the editor emeritus) and, while my first reaction was that I should prefer a three-way discussion, I made it clear to the editors that this was entirely dependent on your preference and convenience.

(One question I shall ask Mr Harriman: What, in his opinion, was the zenith of American power -- 1918 or 1945? I wish I could hear your ideas about this.)

The second matter is this. I read your article -- or, perhaps, the excerpt from your book -- in the reprint from the Jahrbuecher fuer Gesch. Osteuropas with acute attention, impressed as I was, as so often, with the unusual compound of precision and insight which marks so much of your historianship. Then last week, by accident, I ran across a somewhat jumbled page or so in an otherwise creditable biography of Maud Gonne by a woman named Nancy Cardozo -- and, even though I strongly suspect that you know about this, I felt compelled to bring it to your attention. Maud Gonne (the beautiful Irish revolutionary woman, and the life-long love of W. B. Yeats) was the mistress of Millevoeye (she had two children by him) and she recalls in some detail how she took a very secret document, given to her by Millevoeye, to St Petersburg, travelling on what must have been the Nord-Express, weaving her way through all kinds of intrigues en route. The Cardozo biography is recent, it should not be difficult for your secretary to obtain it, but, if you wish, I shall find it again and xerox the respective page or two and send them to you. \*

Third, in order as well as in importance (and you must believe me when I say this) is an advertisement I ran across in the New York Times perhaps two or three weeks ago about a professorship in history in the Institute for Advanced Study. I have very mixed feelings about this, and I wished to solicit your opinion whether it would make sense for me to apply at all. I am not really unsatisfied with my present situation, having taught in my little college for thirty-two years now, and feeling reasonably certain that things would not change for the worse for the remaining twelve or thirteen years of my teaching career. On the other hand I might enjoy a situation where I could devote myself to the kind of research and writing that I -- perhaps



THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Nov. 3, '82

The Director:

Harry:

Would you have any thoughts  
as to how I should respond to this  
one?

They will soon, I fear, be on  
the phone.

George K.

# CIRCLE

## Central Information Resources Center for Life Extension

November 1, 1982

Professor George F. Kennan  
Historical Studies School  
Institute for Advanced Learning  
Olden Lane  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Professor Kennan,

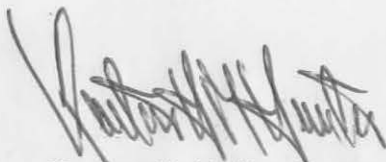
The enclosed paper proposes an international biomedical data base, the development of which we are recommending be led by the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and the United States. The first page of the paper summarizes the project.

We feel that the benefits to society, beyond pure biomedical benefits, can be quite important. Pages 16 and 17 outline benefits which should help international relations, particularly between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Your great expertise in this area and resulting contacts could be of tremendous value. We need better and more contacts with the Soviets. It is my hope that you will believe in the project sufficiently to help us in this manner.

Please allow me to contact you after you have had a chance to examine the proposal.

Sincerely yours,



Kenyon H. Muller Hunter

*He*

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone 609-734-8000

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

19 April 1983

Dear Dr. Woolf:

Professor Kennan is still housebound, convalescing from the flu, but he wanted you to see the attached exchange with Professor Gilbert. I believe Professor Gilbert has Professor Gaddis' paper.

Very sincerely,



Constance Goodman,

Secretary to Professor Kennan

Dr. Harry Woolf  
Director's Office  
I. A. S.

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone 609-734-8000

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

15 April 1983

Dear Professor Gilbert:

Professor Kennan, who is confined to his home after a severe case of influenza, asked me to send along the attached paper with the following remarks:

"I am increasingly impressed with Gaddis' qualifications as a candidate for a faculty appointment at this Institute. This paper (The Emerging Post-revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War) will give you some idea of his thoroughness as a scholar and his command of the available literature in the general field of recent American diplomatic history. His judgment strikes me as shrewd, fair and authoritative. It is true that his interests appear to relate primarily to very recent diplomatic history, verging on the contemporary; but so, for that matter, did those of Ed Earle, whose place at this Institute I took (in effect). If our active colleagues find insufficient historical depth in what Gaddis has written, perhaps the Institute should consider an appointment for him in the fourth school.

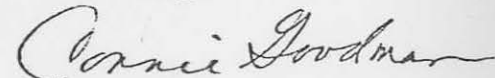
"Gaddis has been selected, as I may have told you, as my own official biographer, in the same way that Ronald Steel was selected by Walter Lippmann for a similar purpose, it being understood that the final work would be most unlikely to appear until long after my death. He has, however, already interviewed a number of my family, including my elder sisters and children. Without exception all have been much impressed with him as a person and have felt entirely comfortable in talking freely with him.

"This, of course, has nothing to do with my thought of his qualifications as a candidate for a faculty appointment here; but it is an interest on his part which would fit very well with such a position.

"Possibly, if a faculty position could not be considered, some sort of a long-term appointment might be."

GFK

Sincerely,



Constance Goodman,  
Secretary to Professor Kennan

Professor Felix Gilbert  
I. A. S.

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone 609-734-8000

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

April 18, 1983

Professor George Kennan  
School of Historical Studies

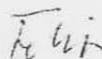
Dear George:

I was sorry to hear that you have a flu. This is an unpleasantly long, cold season, which seems to have brought many colds and flus. I hope you are recovering quickly.

I think Mr. Gaddis' article is very interesting and I have heard good things about him also from other sides. As you know, I have always been in favor of having at the Institute a historian who is primarily concerned with American history and I also think that very recent history is thoroughly appropriate. However, I have no idea what the plans of the members of the School of Historical Studies for the filling of the various vacancies which will come up in the near future are, and I decided when I retired that I would keep my hands entirely off these discussions. I would suggest that you talk with John Elliott who, as I know, is entirely in agreement with us about the need for doing something about modern history in the School of Historical Studies. As you probably know John, after having given the Trevelyan Lectures at Cambridge, England, is now traveling around the world, but he will be back in the last days of April. Perhaps I also ought to say that, because it might be difficult to get Professor Gaddis a permanent position immediately or soon, it might be more feasible to get him what is called a long-term appointment.

Again, I hope you will have soon overcome the consequences of the flu and we might then talk about this during lunch.

Yours,



Felix Gilbert

FG:rh



11 January 1983

Dear Jin:

Thank you for your helpful letter of the 7th, which I have just seen.

As I told you when we saw each other in November, I have very much on my mind, after the lapse of nearly a decade since the establishment of the Kennan Institute, the question of its future--especially in the light of the experience we have all had to date and of the somewhat changed atmosphere in which the whole field of Russian/Soviet studies is now operating. I hope that by the time we meet on the 21st, I will have clarified my own mind on the questions and that we can then talk it over--preferably, I should think, before we meet with Mr. Ripley.

I appreciate the interest you and your associates are taking in the problem of fund-raising for the Kennan Institute, along with the rest of the Center; and this, too, I shall be happy to discuss. But I feel that there must first be clarity as to just what it is, in the development of the Institute, that we are concerned to achieve. Once this is clear, it will be easier to approach the problems of fund-raising.

I am planning to come down to Washington just for the day, on the 21st, and should be available at the Center, without interruption, from 11:45 a.m. (perhaps a bit earlier, depending on the punctuality of the train) to 3:15 p.m.

Sincerely,

George Kennan

Dr. James H. Billington  
The Wilson Center  
Smithsonian Institution Building  
Washington, D. C. 20560

P. S. After writing the above, I remember that John Glad asked me to be available for a meeting with some of the Fellows at 2:15 p.m. on that day.

# THE WILSON CENTER



JAMES H. BILLINGTON, *Director*

January 7, 1983

Professor George F. Kennan  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear George:

It was good to see you at the Kennan Institute academic council meeting and then again Monday night on television. Congratulations on an extraordinary presentation—and I was glad to see that Grace was involved as well.

I continue to hope we will see you for a month or two perhaps in the spring to help facilitate your continuing scholarly work. We really would guarantee you tranquility in one of these new tower offices.

As you know, The Wilson Center is embarking on an endowment fund-raising campaign under Bob Mosbacher, vice chairman of our Board, and Dick Salomon, a particularly active member of our Wilson Council. This campaign seeks a Center-wide endowment for operating and program expenses. Like the federal appropriation, this central endowment will benefit all parts of the Center including, of course, the Kennan Institute. There is, in addition, a solicitation for the special endowment of the Kennan Institute and its programs along the lines which you have already worked out in correspondence with Prosser Gifford. Such a fund-raising campaign, of course, involves much coordination and thoughtful planning to assure its success. George Seay and Marie Anderson are working on it full time. They, like Prosser and me, will be working to advance both the general endowment of the Center and the special endowment of the Kennan Institute.

We all deeply appreciate your willingness to aid in this effort. It would be beneficial for us here at the Center to coordinate plans with you fairly closely so that we do not end up either approaching the same people or overlooking other opportunities. The advice of experienced fund raisers (we have advice from Cambridge Associates) and our own experience here convince us that both the Center-wide endowment and the specific fund-raising efforts for the Kennan Institute are mutually reinforcing. I hope you will keep us apprised of your own thinking so that we may be as helpful as we can in any specific overtures that you may plan on making and that we can have your continuing advice and help in our own plans.

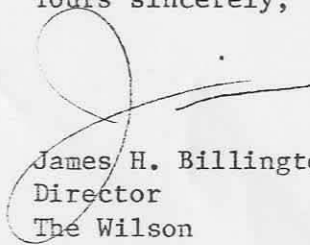
Dick Salomon (who as I mentioned to you is chancellor of Brown University and therefore did not feel that he should approach Tom Watson for anything but Brown) was hoping that you might speak to Tom Watson about the possibility of endowment for the Kennan Institute, and I would be happy to accompany you and/or provide any back-up materials you might want. Tom, as you probably know, had a series of meetings at the Kennan Institute before going off as ambassador. Dick Salomon seemed to feel that Tom might be willing to consider support for the different purposes of the Kennan Institute in Washington in addition to the support he has rendered for the special center at Brown.

Professor George F. Kennan  
January 7, 1983  
Page two

We are actively pursuing various possibilities of closer collaboration with the Smithsonian. And I know you have had an interest in meeting with Dillon Ripley to discuss the always-sensitive question of finding a bit more space. We have tentatively worked out a luncheon appointment for January 21, and we are happy to have confirmed by telephone that this would be a possible time for you. It occurs to me that if you and I could talk either before or after the lunch about general fund-raising strategy, it would be extremely valuable—and, of course, it is always such a special pleasure to have a chance to meet and talk with you in any case. Do let us know if you want us to make arrangements for spending that night here in Washington.

Marjorie joins me in sending you and Annelise warmest good wishes for the new year—and again congratulations on your continued leadership at the Kennan Institute as well as the splendid television evening.

Yours sincerely,



James H. Billington  
Director  
The Wilson

A G R E E M E N T

BETWEEN GEORGE F. KENNAN

AND

THE WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

THIS AGREEMENT by and between George F. Kennan, a resident of Princeton, New Jersey, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, an institution created by Act of Congress, dated October 24, 1968 (P.L. 90-637, 20 U.S.C. 80e et seq.), to be the Nation's memorial to President Woodrow Wilson;

WITNESSETH:

(1) That in 1974 the Board of Trustees of the Wilson Center established as a program of the Center an Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, which came to be known as the Kennan Institute, in honor of George Kennan (1845-1924), America's foremost authority on Russia in the nineteenth century.

(2) That Ambassador George F. Kennan, because of his close association with the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies over the years, desires to further the work of the Institute by establishing a Fund, to be known as the George F. Kennan Fund, which will be administered by the Wilson Center as follows:

(a) Income only from the Fund shall be used for the specific purpose of assisting in meeting the administrative expenses of the Kennan Institute. Expenditures shall be made at the discretion of the Director of the Wilson Center. All requests for disbursements from the Fund must be detailed in writing by the Secretary of the Kennan Institute to the Director of the Wilson Center. All amounts disbursed from the Fund shall be recorded through regular accounting procedures, and any unexpended balance shall be returned to the Fund. Unexpended income from the Fund may be accumulated and expended for the stated purpose in any future year or years.

(b) Assets may be added to the Fund at any time by interested parties.

(c) Initial contributions to the Fund are expected to amount to approximately \_\_\_\_\_ . However, no distributions of income shall be made from the Fund until the corpus reaches the sum of Two Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$200,000), including subsequent contributions as permitted in subparagraph (b); until such time, income shall be reinvested into and become part of the corpus of the Fund.

(3) That in order to insure the most appropriate use of the Fund in perpetuity:

(a) If in the future a two-thirds' majority of the Board of Trustees of the Wilson Center, upon the recommendation of the Director of the Wilson Center, determines that the purpose of the Fund as herein stated is obsolete, then said Board shall have discretion to authorize the use of the income from the Fund for such other purpose or activity of the Wilson Center as it deems most appropriate to the memory of George F. Kennan. The Fund shall continue to be known as the George F. Kennan Fund.

(b) If in the future a two-thirds' majority of the Board of Trustees of the Wilson Center, upon the recommendation of the Director of the Wilson Center, determines that the purpose of the Fund as herein stated can best be carried out by transfer of the Fund to a separately organized non-profit entity which will become the Kennan Institute or with which the Kennan Institute wishes to affiliate, then said Board shall have discretion to transfer all right, title, and interest to the Fund to said non-profit entity. The Fund shall continue to be known as the George F. Kennan Fund.

(4) That George F. Kennan, upon the signing of this Agreement, shall make an initial contribution the Fund of One Thousand Dollars (\$1,000),

(5) That the Wilson Center agrees to administer the Fund in accordance with the terms of this Agreement.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I, GEORGE F. KENNAN, do hereunder set my hand and seal this 9<sup>th</sup> day of September, 1982, and the WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS causes this Agreement to be executed by WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR., Chairman of the Board of Trustees, this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_\_.

ATTEST:

Elizabeth Stenard

By George F. Kennan  
George F. Kennan

ATTEST:

William J. Barody, Jr.

By William J. Barody, Jr.  
William J. Barody, Jr.  
Chairman, Board of Trustees  
Woodrow Wilson International  
Center for Scholars

December 17, 1982

Professor George Kennan  
School of Historical Studies  
Institute for Advanced Study

Dear George:

Just a quick note to acknowledge yours of 13 December 1982, with its attachment describing the Kennan Institute. You have every right to be proud!

Equally, I think you are correct about Billington, and he obviously senses that you and your colleagues will succeed in achieving a durable and expanding existence for the Institute, and as they say, "doesn't want to lose a good thing." I was unaware of the Hochschild legacy and I am glad that it happened. It's a good omen.

Cordially yours,

Harry Woolf

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Dec. 13, 1952.

The Directors.

Harry:

I don't want to burden you unduly; but since you have been so generous as to take an interest in the Kennan Institute, I thought I would let you see:

(a) The list of applicants, this year, for our five senior fellowships. It illustrates, I think, both the distinction the Institute has achieved, internationally, and the exceptional need for what it has to offer.

(b) An unprovoked letter from Billington, which was evidently inspired by the news of the Hoehrschild legacy and is all very nice, but betrays a strong desire on his part to keep the ~~to~~ Kennan Institute tightly lashed to the Wilson Center's apron-strings.

George K.



APPLICANTS IN THE KENNAN INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED RUSSIAN STUDIES

ROUND 23, FALL 1982

1. Joseph Efim Aleshkovsky, 53, writer, Connecticut. Carousel, a novel.
2. Muriel Ann Atkin, 35, Assistant Professor of History, George Washington University. The Soviet Union and revolutionary Iran.
3. John D. Bell, 39, Associate Professor of History, University of Maryland-Baltimore Campus. Stalin and Soviet science: the neo-Pavlovian upheaval.
4. Alexander D. Bernstein, 82, Israel, Professor of Physiology, Jerusalem University. Soviet biology and medicine in the period of "struggle against foreignism and cosmopolitanism."
5. Joachim Braun, 53, Israel, Associate Professor of Music, Bar-Ilan University. The Jewish tradition in Soviet music.
6. Krzysztof Jerzy Czerkowski, 31, Poland, Assistant Professor of International Economic Relations, Lodz University. Scientific freedom in the Soviet system.
7. Jan Åke Dellenbrant, 36, Sweden, Associate Professor of Political Science, Uppsala University. Regional planning in the Soviet Union.
8. Andrew Robert Durkin, 37, Assistant Professor of Russian Literature, Indiana University. Chekhov's prose and nineteenth century Russian fiction.
9. John Gordon Garrard, 48, Professor of Russian Literature, University of Virginia. Authority and rebellion in Russian literature since Stalin: the writer's predicament.
10. Boris Gasparov, 42, Visiting Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Stanford University. History of Russian language from a socio-cultural perspective.
11. Lester S. Golub, 58, Professor of Education, The Pennsylvania State University. Soviet education, social class assignment, and mobility, 1932-1982.
12. Mojmir Grygar, 54, The Netherlands, Associate Professor of Slavic Studies, The University of Amsterdam. Art for the future: theory and practice of the Russian and Czech avant-garde movements, 1910-1930.
13. Salaheddin Osman Hashim, 60, former Ambassador from the Sudan. The roots of Soviet policy towards Islam and its world.
14. Erik P. Hoffman, 43, Associate Professor of Political Science, State University of New York at Albany. Soviet-West European relations in the 1970s and 1980s. (joint proposal with Robbin Laird)
15. John Doyle Klier, 37, Associate Professor of History, Fort Hays State University. Russian public opinion and the Jewish question.

16. Oleg Alexeevitch Kolobov, 34, Soviet Union, Professor and Chairman of Asian, African, and Latin American Studies, Gorkii State University. Palestine in the diplomacy of Russia and the United States in 19th and 20th centuries.
17. Robbin F. Laird, 35, Associate, Research Institute on International Change, Columbia University. Soviet-West European relations in the 1970s and 1980s. (joint proposal with Erik Hoffman)
18. Anna Maltese Lawton, 42, Associate Professor of Russian and Comparative Literature, Purdue University. Russian futurist manifestoes: aesthetics and politics.
19. Victor Levin, 67, Israel, Professor of Slavic Languages, Hebrew University. The language of Russian prose: 18th - 20th centuries.
20. Joel Charles Moses, 38, Professor of Political Science, Iowa State University. Soviet labor policy, 1976-1982.
21. Vladimir Paperny, 37, emigre, free-lance researcher, self-employed, California. "Culture one" and "culture two" - patterns in the history of Soviet society, their interaction, and the manifestation of this process in architecture.
22. Boris Mikhailovitch Paramonov, 45, writer, New York. Cultural biography of A.P. Chekhov.
23. Stanislaw Pomorski, 47, Distinguished Professor of Law, Rutgers University. The "second economy" and Soviet law.
24. Peter B. Reddaway, 42, United Kingdom, Senior Lecturer in Political Science, London School of Economics and Political Science. Soviet policy towards dissent since 1953: how is it formed, implemented, changed?
25. Robert E. Richardson, 41, Associate Professor of Modern Languages and Literatures and Director, Soviet and East European Studies, Boston University. The image of Rome in Russia: ideals and reality.
26. Henry Shields Robinson, 52, Professor of History, Morgan State University. A study of the Soviet Moslem (Central Asian) population from 1800 to the present.
27. Joanna Hilary Seddon, 28, United Kingdom, part-time Lecturer at Oxford and Manchester Universities. N.G. Chernyshevskii and the Russian revolutionary movement.
28. Khosrow Shakeri, 43, emigre, former Associate Professor of Economic History, Teheran University. A study in the Soviet strategy of expansion on a world scale: long-term approach to the Middle East.
29. Teodor Shanin, 52, United Kingdom, Professor and Head of Department of Sociology, University of Manchester. The Stolypin reforms in Russia as the archetype of rural transformation strategies in contemporary "developing societies."

30. Leonid A. Shur, 52, Israel, Associate Professor of Latin American Studies, Hebrew University. Russian sources on American history of the 18th and 19th centuries: unpublished materials of Russian travellers in Alaska and California.
31. Julia Junzhi Sih, 53, Visiting Scholar, Russian Research Center, Harvard University. Russian Soviet literature.
32. Konstantin M. Simis, 63, former Senior Staff member, Institute of Soviet Legislation of the Ministry of Justice, U.S.S.R. The role of the principle of legality and law in the Soviet system.
33. Robert C. Tucker, 64, Professor of Politics and Director of Russian Studies Program, Princeton University. Stalin: a study in history and personality.
34. Rashna Writer, 32, United Kingdom, self-employed researcher. The changing Indian Ocean theatre: Soviet and American strategies.
35. Igor Yefimov, 45, Director of Hermitage Publishers, Michigan. Russian alternatives.
36. Ilya Grigory Zemtsov, 43, Israel, Professor of Sociology and Director of Israel Research Institute of Contemporary Society. Soviet military and political expansion in the 1980s.

# THE WILSON CENTER



JAMES H. BILLINGTON, *Director*

December 9, 1982

Professor George Kennan  
School of Historical Studies  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear George:

As I mentioned in our telephone conversation on Friday, we are all delighted by the news of the Harold Hochschild gift, and this provides a most positive note as we convene the Academic Advisory Council. As I suggested to you, we are anxious to develop a plan for the Kennan Institute over the next ten years, under several different sets of circumstances, and I enclose a preliminary draft of such a plan with this letter. We have considerable testimony, as you realize, from last year's review of the Kennan Institute's accomplishments in the past, and John Glad will soon have completed the augmentation of the five-year review document to include the full range of activity over the past eight years. Thus we will be able to present fully and accurately the record of the accomplishments of the Kennan Institute during its initial years.

What we now need to do is to plan imaginatively and wisely for the next ten-year period, for which the Institute's mandate has already been renewed by our Board of Trustees. As a beginning and guide for that process, I enclose a document with three different levels of projected activities -- each coordinated with three different levels of possible funding. The first covers essential proven needs and is consistent with a continuation of the present minimal level of funding. The second includes a broader range of activities that would be possible with a level of funding that might be attained with an endowment of \$3,000,000. The third and most ambitious would be possible only with a major augmentation of funds such as might result from the passage and funding of the Congressional bill for research and training in Soviet and East European studies.

Our own needs to plan for the next ten years are fortunately congruent with the questions raised by the Rockefeller Foundation's recent draft request for proposals in the field of Soviet international behavior. You have probably seen a copy of the letter sent out by John Strelau which invites commentary upon the Rockefeller Foundation's proposed guidelines. It occurs to me that it might be a useful exercise to have the benefit of discussion by the Institute's Academic Advisory Council of the possible elements for a ten-year development plan.

There may be a certain awkwardness in these discussions, because some

Professor George Kennan

-2-

December 9, 1982

members of the Academic Council may well come from universities or Centers which might be competitors with the Kennan Institute in the Rockefeller Foundation's competition. Nonetheless, I think it would be valuable to have a discussion about the sorts of contributions which the Kennan Institute could uniquely make on a national basis more effectively than by a single university.

We look forward to the meetings on December 19th and 20th. Fortunately, the prospects for some significant new funding in the field of Russian and Soviet studies seem brighter now than they have in the recent past.

We look forward to having you with us in Washington. Marjorie joins me in sending warmest good wishes,

Sincerely,

  
James H. Billington

*I am working on setting up a meeting with Dalton Ripley and in the area you to discuss space. But funding is really the central issue, which will probably help determine the availability of space.*

Encl:

1. Proposed 3 levels of Activity for Kennan Institute
2. Agenda for Advisory Council mtg.
3. Copy of Rockefeller letter

*I would like to have this from Ripley in form of an assurance that if we got the money we could have the space.*

Three Proposed Levels of Activity for  
the Kennan Institute, dependent  
upon availability of funding

Level I

The first level is consistent with a continuation of the present proven essential core services at a minimal level of funding. This is the irreducible core. The monies listed below are for the budget of the Kennan Institute. The Wilson Center provides from its budget: (1) the salary and fringe benefits for the Program Secretary; (2) the fellowship and guest scholar stipends for Fellows and Guest Scholars in the Kennan Institute; (3) through the generosity of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, money to sustain short-term grantees; and (4) some administrative support (xeroxing, etc.). These four categories aggregate annually approximately \$220,000 of essential support for the basic purposes of the Kennan Institute supplied from the appropriated federal and unappropriated private funds of the Wilson Center.

In addition, the Kennan Institute must supply about \$60,000 annually from its budget to sustain a minimal program. Approximately \$21,000 of this is for the salary and fringe benefits for a program assistant, and the balance is for the following activities.

Travel	\$6,000.00
Library	7,000.00
Academic Council (travel)	8,000.00
Research Assistants	4,500.00
Training	1,000.00
Supplies	800.00
Meetings (noon discussions)	1,250.00
Conferences (incidental expenses)	1,000.00
Printing & Publications	3,000.00
Special Projects (8-year report)	1,250.00
Overhead on certain items @ 20%	5,500.00

These are recognizably minimum figures to sustain a program of any variety and public reach. The endowment required to provide an annual income of \$60,000 per year -- for this minimum level of activity -- would be about \$1,200,000 (dependent upon assumptions about inflation and interest levels: e.g., a 10% rate of interest, with 5% reinvested to keep the principal level with inflation would yield \$60,000 expendable income yearly).

Level II

A second -- augmented -- level of activity could add essentially two major items: about \$60,000 per year for major meetings and conferences and about \$30,000 for a research associate position. With overhead this would amount in total to approximately \$96,000.

There is in addition the possibility that in the future the position of

Program Assistant might be transferred to the Wilson Center's federal budget, thereby relieving the Kennan Institute's budget of \$21,000 annually in Level I funding. Were this to happen, the funds thereby released would be used to augment both short-term grants for visiting scholars and publications.

The additional \$96,000 of annual income required would necessitate roughly an additional \$2,000,000 of endowment -- or a total endowment for Level I and Level II activities of approximately \$3,200,000.

An endowment at this level could probably be achieved if the Kennan Institute were to compete successfully for one of the Rockefeller Foundation grants for strengthening advanced research, training and public education activities in the field of Soviet international behavior.

### Level III

An expansion beyond Level II would probably become possible only with the passage of "The Soviet-Bloc Research and Training Act of 1982" and the appropriation of funds to make the Act a reality.

Were that to happen, the Kennan Institute would be a primary beneficiary. It is difficult to know what level of annual funding would result (the allocation of funds would derive from discussions among the heads of the National Council for Soviet and East European Research, the International Research and Exchange Board, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars). We assume that we would undertake the following additional activities. We could draw upon the considerable experience with many of the aspects suggested here already accumulated by other programs of the Wilson Center.

Generation and Dissemination of Scholarship in the field: an expanded program benefitting from the Wilson Center's experience in communicating scholarship with a broader audience demonstrated in the Center's widely read Wilson Quarterly (circulation 105,000), by sponsoring new research on many neglected areas of Soviet studies, resulting in new publication. The Institute would also sponsor bibliographic research resulting in directories and other useful sources of information to scholars. Especially important and much needed is the widespread dissemination of current research on a regular basis, either through a journal of Russian studies or the publication of a regular series of scholarly articles and greater dissemination to schools, universities, and the general public through radio broadcasts (and cassettes) and television.

Programs: expansion of existing programs to include major conferences on an international level; to provide more opportunities for hosting scholars from the U.S.S.R.; to hold seminars, more meetings on topics of interest to government officials, members of Congress, private organizations, and the press.

Scholarly Support: expansion of the program of grants to junior scholars in order to increase the opportunities for younger scholars all over the country and to promote research and scholarship in the field.

Administrative Support: staff to support the much increased program and scholarly activities.

FILE: George KENNAN

Subject: Proposal to NEH - The Franco-Russian Alliance project

Date: 1980-

See: Under NEH (fund-raising files)



# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

HARRY WOOLF  
Director

Interim Report: March 15, 1982  
Principal Project Director: George F. Kennan  
Project Title: The Franco-Russian Alliance  
Grant Number: RO-0466-81  
Grant Period: 12/01/80 to 11/30/82  
Amount of Grant: \$22,777.00

During the past academic year, Professor Kennan has continued to work on his multi-volume study of the history of the Franco-Russian alliance of 1894. This work has had two aspects: (1) a translation of the first volume; and (2) continued research and writing on the second volume.

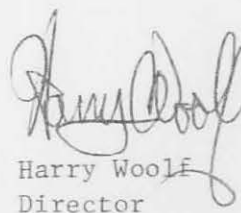
The work on the German edition was very demanding, involving as it did not only the editing, but often the discussion and revision, of every line in this 500-page work. Professor Kennan attaches great importance to this German edition, which is expected to be the basis for a French edition, because the work is, after all, one of European diplomatic history, and its value as a contribution to historical knowledge will be determined in part by the extent to which it stimulates critical response and further research among European, as well as among American, scholars.

Work on the second volume has consisted mostly of research, conducted partly in and around Princeton, but also in official governmental archives

- 2 -

in London, Paris and Moscow during the period March-April 1981, and finally, in July, in the unique holdings of nineteenth-century Russian periodical literature to be found in the library of the Helsinki University. But in addition to this, Professor Kennan has gone ahead wherever he could with the writing. The typescript now embraces a 30-page introduction and ten chapters covering some 300 pages. He expects to add at least two more substantive chapters, plus an essay of conclusions, as in the first volume. This should produce, together with bibliographical notes and index, a volume of somewhere between 400 and 450 pages, somewhat shorter than the first volume. It is his hope that it will take the story of the alliance up to the end of the century. Professor Kennan would then like, ideally, to add a third volume treating the effects of the alliance on Russian and French policy during the Russian-Japanese War, the abortive Russian revolution of 1905, and the outbreak of the First World War; but he recognizes that this will have to depend on the usual vicissitudes of health in anyone of his age.

I may add that it has not been easy for Professor Kennan to pursue this work over the past year in the face of the great number of other demands on his time and attention, particularly after his receiving the Albert Einstein Peace Prize in May of 1981. He feels very strongly, however, about the completion of the work on the second volume of this present study, has recognized it as his primary task in the months ahead, and has set aside five periods of complete removal from all other activity during this academic year with a view to its completion.



Harry Woolf  
Director

cc. Allen Rowe

January 21, 1982

Mr. Ara Oztemel  
Satra Corporation  
1211 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Oztemel:

Thank you very much for yours of 7 January 1982, and the gift of \$2,500 to the Institute for Advanced Study to support Professor George F. Kennan's research.

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of our annual report for last year so that you may become more intimately acquainted with the Institute for Advanced Study.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Woolf

Enclosure

72500. Cnr 70 60 15 Jan 82

xc: G Kennan  
A Rowe  
S. Modzelewski



SATRA CORPORATION  
1211 AVE AMERICAS  
NY 10016

ARA OZTEMEL  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD  
AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

January 7, 1982

Institute for Advance Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

Gentlemen:

We are very pleased to contribute and support  
the work of Professor George F. Kennan.

Very truly yours,

*Ara Oztemel*  
Ara Oztemel  
*S.O.*

check drawn on State Natl Bank, Old Greenwich, CT

*With the Compliments  
of  
George F. Kennan  
The Institute For Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey*

EMBARGOED UNTIL 5 P.M., NOVEMBER 16, 1981

Address by the Honorable George Kennan  
on the occasion of his receiving  
The Grenville Clark Prize  
Hanover, New Hampshire, November 16, 1981

Nearly a quarter of a century ago, as many of you will recall, Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn put forward, in a monumental work entitled World Peace through World Law, their ideas for a program of universal disarmament and for a system of world law to replace the chaotic and dangerous institution of unlimited national sovereignty upon which international life was then and is now based.

To many of us, these ideas looked, at the time, impractical, if not naive. Today, two decades later, and in the light of what has occurred in the interval, the logic of them is more compelling. It is still too early, I fear, for their realization on a universal basis; but efforts to achieve the limitation of sovereignty in favor of a system of international law on a regional basis are another thing; and when men begin to come seriously to grips with this possibility, it is to the carefully thought-out and profoundly humane ideas of Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn that they will have to turn for inspiration and guidance.

However, my purpose tonight is not to deal with the historical significance of this vision of the future, in its entirety, but rather to recall one passage of it which has obvious relevance to this present moment. This is a passage which occurred in the final sections of Grenville Clark's preface to the substantive parts of the book; and it concerned nuclear weaponry. After describing the appalling dimensions of the

nuclear weapons race, even as it then existed, he went on to express his belief that if the various governments did not find ways to put a stop to this insanity, the awareness of the dangers it presented would some day, as he put it, "penetrate the general masses of the people in all nations" with the result that these masses would begin to put increasing, and indeed finally irresistible, pressure on their governments to abandon the policies that were creating this danger and to replace them with more hopeful and constructive ones. And the dominant motivation for this great reaction of public opinion--the reason why people would feel this way--would be, as he saw it, (and here, I am quoting his words) "...not fear, in the ordinary sense, but rather a growing exasperation over the rigidity and traditionalism which prevent the formulation of adequate plans to remove so obvious a man-made risk."

How prophetic these words were, as a description of what we are witnessing today. The recent growth and gathering strength of the anti-nuclear-war movement here and in Europe is to my mind the most striking phenomenon of this beginning decade of the 1980's. It is all the more impressive because it is so extensively spontaneous. It has already achieved dimensions which will make it impossible for the respective governments to ignore it. It will continue to grow until something is done to meet it.

Like any other great spontaneous popular movement, this one has, and must continue to have, its ragged edges, and even its dangers. It will attract the freaks and the extremists. Many of the wrong people will attach themselves to it. It will wander off in many mistaken directions. It already shows need of leadership and of organizational centralization.

But it is idle to try to label it, as some in our government seem to be trying to do, as a Communist-inspired movement. Of course, Communists try to get into the act. Of course, they exploit the movement wherever they can. These are routine political tactics. But actually, I see no signs that the Communist input into this great public reaction has been of serious significance.

Nor is it useful to portray the entire European wing of this movement as the expression of some sort of vague and naively neutralist sentiment. There is some of that, certainly; but where there is, it is largely a reaction to the negative and hopeless quality of our own Cold War policies, which seem to envisage nothing other than an indefinitely increasing political tension and nuclear danger. It is not surprising that many Europeans should see no salvation for themselves in this sterile perspective and should cast about for something that would have in it some positive element--some ray of hope.

Least of all does this neutralist sentiment represent any timorous desire to accept Soviet authority as a way of avoiding the normal responsibilities of national defense. The cliché of "better red than dead" is a facile and clever phrase; but actually, no one in Europe is faced with such a choice, or is likely to be. And we will not be aided in our effort to understand Europe's problems by distortions of this nature. Our government will have to recognize that there are a great many people who would accept the need for adequate national defense but who would emphatically deny that the nuclear weapon, and particularly the first use of that weapon, is anything with which a country could, or should, try to defend itself.



No--this movement against nuclear armaments and nuclear war may be ragged and confused and disorganized; but at the heart of it lie some very fundamental, reasonable and powerful motivations. Among them these motivations are a growing appreciation by many people for the true horrors of a nuclear war; a determination not to see their children deprived of life, and their entire civilization destroyed, by a holocaust of this nature; and finally, as Grenville Clark said, a very real exasperation with their governments for the rigidity and traditionalism that causes those governments to ignore the fundamental distinction between conventional weapons and the weapons of mass destruction and prevents them from finding, or even seriously seeking, ways of escape from the fearful trap into which the nuclear ones, in particular, are leading us.

Such considerations are not the reflections of Communist propaganda. They are not the products of some sort of timorous neutralism. They are the expression of a deep instinctive insistence, if you don't mind, on sheer survival--on survival as individuals, as parents, and as members of a civilization.

And our government will ignore this simple fact at its peril. This movement is too powerful, too elementary, too deeply embedded in the human instinct for self-preservation, to be brushed aside. Sooner or later, and the sooner the better, all the governments on both sides of the East-West division will find themselves compelled to undertake the search for positive alternatives to the insoluble dilemma which any suicidal form of weaponry presents, and can only present.

Do such alternatives exist?

Of course they do. One does not have to go far to look for them. One could accept, as a starter, a temporary freeze on the further build-up of nuclear arsenals. There could be deep cuts in the long-range strategic missilery. There could be a complete denuclearization of Central and Northern Europe. One could accept a complete ban on nuclear testing. None of this would undermine anyone's security.

These alternatives, obviously, are not ones that we in the West could expect to realize all by ourselves. I am not suggesting any unilateral disarmament. Plainly, two--and eventually even more than two--will have to play at this game.

And even these alternatives would be only a beginning. But they would be a tremendously hopeful beginning. And what I am suggesting is that one should at least begin to explore them--and to explore them with a good will and a courage and an imagination the signs of which I fail, as yet, to detect on the part of those in Washington who have our destinies in their hands.

This, then, in my opinion, is what ought to be done--what will, in fact, some day have to be done. But I must warn you that for our own country such an alteration will not come easily, even in the best of circumstances. It is not something that could be accomplished in any simple one-time decision, taken from one day to the next. What would be involved for us here would be a fundamental and extensive change in official outlooks on a number of points, and an extensive restructuring of our entire defense posture.

We would have to begin by accepting the validity of two very fundamental appreciations. The first is that there is no issue at stake in our political relations with the Soviet Union--no hope, no fear, nothing to which we aspire, nothing we would like to avoid--which could conceivably be worth a nuclear war, which could conceivably justify the resort to nuclear weaponry. And the second is that there is no way in which nuclear weapons could conceivably be employed in combat that would not involve the possibility--and indeed the prohibitively high probability--of escalation into a general nuclear disaster.

If we can once get these two truths into our heads, then the next thing we would have to do would be to abandon the option--the option to which we have stubbornly clung for over 30 years--the option of the first use of nuclear weapons in any military encounter. This flows with iron logic from the two propositions I have just enunciated. You cannot logically recognize that there is no way that nuclear weapons could be usefully employed in combat and then reserve to yourself the option of initiating their use and base your military plans on this possibility. The insistence on this option of first use has corrupted and vitiated our entire policy on nuclear matters ever since such weapons were first developed. I am persuaded that we shall never be able to exert a constructive leadership in matters of nuclear arms reduction or in the problem of nuclear proliferation until this pernicious and indefensible position is abandoned.

And once it has been abandoned, there will presumably have to be a far-reaching restructuring of our armed forces. The private citizen is of course not fully informed in such matters; and I make no pretense of being so informed. But from all that has become publicly known, one

can only suppose that nearly all aspects of the training and equipment of our armed forces, not to mention the strategy and tactics underlying their operation, have been affected to some extent by the assumption that we might have to fight--indeed, would probably wish to fight--with nuclear weapons, and that we might well be the ones to inaugurate their use. A great deal of this would presumably have to be turned around--not all of it, but much of it, nevertheless. We might, so long as others retained such weapons, have to retain them ourselves for purposes of deterrence and reassurance to our people. But we could no longer rely on them for any positive purpose even in the case of reverses on the conventional battlefield; and our forces would have to be trained and equipped accordingly. Personally, this would cause me no pain. But let no one suppose that the change would come easily. An enormous inertia exists here and would have to be overcome; and in my experience there is no inertia, once established, as formidable as that of the armed services.

But there is something else, too, that will have to be altered, in my opinion, if we are to move things around and take a more constructive posture; and that is the view of the Soviet Union and its peoples to which our governmental establishment and a large part of our journalistic establishment have seemed recently to be committed.

On this point, I would particularly like not to be misunderstood. I do not have, and have never had, sympathy for the ideology of the Soviet leadership. I recognize that this is a regime with which it is not possible for us to have a fully satisfactory relationship. I know that there are areas of interaction where no collaboration between us is

possible, just as there are other areas where one can collaborate. There are a number of Soviet habits and practices which I deeply deplore, and which I feel we should resist firmly when they impinge on our interests. I recognize, furthermore, that the Soviet leadership does not always act in its own best interests--that it is capable of making mistakes, just as we are, and that Afghanistan is one of those mistakes, and one, incidentally, which it will come to regret, regardless of anything we may do to punish it.

Finally, I recognize that there has recently been a drastic and very serious deterioration of Soviet-American relations--a deterioration to which both sides have made their unhappy contributions. And this, too, is something which it will not be easy to correct; for it has led to new commitments and attitudes of embitterment on both sides. The almost exclusive militarization of thinking and discourse about Soviet-American relations that now pervades the Washington atmosphere and a good portion of our media communication--a militarization which, it seems to me, could not be different if we knew for a fact that we were going to be at war with the Soviet Union within a matter of months: this in itself is a dangerous state of affairs, which it is not going to be easy to correct. So I don't think I underestimate the gravity of the problem.

But, all this being said, I must go on and say that I find the view of the Soviet Union that prevails today in these governmental and journalistic establishments so extreme, so subjective, so far removed from what any sober scrutiny of external reality would reveal, that it is not only ineffective but dangerous as a guide to political action. This endless series of distortions and oversimplifications; this systematic dehumanization of the leadership of another great country; this routine

exaggeration of Moscow's military capabilities and of the supposed iniquity of its intentions; this daily misrepresentation of the nature and attitudes of another great people--and a long-suffering people at that, sorely tried by the vicissitudes of this past century; this ignoring of their pride, their hopes--yes, even of their illusions (for they have their illusions, just as we have ours; and illusions, too, deserve respect); this reckless application of the double standard to the judgment of Soviet conduct and our own; this failure to recognize the communality of many of their problems and our problems as we both move inexorably into the modern technological age; and this corresponding tendency to view all aspects of the relationship in terms of a supposed total and irreconcilable conflict of concerns and aims: these are not the marks of the maturity and realism one expects of the diplomacy of a great power; they are the marks of an intellectual primitivism and naivety unpardonable in a great government--yes, even naivety, because there is a naivety of cynicism and suspicion just as there is a naivety of innocence.

And we shall not be able to turn these things around as they should be turned, on the plane of military and nuclear rivalry, until we learn to correct these childish distortions--until we correct our tendency to view the Soviet Union only as a mirror in which we look for the reflection of our own superior virtue--until we consent to see there another great people, one of the world's greatest, in all its complexity and variety, embracing the good with the bad--a people whose life, whose views, whose habits, whose fears and aspirations, whose successes and

failures, are the products, just as ours are the products, not of any inherent iniquity but of the relentless discipline of history, tradition and national experience. Above all, we must learn to see the behavior of the leadership of that people partly as a reflection of our own treatment of it. For even rivals and opponents influence each other. And if we insist on demonizing these Soviet leaders--on viewing them as total and incorrigible enemies, consumed only with their fear or hatred of us and dedicated to nothing other than our destruction--that, in the end, is precisely the way we shall have them--if for no other reason than that our view of them allows for nothing else--either for us or for them.

These, then, are the changes we shall have to make--the changes in our concept of the relationship of nuclear weaponry to national defense, in the structure and training of our armed forces, and in our view of the distant country which our military planners seem to have selected as our inevitable and inalterable enemy--if we hope to reverse the dreadful trend towards a final nuclear conflagration. And it is urgently important that we get on with these changes. Time is not waiting for us. The fragile nuclear balance that has prevailed in recent years is being undermined, not so much by the steady build-up of the nuclear arsenals on both sides (for they already represent nothing more meaningful than absurd accumulations of overkill), but rather by technological advances that threaten to break down the verifiability of the respective capabilities and to stimulate the fears, the temptations, and the compulsions, of a "first strike" mentality.

And this is not the only reason why it is important that we get on with these changes. For beyond all this, beyond the shadow of the atom and its horrors, there lie other problems--tremendous problems--that demand our attention. There are the great environmental complications now beginning to close in on us: the question of what we are doing to the world oceans with our pollution, the problem of the greenhouse effect, the acid rains, the question of what is happening to the topsoil and the ecology and the water supplies of this and other countries. And there are the profound spiritual problems that spring from the complexity and artificiality of the modern urban-industrial society--problems that confront both the Russians and ourselves, and to which neither of us has as yet responded very well. One sees on every hand the signs of our common failure. One sees it, for example, in the cynicism and apathy and drunkenness of so much of the Soviet population. One sees it in the crime and drug abuse and general decay and degradation of our city centers. To some extent--not entirely but extensively--these failures have their origins in experiences common to both of us; and we could perhaps learn something from each other about their possible solutions.

And these problems, too, will not wait. Unless we both do better in dealing with them than we have done to date, even the banishment of the nuclear danger will not help us very much. Can we not cast off our preoccupation with sheer destruction--a preoccupation that is costing us our prosperity and preempting the resources that should go to the progress of our respective societies--is it really impossible for us to cast off this sickness of blind military rivalry and to address ourselves at long last,



in all humility and in all seriousness, to setting our respective societies to rights?

For this entire preoccupation with nuclear war is--believe me--a form of illness. It is morbid in the extreme. There is no hope in it--only horror. It can be understood only as some form of subconscious despair on the part of its devotees--a readiness to commit suicide for fear of death--a state of mind explicable only by some inability to face the normal hazards and vicissitudes of the human predicament--a lack of faith, or perhaps a lack of the very strength that it takes to have faith, where countless generations of our ancestors found it possible to have it.

I decline to believe that this is the condition of the majority of our people. Surely there is among us, at least among the majority of us, a sufficient health of the spirit--a sufficient affirmation of life, of its joys and excitements together with its hazards and uncertainties, to permit us to sluff off this morbid preoccupation, to see it and discard it as the sickness it is, to turn our attention to the real challenges and possibilities that loom beyond it, and in this way to restore a sense of confidence in ourselves and of hope for the future of our civilization.

KENNAN

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

July 16, 1981

Mr J. Richardson Dilworth  
141 Hodge Road  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

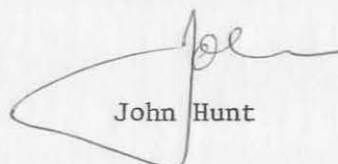
Dear Dick:

I am writing about a point of information concerning the establishment of a Kennan Professorship at the Institute. As I recall, you spoke to George and secured his agreement to move forward. You were then going to speak to Walter Hochschild or George Ball about the possibility of Amax contributing the funding, or at least a major portion.

Perhaps we can discuss this when we get together again. Pending our talk, I will delay sending George Ball a Fiftieth Anniversary Fund letter.

With thanks, and best regards, I am

As ever,

  
John Hunt

*Answered -  
JH*

March 24, 1981

Professor George Kennan  
School of Historical Studies

Dear George:

I meant to add in writing what passed so briefly between us this morning, to wit, how pleased I am, as all your friends are, at the award of the Albert Einstein Peace Prize to you this year.

I think that the man in whose name the prize is given would have been most pleased to know that you were its recipient.

Cordially yours,

Harry Woolf

xc: KW  
JH  
AR 80-81

NEW YORK TIMES, 17 March 1981

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## Notes on People

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### Kennan Wins Peace Prize

The Albert Einstein Peace Prize Foundation has chosen **George F. Kennan**, the former diplomat and expert on Soviet affairs, as winner of its second annual peace prize, worth \$50,000.

The 77-year-old former Ambassador to Moscow was chosen the Einstein Peace Laureate because of his continuing efforts to ease tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, according to **Norman Cousins**, chairman of the selection board.

Mr. Cousins said that Mr. Kennan, in his long career, had applied Einstein's belief that "we have to learn to think in a new way to prevent military contests which must be disastrous to all parties."

Mr. Kennan, who lives in Princeton,



Neil Selkirk

**George F. Kennan**

N.J., said he regarded the prize as "a mark of encouragement not just for me, but for all those others who have done what they could to halt the serious deterioration in the international situation which is now in progress."

Kristiansand, Norway.  
July 10, 1981.

Dear John:

Little by little, with indecent delays, the correspondence that has accumulated here this summer (just 50 items, to date) is getting answered. And so -- Yours of June 16.

I have not heard directly from Mr. Blackwood; so I am not writing to him at this time. I do not know in what way, exactly, he would like me to contribute to the film he has in mind. He should be warned that I take very bad photographs and am very poor at answering questions for film and radio. I mean this seriously. It is not false modesty. I write (when I can do so with deliberation) better than I can speak offhand. And there is nothing I can do about the false, smirking physiognomy which registers itself every time I appear before any sort of a photographic apparatus.

With those warnings, ~~however~~, I am at Mr. Blackwood's disposal. But I would suggest that he get as much as he can from objective third parties, and as little as possible from me.

I should be back around the 20th of August -- had intended to come on the 15th, but friends in Oslo (the foreign minister, to be exact) are arranging for me a dinner with the Norwegian King; and I think it would be ungracious of me to disappear just before the proposed date.

My love to your sweet wife -- to whom I recently wrote -- hope she got it.

Sincerely,

*George*

John Hunt sent the original of this letter to  
Mr Henrik L. Wuermeling  
Bayerisches Fernsehen  
Postfach 200 508  
8 Munich 2  
Federal Republic of Germany

with this note: Michael Blackwood has asked me to send you the attached.

June 16, 1981

Mr George Kennan  
Dvergsnestangen  
Randesund  
Kristiansand S.  
Norway

Dear George:

I hope that you and Annelise are enjoying your holiday in Norway. All goes well here; the hot weather has not yet begun, for which we are most grateful.

I received the attached letter today and I am forwarding it for your consideration. Blackwood is a reputable and accomplished film maker. In addition to filming our Einstein symposium for Channel 13, he has done documentary portraits of many of the leading contemporary artists. He works a great deal for West German television and recently did a one-hour documentary portrait of Hans Bethe which was quite successful. He and his team are intelligent and discreet, something rare in the world of television. I can recommend them highly, in spite of (or perhaps because of) the presence of my son as chief cameraman.

With kind regards, I am

As ever,

John Hunt

BLACKWOOD

June 9th, 1981

Mr. John Hunt  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540


Dear John,

West German Television in Munich has in principle agreed to coproduce a film about the work of George Kennan. The film will focus on post World War II American policy in Europe, but will of course also be a profile of Mr. Kennan.

As you know, ever since our "Working With Einstein" project when I had an opportunity to observe George Kennan at that symposium, I have been interested in making such a film. I would be very grateful if I had your support in this matter. It would help no doubt if you could introduce me to Mr. Kennan in a letter to him in Norway, adding any recommendations you feel appropriate. I am looking forward very much to this project and hope Mr. Kennan will also be interested.

Thank very much for your help!

Most sincerely,



Michael Blackwood

KENNAN  
cc. O.F.

**ALBERT EINSTEIN PEACE PRIZE FOUNDATION**

1430 WEST WRIGHTWOOD AVENUE • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60614 • (312) 472-8832

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**1980 Selection Board**

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Mallinckrodt Professor of  
Physics & Professor of the  
History of Science,  
Harvard University

**Franklin Long**

**Franklin D. Murphy**  
Chairman of the Board,  
Times Mirror Co.

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**Louis Sohn**  
Bemis Professor of  
International Law,  
Harvard Law School

**Paul Warnke**  
Partner, Clifford & Warnke

**Jerome B. Wiesner**  
President Emeritus, MIT

202-

April 14, 1981

Dr. and Mrs. Harry Woolf  
97 Olden Lane  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Woolf:

As you may know, former Ambassador George F. Kennan, eminent historian and authority on U.S. - Soviet relations, has been selected as the 1981 Albert Einstein Peace Prize Laureate.

At a luncheon to be held in his honor on May 19th in Washington, D.C. he will be presented the prize of \$50,000. In accepting the award, Ambassador Kennan will be making a major address on U.S. - U.S.S.R. relations.

Tel-Quis

We are inviting you and a number of Ambassador Kennan's other friends, including members of the executive branch of the government, members of congress, members of the diplomatic corps, outstanding scientists, leaders of the business community, members of the press and other outstanding citizens.

You will receive an official invitation within a short while. Until such time may I ask you to please reserve lunch on May 19.

Sincerely,

*Norman Cousins*  
Norman Cousins  
Chairman  
1981 Selection Board

*Invitation to  
be sent to  
97 Olden Lane  
pw only*



February 2, 1981

Professor George Kennan  
School of Historical Studies  
Institute for Advanced Study

Dear George:

Thanks for letting me share in your judgments about the candidates for acceptance at the Kennan Institute.

They are very well chosen indeed, and several like Loren Graham, Frank Holzman, and others, are old friends and former colleagues.

Cordially yours,

Harry Woolf

Enclosure

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Jan. 20, '81.

The Director.

Harry:

I thought it might interest you, if only for purposes of comparison, to see this indication of the nature of the candidates whom we accept at the Kennan Institute (which is really just an ~~out~~ Inst. for Advanced Study in a limited field) and the criteria by which they are selected.

Kindly return.

G.K.

April 29, 1980

Constance Goodman  
Secretary to Professor Kennan  
School of Historical Studies  
The Institute for Advanced Study

Dear Connie:

Thank you for your note. I think we can ignore this call for the time being, particularly since George is out of the country. Let me know if he calls again, and we will consider the possibility of reporting the man, particularly if the call is threatening in any way. The best tactic--which you are probably using--is to say that Professor Kennan is traveling outside the country indefinitely and that we have no way to contact him.

Thanks,

John Hunt

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

28 April 1980

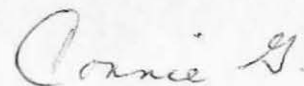
Dear Mr. Hunt:

On Thursday, April 24, a Mr. Zoltan Lovas, a Hungarian, called Professor Kennan. Speaking in a precise, educated manner with a heavy accent, he told me that he expected Professor Kennan to call him, that Professor Kennan as a man of power would have to help him. He then carried on at length about how he has been unjustly treated in this country, how he has been swindled out of vast sums of money, how he has been working for years to get people to redress these wrongs. I asked him to write, but he refused. He said he could be contacted through a Ms. Karen Philippon of New York City, telephone 212-586-0478.

We get crank letters from time to time, which I file. Nothing further has ever come from them. Probably there will be nothing further from Mr. Lovas. But I didn't want to let this incident pass without putting it down for the record, because Mr. Lovas carried on in a rather irrational way and placed his request in the form of an order.

I wonder whether I should report such a phone call. Or is that being overly anxious?

Very sincerely,



Constance Goodman,  
Secretary to Professor Kennan

Mr. John Hunt  
Office of the Director  
The Institute for Advanced Study

*Kennan proposal*

*xc: G Farmer*

*The Ludwig Vogelstein Foundation, Inc.*

ACKNOWLEDGES WITH THANKS THE RECEIPT OF  
YOUR APPEAL TO WHICH IT HAS GIVEN CAREFUL  
CONSIDERATION. THE FOUNDATION REGRETS  
SINCERELY THAT IT CANNOT RESPOND FAVORABLY  
TO YOUR REQUEST.

*March 1980*



Re: Kennan

Harry Woolf, Director  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, N. J.

08540

LUDWIG VOGELSTEIN FOUNDATION

BOX 537

NEW YORK, N. Y 10013

cc: Gary Farmer

February 4, 1980

Mr. Douglas Turnbaugh  
Treasurer  
Ludwig Vogelstein Foundation, Inc.  
96 Grand Street  
New York, New York 10013

Dear Mr. Turnbaugh:

I am writing to request a contribution from the Ludwig Vogelstein Foundation in support of Professor George F. Kennan's study of the Franco-Russian alliance of 1894, the first volume of which, The Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875-1890, was recently published by the Princeton University Press. I have sent a copy of the book under separate cover for your examination; recent reviews of it are enclosed here as Attachment A.

Professor Kennan's reputation as diplomat, author and historian is well known. Formerly United States Ambassador to Russia and Yugoslavia, Professor Kennan came to The Institute for Advanced Study in 1950, and was appointed Professor in the School of Historical Studies in 1956. I enclose as Attachment B Professor Kennan's biographic data, which includes a selected bibliography. (A more complete bibliography may be found as Attachment E.)

A description of Professor Kennan's current project may be found as Attachment C. Professor Kennan estimates that the research and most of the writing of the second volume would be done in the academic years 1979-80 and 1980-81, and the completion and editing of the manuscript in academic year 1981-82. The work will involve approximately ten months of research in foreign archives, libraries and private manuscript collections (in Paris, Bonn, Moscow and Vienna) as well as research in various libraries in the United States (notably Widener Library and the Hoover Library in Palo Alto). A budget for the project may be found as Attachment D.

The total budget for Professor Kennan's research and writing of the second volume, to be carried out in the current academic year and the two



Mr. Douglas Turnbaugh

- 2 -

February 4, 1980

years to follow, is \$62,851. Of this amount, \$22,500 will be supplied by The Institute and \$20,000 (for the academic years 1979-80 and 1980-81) by the Ford Foundation.

I would like at this time formally to make application to the Ludwig Vogelstein Foundation for a grant of \$5,000 towards the balance to be raised to allow Professor Kennan to complete his study of the Franco-Russian alliance.

I would of course be deeply grateful for an opportunity to speak to anyone at the Ludwig Vogelstein Foundation who might be interested in learning more about The Institute for Advanced Study and Professor Kennan's current project.

Thank you for your consideration of our proposal. Please let me know if there is further information which you require.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harry Woolf

Enclosures

xc: JH  
GF  
Prof. Kennan  
HW

EARHART FOUNDATION  
FIRST NATIONAL BUILDING  
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN  
48104

13 March 1980

Dr. Harry Woolf, Director  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Dr. Woolf:

Thank you for the opportunity to consider the request for support of Ambassador Kennan's second volume in his study of the Franco-Russian relations at the end of the Nineteenth Century. The application is one of the most carefully prepared that we have received in recent years.

After reviewing the application I took it with me to the March trustee meeting and discussed it informally. Although the trustees recognize the value of Ambassador Kennan's work, especially as evidenced by the reception accorded his first volume, the field of European history has not been included in the Foundation's program. We have reviewed the program budget for the current year and find that the usual constraints make it impossible for an exception.

I am sorry that we cannot be of assistance to the Institute in its effort to provide a financial undergirding for the work of a distinguished and senior scholar-diplomat.

Faithfully,



RICHARD A. WARE  
President

RAW/hi

January 17, 1980

Mr. Richard A. Ware  
President  
Earhart Foundation  
902 First National Building  
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48108

Dear Mr. Ware:

I am writing to request a contribution from the Earhart Foundation in support of Professor George F. Kennan's study of the Franco-Russian alliance of 1894, the first volume of which, The Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875-1890, was recently published by the Princeton University Press. I have sent a copy of the book under separate cover for your examination; recent reviews of it are enclosed here as Attachment A.

Professor Kennan's reputation as diplomat, author and historian is well known. Formerly United States Ambassador to Russia and Yugoslavia, Professor Kennan came to The Institute for Advanced Study in 1950, and was appointed Professor in the School of Historical Studies in 1956. I enclose as Attachment B Professor Kennan's biographic data, which includes a selected bibliography. (A more complete bibliography may be found as Attachment E.)

A description of Professor Kennan's current project may be found as Attachment C. Professor Kennan estimates that the research and most of the writing of the second volume would be done in the academic years 1979-80 and 1980-81, and the completion and editing of the manuscript in academic year 1981-82. The work will involve approximately ten months of research in foreign archives, libraries and private manuscript collections (in Paris, Bonn, Moscow and Vienna) as well as research in various libraries in the United States (notably Widener Library and the Hoover Library in Palo Alto). A budget for the project may be found as Attachment D.

The total budget for Professor Kennan's research and writing of the second volume, to be carried out in the current academic year and the two

Mr. Richard A. Ware

- 2 -

January 17, 1980

years to follow, is \$62,851. Of this amount, \$22,500 will be supplied by The Institute and \$20,000 (for the academic years 1979-80 and 1980-81) by the Ford Foundation.

I would like at this time formally to make application to the Earhart Foundation for a grant of \$10,000 towards the balance to be raised to allow Professor Kennan to complete his study of the Franco-Russian alliance.

I would of course be deeply grateful for an opportunity to speak to anyone at the Earhart Foundation who might be interested in learning more about The Institute for Advanced Study and Professor Kennan's current project.

Thank you for your consideration of our proposal. Please let me know if there is further information which you require.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harry Woolf

Enclosures

xc: Prof. Kennan  
G Farmer

*file*

THE CHARLES E. MERRILL TRUST  
POST OFFICE BOX 488  
ITHACA, N. Y. 14850

TRUSTEES:  
CHARLES E. MERRILL, JR., CHAIRMAN  
PETER A. MAGOWAN  
ROBERT A. MAGOWAN  
MRS. ROBERT A. MAGOWAN  
DONALD T. REGAN

ADMINISTRATOR  
DAVID A. THOMAS  
—  
SECRETARY  
KAREL WESTERLING

December 17, 1979

Mr. Harry Woolf  
Director  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Mr. Woolf:

I regret to advise you that the Trustees of The Charles E. Merrill Trust will be unable to make a grant to the Institute for Advanced Study. The Trust has been giving away its capital as well as income for most of this past decade and we are in the process of liquidating the Trust. Therefore, there is not a large amount of money on hand and the competition for the funds remaining is keen.

I am sorry that this is the case and hope that you will be able to obtain the help you need elsewhere.

Sincerely yours,

*David A. Thomas*

David A. Thomas  
Administrator

DAT/ran

file: Kennan

BOOKLET OF ATTACHMENTS A-D IN LIBRARY IN JOHN HUNT'S OFFICE

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

THE DIRECTOR

December 3, 1979

Mr. David A. Thomas  
Administrator  
The Charles E. Merrill Trust  
P. O. Box 488  
Ithaca, New York 14850

Dear Mr. Thomas:

I am writing to request a contribution from the Charles E. Merrill Trust in support of Professor George F. Kennan's study of the Franco-Russian alliance of 1894, the first volume of which, The Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875-1890, was recently published by Princeton University Press. I have sent a copy of the book under separate cover for your review.

Professor Kennan's reputation as diplomat, author and historian is well known. Formerly United States Ambassador to Russia and Yugoslavia, Professor Kennan first came to the Institute for Advanced Study in 1950, and was appointed Professor in the School of Historical Studies in 1956. I enclose as Attachment A Professor Kennan's biographic data, which includes a selected bibliography. (A more complete bibliography may be found as Attachment D.)

A description of Professor Kennan's current study is enclosed as Attachment B. Professor Kennan estimates that the research and most of the writing of the second volume would be done in the academic years 1979-80 and 1980-81, and the completion and editing of the manuscript in academic year 1981-82. The work will involve approximately ten months of research in foreign archives, libraries, and private manuscript collections (in Paris, Bonn, Moscow and Vienna) as well as research in various libraries in the United States (notably Widener Library and the Hoover Library in Palo Alto). A budget for the project may be found as Attachment C.

Mr. David A. Thomas

- 2 -

December 3, 1979

The total budget for Professor Kennan's research and writing of the second volume, to be carried out in the current academic year and the two years to follow, is \$62,851. Of this amount, \$22,500 will be supplied by the Institute, and \$20,000 (for the academic years 1979-80 and 1980-81) by the Ford Foundation.

I would like at this time formally to make application to the Charles E. Merrill Trust for a grant to cover the balance to be raised, a total of \$20,351 over a three-year period, to allow Professor Kennan to complete his study of the Franco-Russian alliance. Your consideration of this application is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Woolf

Enclosures

cc: Wisnovsky

28 November 1978

Dear George:

The Institute for Advanced Study is now in the process of preparing an Einstein Centennial Celebration in honor of the one-hundredth anniversary of Albert Einstein's birth.

A principal feature of the Celebration will be a Symposium to be held at the Institute on March 4-9, 1979, dealing with the specific aspects of Einstein's scientific work. The emphasis throughout will be on both the historical context and the continuing importance of Einstein's ideas in various fields, perhaps bearing in mind Einstein's remark that "the most incomprehensible thing about the world is that it is comprehensible."

The Planning Committee for the Symposium consists of the following members:

Freeman Dyson  
Herman Feshbach  
Marvin Goldberger  
Gerald Holton  
Martin Klein  
Abraham Pais  
John Wheeler  
Harry Woolf (Chairman)

The audience for the Symposium and its published product will be on the one hand the community of scientists of the present and immediate future and, on the other, future historians who will look to this record for some answers to the questions of how Einstein and the physics he helped to create influence, either explicitly or tacitly, the science being done today.



Dr. George Kennan

Page 2

It is our intention that the Symposium be an occasion where scientists and scholars can reflect on what science is, and how at its best it is carried out, with specific reference to Einstein's work.

On behalf of the Institute for Advanced Study and the Planning Committee, I am writing to invite you to participate in the Einstein Centennial Symposium. The attached preliminary program will give you a sense of the substance of the meeting; further details will be sent to you at a later date.

I look forward to hearing from you soon, and very much hope that your answer will be affirmative.

Cordially yours,

Harry Wolf

Dr. George Kennan  
146 Hodge Road  
Princeton, NJ 08540

George  
Kennan

9/15/48

The Director

Harry:

As an illustration of the  
squabbles even your emeriti  
sometimes get into, you might like  
to see this letter to the editor  
of Encounter.

G. K.

14 September 1978

Dear Mel Lasky:

I was surprised and dismayed to note that in the September ENCOUNTER you carried two further attacks on me by Messrs. Pipes and Labeledz. I don't know why you did this. They had had their say. I had had mine. Your readers had adequate material for judgment. What was to be gained by boring those readers with the prolongation of this controversy (as all such polemics, unduly prolonged, are bound to do) I cannot imagine.

But I must also raise a question concerning your own editorial responsibility for the soundness and quality of Labeledz's piece.

He makes much of an alleged interview by me with an Izvestiya correspondent by the name of Vitali Kobysh. He has his knowledge of this interview, he indicates, from a publication of the Novosti agency, in Moscow.

I am surprised that so passionate and exalted an enemy of the Soviet Union should show such confidence in the Novosti agency, of all people. I do not recall ever meeting Mr. Kobysh. Nor do I have any recollection of ever having given such an interview. The files of my office contain no record of it. The language does not resemble my own and shows, in fact, every sign of being a rather crude and tendencious paraphrase of material from the Council on Foreign Relations speech, which ENCOUNTER printed. I have a faint recollection of some Soviet correspondent once phoning to Princeton, and getting me away from the dinner table, last winter, with the request for a statement. Conceivably, this could have been Mr. Kobysh. But this was far from being a serious authorized interview; and a minimum of inquiry, not to mention a less touching faith in the editors of Novosti, would have revealed the true circumstances.

Labeledz also charges me--on the authority, this time, of the Tribuna Ludu (does he read nothing but such publications?)--with joining 59 other people in sending a letter to President Carter complaining about an anti-Soviet campaign in the U. S., thus playing into the hands of Soviet propagandists. Actually, this was a letter which I did not sign, of the drafting and despatch of which I had at the time no knowledge, and the text of which I never saw until long after its

Mr. Melvin J. Lasky

-2-

14 September 1978

appearance. Why he had to go to the Tribuna Ludu for his knowledge of it, I cannot imagine. He could have consulted the columns of the New York Times. True, there, too, he would have been somewhat misled about my own relation to the matter. But a small further effort at confirmation would have established the facts.

In the final paragraph of his attack, Labeledz ridicules the phrase "a last warning," which appeared as the title of my rebuttal to his earlier piece. ENCOUNTER, in permitting him to do this, cannot have been unaware of the fact that these words were not mine, that they did not appear in my article, that they were the rather silly title given to my piece, without my knowledge, by ENCOUNTER itself. Was it fair, and was it good editorial practice, first to tack that title onto my piece and then to permit Labeledz to ridicule it, as though it were mine?

I have nothing to say about the polemic arguments in Labeledz's piece. They are almost without exception repetitions of his earlier ones. I have no intention of answering them publicly, though this leaves him and Pipes with the last word, which seems to me a bit unfair.

But I must say that for you to allow to pass, without--evidently--any effort to satisfy yourself of the soundness of the supposed factual basis for the attack, such lapses as those noted above, seems to me to represent a drastic deterioration from the editorial standards established at ENCOUNTER in earlier decades--a deterioration which is both saddening and difficult to understand for one who, like myself, has so long had high admiration for your talents and achievements as an editor.

Very sincerely,

George Kennan

Mr. Melvin J. Lasky  
Encounter Ltd.  
59 St. Martin's Lane  
London, WC2E  
England

*Kennan*

June 22, 1978

Professor V.M. Fic  
Department of Politics  
Brock University  
St. Catharines  
Ontario L2S 3A1  
Canada

Dear Professor Fic:

Thank you for your letter of 16 June, requesting an address for Professor George Kennan. Professor Kennan maintains an office at the Institute for Advanced Study and you may write to him here care of the School of Historical Studies.

Incidentally, the Institute is not part of Princeton University and mail addressed to us should simply omit that reference.

Sincerely yours,

Aida L. La Brutte  
Secretary to the Director

**BROCK**  
**UNIVERSITY**  
**REGION NIAGARA**

Department of Politics

416/684-7201  
Ext. 211

St. Catharines,  
Ontario L2S 3A1  
Canada

June 16, 1978

Director,  
Centre for Advanced Studies,  
Princeton University,  
Princeton, New Jersey.

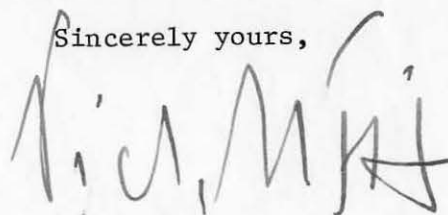
Dear Sir:

I have recently published a book on the Czechoslovak Legion in Russia in 1918. In working on this project, I greatly benefited from the publications of Professor George F. Kennan.

In appreciation of his inspiration which I have received from his work I would like to send him a copy of my book. I would be most grateful if you could locate for me his address.

With many thanks.

Sincerely yours,



V. M. Fic,  
Professor

VMF:ir

George  
Kennan

12/14

The Director:

If you would be good enough to run your eye over the attached document, which was published in last Sunday's Washington Post (particularly the last two pages), I would like a word with you about it; for there is one aspect of it that might, in a minor way, involve this Institute.

G. K.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE | 58 EAST 68TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 | TEL. (212) 734-0400

CABLE: COUNFOREL, NEW YORK

WINSTON LORD  
*President*

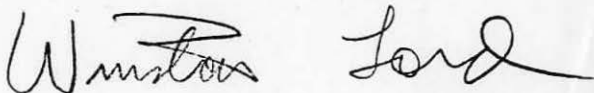
December 5, 1977

Dear Council Member:

November 22nd was a notable occasion in the life of the Council. Professor George Kennan launched a new series of Council meetings in Washington with remarks on the current state of U. S. -Soviet relations.

As we plan to do from time to time with other significant statements or papers, we are circulating to all Council members Mr. Kennan's personal reflections. His call for a special effort to think freshly about problems in Soviet-American relations coincides with a likely emphasis in the Council's own work for the next several years.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink that reads "Winston Lord". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping "W" and a long, horizontal flourish at the end.

WL:jsr  
enclosure



ffw

"A Current Assessment of Soviet-American Relations"

Remarks by George F. Kennan

at a meeting of the Council on Foreign Relations  
held in Washington, D.C.

22 November 1977

Before we move to the substance of this evening's discussion, I have to note a certain symmetry in the dates that relate to this occasion. It was just 60 years ago, as we are all aware, that there came into being the political regime in Russia with which we are now concerned. And it was exactly at the half-way point of that span of time -- 30 years ago -- that I chanced to deliver, also at a meeting of the Council on Foreign Relations, a talk on this same subject which became the basis for an article in the magazine Foreign Affairs signed by the pseudonym X. This article, as many of you will recall, attained a certain melancholy notoriety and has dogged my footsteps ever since, like a faithful, but unwanted and somewhat embarrassing animal.

I trust this occasion will not have similar consequences; but this coincidence of chronology naturally leads me to reflect on the changes that have occurred since that year of 1947 in the background against which Soviet-American relations have had to proceed. The Russian political scene was then dominated by a single great personality -- a man whom Churchill very aptly called a "crafty giant" -- a man of enormous political-tactical genius -- a formidable opponent on anyone's terms, but one who in a portion of his psychic make-up was paranoid and whose combination of paranoia with cruelty and political mastery had then served to create one of the great totalitarian monstrosities of our time: a personal despotism as ruthless and far-reaching as anything the modern world has ever known. By 1947 this despotism had already cost the Soviet peoples several millions of lives. And it had not stopped at the old

Russian borders but had been extended -- and this with our tacit blessing -- to nearly one-half of the remainder of the European continent. And no one could be sure, in 1947, that it would stop there. The danger was not one of further military conquest. (Actually, it never has been that.) The problem was that Western Europe, still dazed, shaken and jittery from the effects of the Hitlerian conquest, did not know what to expect. Its peoples lacked confidence in themselves. They had a tendency to rush for safety to the side of whoever they thought was likely to win in the end. They would have been quite capable of throwing themselves into the arms of their own Communist Parties -- to commit suicide, as my friend Bohlen used to say, for fear of death -- if they gained the impression that those Communist Parties represented the wave of the future. And to this had been added the fact that the Moscow center, and Stalin personally, enjoyed at that time a total monopolistic control over the world Communist movement -- a control which meant that any success by any Communist Party anywhere in seizing power within its own country had to be regarded as equivalent in its effects to a military conquest by the Soviet Union.

It is enough to cite these circumstances, I think, to make clear the magnitude of the changes that have occurred in this 30-year interval. The Soviet Union remains, of course, an authoritarian state -- much as was the pre-revolutionary Tsarist Russia; but there is very little to be seen today of the terror that prevailed in Stalin's time; and the regime is headed by a moderate, in fact, conservative man; a man who, whatever other failings of outlook he may have, is a man of the middle, a skilled balancer among political forces -- a man confidently regarded by all who know him as a man of peace.

Moscow's monopoly of authority over the world Communist movement has been thoroughly disrupted -- so much so that even in the case of those Communist parties that still ostensibly recognize the Soviet leadership, the lines of authority leading from Moscow are tenuous and incapable of bearing much weight. It is a case where the semblance of authority can be retained only by the sacrifice of much of the reality.

And finally, in place of the anxious, jittery Western Europe of 1947 we now have an area which is unquestionably the seat of some of the most successful civilization, economically and socially, that the modern world has to show. The change, to be sure, has not been complete. People have not fully overcome the trauma of two world wars. Many still lack confidence in themselves, see dangers on every hand, require to be reassured periodically, like frightened children. This situation has its military implications, and plays a part, of course, in Soviet-American relations. But it cannot be compared in seriousness and danger to the situation we faced in 1947.

Now all these changes, and others I might cite, have run in the direction of an improvement in the objective possibilities for a better Soviet-American relationship. This does not mean, of course, possibilities for a complete normalization of those relations. For that there remain too many obstacles, historical, psychological and ideological. There has always been, and remains today, an area in which no complete political intimacy is possible, where interests must remain competitive and in part conflicting.

But there is also another area, an area in which interests largely coincide and limited collaboration is possible. In the light of the changes we have just had occasion to note, this latter area has tended, slowly but steadily, to grow. And where sensible efforts have been put forward on both

sides to take advantage of this situation, where people have tried, in other words, to create a balanced, business-like and realistic relationship between two very disparate political systems -- the results, given patience and persistence, have not been discouraging. This was true, among others, in the period of the Nixon-Kissinger detente. Progress was made in a number of fields which was more than negligible and from which both sides are continuing to benefit today. The fact that these achievements were somewhat over-dramatized, that they lead to unreal expectations, and gave rise to some disillusionment when these expectations were not met, should not blind us to their positive residue.

Nevertheless the effort to pursue a balanced and useful middle course in the relationship with Russia has never been an easy one for American policymakers to follow; and one of the main reasons why this has been so difficult is that seldom, if ever, have we had an adequate consensus in American opinion on the nature of the problem and the most promising ways of approaching it.

Prior to the late 1940's -- prior, that is, to the Korean War and the death of Stalin -- the difficulty seemed to come primarily from the left: from people who had a naive, overtrusting, overidealistic view of what was then Stalinist power -- people who thought it really possible for this country to ingratiate itself with the Stalin regime by various one-sided gestures of confidence and generosity and reproached our government for not doing so. It was, incidentally, against this sort of Left-wing deviation that the X article, and the policy of containment, were directed.

But since Stalin's death, the opposition to an even-handed and realistic policy toward Russia has tended to come from the opposite end of the political spectrum: from people who were unable to see the curious mix of the negative

and the positive, of the discouraging and the hopeful, in the Soviet political personality -- people who could see only the negative, and who feared the consequences of anything less than a total rejection and hostility from our side. There has never been a time in these last 25 years, it seems to me, when this opposition has not made itself felt. There has never been a time when American statesmen concerned to find and develop a constructive middle-ground in relations with Russia have not felt their efforts harassed from that direction.

And the harassment has not been minor in intensity or in power. Every administration has been to some extent afraid of that hard-line opposition. It has behind it the power of chauvinist rhetoric as well as that of strict military logic. It has the capability of hurling at any and all opponents the charge of being "soft on Communism"; and however meaningless this phrase may be, it is a formidable weapon in a society unhappily vulnerable to the power of the slogan.

In the heyday of the Nixon-Kissinger detente, this opposition was almost silenced -- partly by Mr. Nixon's formidable credentials as a hard-liner, which bewildered many critics; and partly by Henry Kissinger's diplomatic fireworks, which dazzled them. But the resulting silence was one of frustration, not of acceptance. When Watergate drained the authority of this political combination, the opposition broke forth once again with redoubled strength and violence. It has raged over the entire period from 1975 to the present. It sufficed to knock out the 1974 trade agreement and to lower the level of Soviet-American trade. It sufficed to delay the approach to a new SALT Agreement. And it has achieved today, against the background of a new administration and a somewhat unstructured Congress, a power it never had before. It now claims to have -- and for all I know it does have -- the power to veto any Soviet-American

agreements in the military or the economic field that do not meet with its requirements; and such are its requirements that I come increasingly to suspect that this means in effect: any conceivable agreements at all.

I have made my best efforts to understand the rationale of this opposition. Many of the bearers of it are my friends. I know them as honorable people. I do not suspect, or disrespect their motives.

It is clear that we have to do here with a complex phenomenon, not a simple one. This body of opinion embraces some people whose trouble seems to be that they are unaware of the changes to which I referred a few moments ago as between 1947-1977, who talk of the problems of Soviet-American relations in terms identical with those used at the height of the Cold War -- who sometimes seem in fact unaware that Stalin is dead.

Then, there are others whose emotions have been aroused over the question of Human Rights or Jewish emigration and who would like to see American policy directed not to an accommodation to Soviet power as it is but to the changing of the very nature of the Soviet regime.

More important, however, than either of these are the people who view the relationship exclusively as one of military rivalry -- who see in it no significant values or issues or possibilities other than ones relating to the supposed determination of the Soviet leadership to achieve some sort of decisive military ascendancy over the NATO coalition -- and this, of course, with the most menacing and deadly of intent. These include outstandingly the military planners, whose professional obligation it is to set up a planner's dummy of any possible military opponent, to endow that dummy with just the motivation I have described, and then to treat it as if it were real. But this group also includes many non-military people who, accepting this dummy as the reality,

lose themselves in the fantastic reaches of what I might call military mathematics -- the mathematics of possible mutual destruction in an age of explosively burgeoning weapons technology.

Like many of the rest of you, I have made my efforts to understand the arguments of these military enthusiasts. I have tried to follow them through the mazes of their intricate and sophisticated calculations of possible military advantage at various future points in time. I have tried to follow them in their recital of the letters and numbers of various weapons systems, some real, some imagined, their comparisons of the reputed capacities of these systems, their computations of the inter-actions of them in situations of actual hostility.

I come away from this exercise frustrated, and with two overpowering impressions. The first is that this entire science of long-range massive destruction -- of calculated advantage or disadvantage in modern weaponry -- has gotten seriously out of hand; that the variables, the complexities, the uncertainties it involves are rapidly growing beyond the power of either human mind or computer.

But my second impression is that there is a distinct unreality about this whole science of destruction -- unreality, that is, when you view it as the plane on which our differences over policy have to be resolved. I doubt that we are going to solve our problems by trying to agree as to whether the Russians will or will not have the capability of "taking out" our land-based missiles at some time in the 1980s. I doubt that this is the heart of the problem. I suspect that something deeper is here involved. And if I had to try to define that deeper something, I would have to say that it is the view one takes of the nature of the Soviet leadership and of the discipline exerted upon it by its own experiences, problems, and political necessities.

There are basically two views of leadership: two ways in which it is seen in this country. In one of these views, the Soviet leaders appear as a terrible and forbidding group of men -- monsters of sorts, really, because lacking in all elements of common humanity -- men totally dedicated either to the destruction or to the political undoing and enslavement of this country and its allies -- men who have all internal problems, whether of civic obedience or of economic development, essentially solved and are therefore free to spend their time evolving elaborate schemes for some ultimate military showdown -- men who are prepared to accept the most tremendous risks, and to place upon their people the most fearful sacrifices, if only in this way their program of destruction or domination of ourselves and our allies can be successfully carried forward.

That is one view. In the other view, these leaders are seen as a group of quite ordinary men, to some extent the victims, if you will, of the ideology on which they have been reared, but shaped far more importantly by the discipline of the responsibilities they and their predecessors have borne as rulers of a great country in the modern technological age. They are seen, in this view, as highly conservative men, perhaps the most conservative ruling group to be found anywhere in the world, markedly advanced in age, approaching the end of their tenure, and given to everything else but rash adventure. They are seen as men who share the horror of major war that dominates most of the Soviet people, who have no desire to experience another military conflagration and no intention to launch one -- men more seriously concerned to preserve the present limits of their political power and responsibility than to expand those limits -- men whose motivation is essentially defensive and whose attention is riveted primarily to the unsolved problems of economic development within



their own country. They are seen as men who suffer greatly under the financial burden which the maintenance of the present bloated arsenals imposes on the Soviet economy, and who would like to be relieved of that burden if this could be accomplished without undue damage to Russia's security and to their own political prestige. They are seen, finally, as men who are, to be sure, seldom easy to deal with, who care more about appearances than about reality, who have an unfortunate fixation about secrecy which complicates their external relations in many ways, but who, despite all these handicaps, have good and sound reason, rooted in their own interests, for desiring a peaceful and constructive relationship with the United States within the area where that is theoretically possible.

I would submit that it is these two conflicting views of the Soviet leadership that lie at the heart of the conflict between those in our government who are attempting to make progress in our relations with the Soviet Union and those who are attacking this effort from the Right. And the burden of what I have come here today to say is that I think we can no longer permit this great conflict of outlook and opinion to go on in so large degree unreconciled as it has gone in recent years -- that the moment has come when we can no longer carry on safely or effectively in our relations with the Soviet Union without the creation of a much wider consensus of opinion behind our policies of the moment than anything we have known in this recent period.

We stand, as you know, at a crucial point in Soviet-American relations. The expiration of the 1972 SALT Agreement has confronted us with fundamental decisions. Either we move forward, boldly, confidently, and imaginatively to the creation of a new relationship with that country in the military field, or we deliver up ourselves and the rest of the civilized world to the

appalling dangers of a nuclear weapons race totally out of control -- a development devoid of any visible hopeful end, devoid of any imaginable end at all other than a wholly disastrous and apocalyptic one.

But our ability to pursue the more hopeful of these alternatives is today seriously jeopardized by lack of the consensus to which I just referred. The opposition now being brought to bear against the efforts of the President and the Secretary of State to carry forward negotiations in the field of the limitation of armaments has reached a degree of intensity that seems to me to exceed anything we have known in the past. Powerful efforts are being made -- the tendency of which is not to bring about the failure of ratification of instruments already negotiated (nobody could object to that as a matter of procedure) but to discredit the very process of negotiation, and this at a very early stage. People are being attacked not for what they are known to have done in the negotiating process but for what they are presumed capable of doing -- presumed capable on the basis of rumor or of calculated leak. They are being attacked, in other words, not for their actions but for their supposed intentions.

I am not questioning the motivation for these attacks. I can conceive that it may be, in many instances, of the highest. But I find myself wondering whether effective negotiations can be conducted in the face of opposition of this nature, particularly when we, as well as our Soviet counterparts, are being assured daily that the people who carry forward this opposition have not only the political power to torpedo any agreements or understandings that might realistically be arrived at, but also the firm intention to do so. Negotiating policy it seems to me cannot be effectively made or implemented against such a background.

And this present moment is one at which we simply cannot afford to have the force and momentum of our policy lamed in this manner. The stakes are too high. The penalties of failure are too serious. The implications of such a failure would carry even farther than just the prospect of an unlimited weapons race. A breakdown of the relationship on the military level could not fail to have -- indeed, has already had to some extent -- effects on other levels as well. And here, too, we have -- and the world has -- too much to lose to permit such a failure to occur.

We face in this coming period a tragically high probability of deepening crises in Southern Africa and in the Middle East. It may well be that the peace of the world will depend, as these crises develop, on the ability of the American and Soviet governments to remain in close communication, to give each other reasonable reassurance as to their intentions, and to coordinate their actions with a view to preventing local conflicts from growing to global dimensions.

Beyond this, we have the fact that these coming years are bound to see extensive changes in political leadership at the Soviet end. Nothing could be more unfortunate, surely, than that a new and inexperienced team of leaders should come into power in the Soviet Union confronting what would appear to be a blank wall of hostility and rejection at the American end -- a situation in the face of which they would see no choice but to look for alternatives other than those of good relations with the United States. This is no time to foreclose other people's options, and particularly not the options of people new to the experience of power and obliged to define new lines of policy that may represent commitments for many years to come.

These, then, are the reasons why it appears to me as an inescapable necessity that we should move promptly and resolutely to the achievement of a more workable consensus behind our policy towards the Soviet Union to take the place of the resounding disagreements that affect, and threaten to paralyze, the formulation and execution of policy in this field today.

I realize, of course, that it is easier to call attention to the need for such a consensus than to chart out the ways in which it could be achieved.

I realize, too, that behind a certain portion of this critical opinion there are commitments of an emotional or political or professional nature which are unlikely to be overcome by appeals to mere reason, and which will have to be confronted, as a political problem, by the responsible political leaders.

But in another portion of this spectrum we have to do with sincerely held and rational opinions, with conclusions drawn from what people believe to be the facts -- from the spectrum of facts, or supposed facts, that they now have before them, and I wonder whether, in the case of these people in particular, approaches and devices could not be found -- approaches and devices of a basically intellectual nature which would help us importantly, and possibly even decisively, to get on with the solution of this problem. The problem is, after all, a cognitive one; and there is no reason why men of good will should not be able to come to some elements of agreement on the implications for policy of a given body of factual material if they can be brought to a common acceptance of its validity.

And here there are, as I see it, two requirements. First of all, I would propose that we lay aside completely, at least for the moment and for purposes of this exercise, the whole question of the military relationship and all the

arguments about who could conceivably do what to whom if their intentions were of the nastiest; and that we elevate our vision, at least for the time being, to the question of the real nature and situation of the particular foreign power we are dealing with.

And then, starting with that resolution, it seems to me that I can see in my mind's eye a series of private gatherings in which would be included not only high-level policy-makers of the moment but leading figures of this opposition as well as possibly a few of the others of us who are interested in Russian affairs -- gatherings where we would come together not primarily to discuss matters among ourselves -- not to air our prejudices and convictions on the basis of our present knowledge and our present ignorance, but where we would all listen humbly to what could be told to us by the most experienced and knowledgeable people who could be found in the respective fields -- I avoid the word "expert" because it implies something more narrow than what I have in mind.

What I am thinking of, in other words, is a certain process of re-education in the realities of Soviet power and leadership -- a common effort on the part of all of us who have been prominently involved in this debate -- a process in which we would check our existing views at the door, together with our hats, and would listen and ask questions and try to get a new view of the facts before we drew conclusions. I suspect that in an experience of this nature, designed not to promote the clash of old views but to make possible the common development of new, more realistic and more up-to-date ones, we would come closer than in any other way to the composing of our differences.

And there is room for this, I assure you, because no more in the Soviet Union than anywhere else have things been standing still. There are available

to us today masses of new factual material on conditions in the Soviet Union -- material which, given the rather low state of Soviet studies in our country, have scarcely been digested by the scholars, much less by the policy-makers, the critics, and the old-timers in this field of expertise. And in this latter category, I include myself, I am much aware that it is exactly fifty years ago this year that I entered on my own career as a so-called Russian expert, and I think that because of this long preoccupation with the subject -- not despite it, mark you, but precisely because of it -- it is time that my ideas, too, were taken thoroughly apart and put together again with relation, this time, to the present scene, and not to all the memories I cherish, and all the anecdotes I have been accustomed to telling, about the earlier years.

Such seminars would not, I think, serve their purpose unless they were the product of very high-level initiative and enthusiasm within the Administration. But if that initiative and enthusiasm were there, the institutional facilities to organize and accommodate them would not be hard to find.

That, gentlemen, is the burden of the song I have come to sing this afternoon. I am suggesting that the angry controversies over policy towards Russia that are now marring our public debates and threatening the success of any and all American policies towards that country are not to be solved within the terms of the argument as it is now being conducted -- that a solution lies only in a common act of humility -- only in the confession that none of us knows too much about what we are talking about -- only in the willingness to stop at this point and to learn a little more before we shout each other down. Only in this act of humility will we find the way to a future of Soviet-American relations that offers hope rather than horror.

# George Kennan

*The Director*

*(for his information)*

*G.K.*

Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies

717 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10022  
212 759-1053  
Cable—Aspeninst New York

December 9, 1977

R. O. Anderson Chairman  
J. E. Slater President

Professor George Kennan  
School of Historical Studies  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear George:

I appreciate your thoughtful letter of December 6. I can well understand your reluctance, but may try -- at some point in the future -- to explain to you why it seems to me your participation makes great sense, despite the fact that you did not work closely with Einstein.

As to the celebration being planned by the Institute for Advanced Study, we do indeed know about it. Harry Woolf attended the planning meeting we held in New York last spring expressly so that we could keep in close touch, and make sure that our plans were mutually reinforcing. To insure this, we invited Harry to spend some time with us in Aspen last summer, as our guest, so that he could be present when we met with some of the Israelis with whom we'll be working.

We have also written him, with copies of our letters, and let him know that we certainly expect him to be with us in Israel.

At the moment that's where things stand and we look forward to hearing from Harry as Princeton's plans develop, so that we can continue to work together rather than in individual vacuums.

Freeman Dyson is an interesting idea and one which we'll discuss with our colleagues in Israel, with whom this conference is being planned.

With warm regards,

Cordially,

*Joe*  
J. E. Slater

*Let's have  
lunch one  
day when  
you are  
in NYC!*



6 December 1977

Dear Joe:

I have your letter of November 22, in which you kindly suggest that I might plan to attend the symposium in Jerusalem to mark the 100th anniversary of Albert Einstein's birth.

I appreciate this invitation; but for two reasons I am inclined to doubt whether you ought to count on me for any such participation.

First of all, it is not fully realistic for anyone of my age to attempt to make plans for events a year and a half in the future. I cannot know what will be the state at that time either of my health or of my other commitments and involvements.

Secondly, I am not a very suitable person for attendance. Several other members of the faculty of this Institute would be much better selections. Einstein and I were indeed here at the same time; but curiously enough, I never actually met him, though we occasionally exchanged notes and literature. And his work and thought, I am almost ashamed to say, had no influence, so far as I can recall, on my own. (Had I been better educated, they probably would have had.) I would not, therefore, be able to speak on that subject.

I think, altogether, that this is not a symposium at which I belong.

I understand that this Institute is also giving a celebration to mark this same anniversary--in advance of the one you have in mind. But it would seem to me, in view of Einstein's long and close association with this Institute, suitable that the latter should be also represented at the Jerusalem conference, and this by someone better qualified, from the standpoint of his scholarly interests, than myself. Would you not wish to invite the Director, Harry Woolf, or Freeman Dyson?

Very sincerely,

George Kennan

Mr. J. E. Slater  
Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies  
717 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

**Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies**

717 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10022  
212 759-1053  
Cable—Aspeninst New York

November 22, 1977

R. O. Anderson Chairman  
J. E. Slater President

Prof. George Kennan  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
South Olden Lane  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear George:

March 14, 1979 will mark the 100th anniversary of the birth of Albert Einstein. To celebrate the occasion, a major International Symposium and associated events are being planned in Jerusalem, under the joint auspices of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, and other sponsoring institutions.

I enclose a tentative program, indicating some of the persons whom we are asking to join together to make this a brilliant and joyful celebration, as well as an occasion for assembling presentations that will be valued by scholars, scientists, and representatives from all sectors of society, world-wide, for decades to come.

We would be delighted if you are willing, in principle, to put aside the dates of March 14-22, 1979. On behalf of the sponsoring organizations let me emphasize that we would be most grateful if you would indicate that you are agreeable to receiving a formal invitation, to be sent subsequently through the Israel Academy.

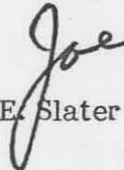
I am especially pleased to inform you that Gerald Holton, Professor of Physics and of the History of Science at Harvard University, has consented to assume the responsibility for representing the Aspen Institute in planning for this meeting, working in cooperation with the Israeli institutions involved. If you are able to be with us, you will have the very real pleasure of working closely with Professor Holton.

The usual travel and living expenses for invited participants of the International Symposium will be paid by the sponsors. Spouses will of course be very welcome to attend, and their living expenses in Jerusalem will also be covered.

I do hope you will be able to give us an early and favorable response.

With warm personal regards,

Cordially,

  
J. E. Slater

cc: Professor Gerald Holton

For Archives - George  
Kennan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

15 January 1976

Dear Mr. Segal:

In response to your letter of December 20 enquiring my views on the various aspects of the structure and activity of the Institute for Advanced Study, I would like to say the following:

1. Let me first make it clear that I regard the Institute, after a quarter of a century of association with it, as an institution of immense importance--one of the truly great centers of higher scholarship in the contemporary world. Its value to those who use its facilities, and the value of the work they do here to scholarship the world over, would be hard to overestimate. Among American institutions of higher learning, it is unique and irreplaceable. It would be little short of tragic if anything were to prevent it from continuing to serve the function it has served so well for these past forty years.

I would like, in this connection, to pay my own personal tribute to Mr. Morgan and the administrative staff of the Institute, as well as to the librarians. I have spent long periods as a visiting scholar at other institutions; and I think I am safe in saying that the facilities accorded to our members and professors for the pursuit of their own scholarly work here are unsurpassed anywhere in the world. The sort of service that has made this possible has been rendered consistently with a modesty, patience and courtesy that have, I think, too often been taken for granted by the beneficiaries.

2. There are three sets of problems that impress themselves on me at the end of my active participation in the work of the Institute.

Of these, the first concerns the roles of the Faculty and the Director, respectively. Here, I believe my views are already known to the Board of Trustees. While fully agreeing that the Faculty should have the deciding voice in matters of current academic policy, and especially the choice of members and professors, I have never been able to develop any enthusiasm for the involvement of the Faculty in purely administrative, financial, and physical-developmental problems. Not only is it too cumbersome a body to act effectively in such matters, but not all of its members are prepared by experience or temperament for dealing with them; the attempt to do so takes up too much of their own time; and there is a certain unsoundness, to my mind, in professors attempting to exercise authority in areas where the Trustees have a clear personal responsibility (which they really have no right to delegate) before the law and the courts.

Mr. Martin E. Segal

2

15 January 1976

I consider that Mr. Aydelot's principle was correct: namely, that whereas the Director should not be bound to sponsor and recommend to the Trustees every nomination for a professorship that comes from the Faculty, it should be understood that he would not sponsor and recommend any nomination that does not have majority support in the Faculty.

In opposition to a number of my colleagues, I do not think that the responsibility for making individual nominations should be exercised by the whole Faculty. I believe in decentralizing this responsibility to the respective schools, members of the other schools being given the privilege of commenting, as has been done in recent years, but not of voting on the nomination.

3. The second problem which I see in the present functioning of the Institute is that of the nature and length of the professorial terms. Here, I can speak only to the needs of the Historical School.

I am not sure that appointments of indefinite duration, on complete tenure, are necessarily the best answer for all members of the faculty. That they are the best answer in some cases, I can well believe, but not in all. Among those who are qualified to occupy chairs at the Institute, there are some for whom, however suitable this might be for a limited time, it is not the best arrangement for the entire remainder of a professional and personal life. For this reason, I think there should be provision for greater flexibility and variation in this respect. The permanent appointments, it seems to me, might best be reserved as a rule for older men of high distinction who have in effect completed their teaching careers, who need the greater freedom and privacy the Institute is able to give them for the final years of creative scholarship, and whose presence can be of exceptional value to visiting members. For certain of the younger candidates for Faculty status, the best answer might be a fixed, limited term, long enough to permit them to make a serious contribution in a professorial status to the work of the Institute, but not so long as to preclude their return to work at other institutions. This would accord with the experience of scholars in all ages, which seems to show that occasional changes of scene and intellectual environment are needed, if the necessary stimulus and variety of association are to be achieved.

Should provision be made for limited appointments as well as indefinite ones, I would suppose that the permanent faculty would eventually settle down at a somewhat smaller level, numerically, than is the case today, the total faculty being, perhaps, somewhat larger.

4. Finally, there is the problem of the arrangement of association and responsibility within the general area of the humanities.

It is my impression that the practice of including all historical studies, except the strictly economic and sociological ones, within a single school, while entirely logical on the face of it, has not worked out as well as one might have hoped. The fields of classics and ancient and mediaeval history seem to be separated from the field of modern history by a whole series of differences, having to do with the type of work, the sources of support, the

Mr. Martin E. Segal

3

15 January 1976

uses made of the work accomplished, etc. I have always considered that the classicists, in the light of the more esoteric nature of their concerns and their greater remoteness from the present scene, have had a special need for just the sort of facilities this Institute is able to give them; and for this reason I was always happy, during my years of active work here, to support the acceptance of the many excellent candidates who have applied for work in this field. The same is true for the history of art. I would not like to see any changes that would detract from the extraordinary vigor and distinction which these fields of study at the Institute have achieved.

But it is perhaps the reverse side of this coin that there has not been as much room for modern historical studies, at both faculty and membership levels, as I could have wished. Not only that, but there has been, as it seems to me, a certain loneliness on the part of the relatively few people who come to work on modern history. They do not seem to have the same sort of fruitful intellectual association with other members that we see in some of the other fields. Very often, their interests draw them closer to those who are working in the School of Social Science than to those who are working on earlier periods within the Historical School. Finally, it seems to me that the present arrangement leads to the neglect of certain fields of modern historical scholarship--notably literary and economic--which seem to fall somewhere between the areas of interest of the two schools.

One must bear in mind, in this connection, the fact that in recent years and decades scholarship in modern history has come to concentrate much more extensively on the history--social, economic, and cultural--of large masses or bodies of people than on the doings of individual historical figures, and has thus tended to approach the work of the social scientists.

All these considerations lead me to wonder whether the present arrangement, which groups all forms of what is called "history" in a single school, is really the best one, after all. I can see two possibilities for alternative arrangements which, it seems to me, might be considered.

The first would be that one has two schools under the general heading of the humanities: a School of Classics, embracing mediaeval Western history as well as the history of ancient Greek and Roman civilization, and also the history of art; and a separate School of Modern History and Social Science.

The other alternative would be that you have a single School of Humane Studies, to be broken down into three autonomous sub-sections: Classics (with Ancient History), the History of Art, and Modern Political and Social History.

Something along the lines of either of these possibilities would seem to me to be a more hopeful approach than what we have today. That there would be strong opposition to both of these alternatives within the present Faculty, I have no doubt. I can see no reason, however, why one or the other

Mr. Martin E. Segal

4

15 January 1976

of them could not be tried, on--say--a five-year basis, as an experiment. There would be no reason why one could not revert, at the end of that time, to the present arrangement, if the others seemed even less satisfactory.

Very sincerely yours,

  
George Kennan

Mr. Martin E. Segal  
Chairman, Review Committee  
Fuld Hall 415  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

October 6, 1975.

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Professor Carl Kaysen;  
Director, Institute for Advanced Study,  
Princeton.

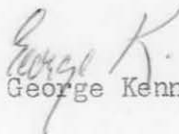
Dear Carl:

I have your circular of October 1 concerning facilities to be afforded to professors emeriti.

I shall be in touch with Mr. Morgan about the facilities I shall require.

Meanwhile, I just wanted to say that I find these arrangements very generous and helpful, and if you should find an occasion to express my appreciation to the Board of Trustees, I should appreciate it. I value this support particularly because I am, as you know, continuing my active work no less vigorously, I think, than was the case before my retirement.

Very sincerely,

  
George Kennan

cc. Mr. Morgan

April 2, 1975

Dear George:

I was very sorry to learn of Walton Butterworth's death, and I am sure that it affects you deeply.

Thank you for your good note. We will all be glad to see you back next academic year, and the arrangements you suggest are perfectly reasonable. At the moment, I am not clear how crowded we will be; if we are not, I think we will simply return your old office to you. Only in the case that there is some advantage in putting two people in your room, as we did this year, would I seek to move you elsewhere.

With warmest greetings to you and Annelise.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan  
146 Hodge Road  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540





# THE Fairfax

Washington's Family Hotel

2100 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

March 27, 1975.

Dear Carl:

Thank you for your circular letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the professors emeriti. The arrangements you outline there, with relation to support for the work of retired professors, seem to me to be very generous, and I think it quite right that they should be regularized in this way.

For your information, and Mike's, I thought I might say the following about my own plans. I expect to complete my residential obligations in Washington at the end of this year, and then to resume residence and work in Princeton. The work I have in hand - on the Franco-Russian Alliance - will keep me occupied as long into the future as I like to look. Beginning, then, with January, 1976, I would like to have a room, for pursuit of my academic work, at the Institute. It does not have to be the one I had, although I was very fond of it.

I do not expect to have need for a secretary at the office; I propose to do only academic work there - mornings, and to have all my mail & phone calls come to my home. I shall need some typing help from time to time, and occasionally, perhaps, some temporary research ~~assist~~ assistance paid for by the hour.

(over)

TELEPHONE 293-2100

Located in the Heart of the Embassy District



The travel allowance, <sup>too</sup> will be a great convenience. But I doubt  
that my needs will even approach the \$6,500 limit.

I am returning to Princeton next week - will be there  
until the 15<sup>th</sup>, and hope to see you then.

With warm regards —

Sincerely,  
George K.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Director

March 11, 1974

Dear George and Marshall:

This is just to remind you that you will be the speakers after the Trustees meeting of the 27th of April here in Princeton. The schedule calls for talks between about 11:00 a.m. and 1:00 p.m., to be followed by lunch. The audience will include the Board members and their wives, such members of the Associates, i.e., those who are contributing \$5,000 a year or more to the Institute, who accept our invitation and their wives, and the Faculty and their wives.

Thanks again for your helpfulness in this.

Cordially,



Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan ✓  
Professor Marshall Rosenbluth  
Institute for Advanced Study

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

THE DIRECTOR

February 11, 1974

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILE

Professor Kennan came in to speak about his retirement plans. He has almost decided to accept the invitation from the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington to be a Fellow there for two or three years. The stipend would approximately cover the difference between his present salary and what he could expect from his pension. However, he does not plan to make a permanent break with Princeton and intends to rent rather than sell his house. He recognizes that he should not continue to claim his office when he is not here. After retirement, however, he would hope that when he returned after three years he could have an office. He also expressed desire to continue to have some part of Janet Smith's time available for his work in terms of answering and forwarding his correspondence, and at one point in the discussion suggested an afternoon a week. Another request was for some assistance, if convenient, in storing some of his books which he would not wish to take. He made it plain that a decision was not contingent on the proposed Center for Slavic Studies, and that he did not expect to spend any considerable further portion of his time and energy on that enterprise unless there was a good prospect of substantial funding. While these decisions were not now final he would keep me further informed.

I pointed out some of the problems of making a multiple responsibility arrangement in relation to Janet Smith, but agreed to try to work something out. There would be no problem about finding some place to store some books for a finite period of time. As far as an office on his return, it seemed impossible for me to make a commitment although I certainly thought that the regular practice of the Institute with respect to working Professors Emeriti would entitle him to claim a members office at that time.

I expressed my personal regrets at his departure.

  
Carl Kayser

February 25, 1974

Memorandum to Mr. Morgan

Subject: Professor Kennan's Plans

1. Professor Kennan expects to leave Princeton for 2 or perhaps 3 years following his retirement. He hopes to rent his house, therefore to return at the end of this period.
2. He recognizes that he should not claim his office and leave it unused. He is prepared to give it up and seeks an assurance that when he comes back, he will be granted an office if he is still working. An assurance of this would be in line with our general treatment of professors emeriti.
3. He would like some part of Janet Smith's time for answering and forwarding correspondence and suggested an afternoon a week. This of course presents problems but I hope we can work them out.
4. He may need some storage space for parts of his library.

Carl Kaysen

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

THE DIRECTOR

## MEMORANDUM TO THE FILE


Subject: Meeting with Professor Kennan, Monday, October 22, 1973

We talked about his situation after retirement. He expects to stay in Princeton. I assured him that his office would be available, as I continue to believe that the policy of making reasonable facilities available to professors Emeriti as long as they were working was an important one.

We discussed Janet Smith. In principle Kennan agreed that half time of a secretary was a reasonable arrangement, however, he doubted it would be workable in terms of his particular secretary. There was mention of whether the Institute should pay her half time and he the other half. We agreed to explore the matter.

Several times during the conversation Professor Kennan offered to move to another office if that was necessary, but I indicated no interest in accepting the offer.

He also remarked it was his understanding that a professor Emeritus could have either a secretary or an assistant but not both. I responded that I had had to deal with this matter in relation to Messrs. Alföldi and Lowe, neither of them required secretaries, both of them had had assistants. I indicated that this is a subject that perhaps ought to be reviewed.

  
Carl Kaysen  
October 23, 1973

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

THE DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILE

RE: Professor George Kennen

October 2, 1973

Professor Kennen requested permission to spend some substantial part of January in Paris in order to be able to use a private archive newly made available to him; documents relative to a study of the French/Russian relations. He must make arrangements now, a more definite schedule will be made available.

  
Carl Kaysen

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

THE DIRECTOR

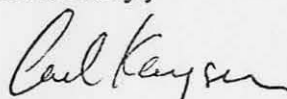
June 27, 1973

Dear Professor Kennan:

I write formally to withdraw from membership in the Faculty of the School of Historical Studies as of the beginning of the academic year 1973-74. Now that the Program in Social Sciences has been established as a School, I wish to identify myself with it.

I appreciate your courtesy in inviting me to sit as a member of the School and the hospitality you have shown me in the past seven years.

Sincerely,



Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan  
Executive Officer  
School of Historical Studies  
Institute for Advanced Study

cc: Professors Cherniss, Clagett, Elliot, Gilbert, Gilliam,  
Habicht, Lavin, Meiss, Setton, Thompson, and White  
Miss Horton



Told Janet you had O.K.'s the visit. She expects to be talking to Prof. Kennan between 11 and 12 on Tuesday. If you want to speak to him about anything, we are to let her know so she can transfer the call.

*I called Janet*

*OK - not  
necessary to talk.*

SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS (PLEASE SHOW YOUR POSTCODE)

G. Kennan

All Souls College,

Oxford.

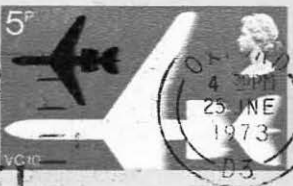
AN AIR LETTER SHOULD  
NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE;  
IF IT DOES IT MAY BE SURCHARGED  
OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

SECOND FOLD HERE

**BY AIR MAIL  
AIR LETTER**

PAR AVION AEROGRAMME

**REMEMBER  
to use the  
POST CODE!**



Mr. Minot Morgan,

Institute for Advanced Study,

Princeton, N.J. 08540

U.S.A.

All Souls College,  
Oxford.

June 25, 1973.

Dear Mike:

You may recall that I mentioned to you, last spring, the possibility that I might, instead of coming home myself in mid-summer, have to ask that Janet be permitted to make a brief trip to this side of the water so that we can clear away all the accumulated business that we have to discuss.

I am completing my work here at Oxford ~~xxxxxxx~~ -- at All Souls, that is -- on July 15, and am then going to Norway for a vacation. It would be a great help to me, and would save me having to consider a trip to the U.S., if Janet could fly to Norway in the week from July 15-22, bringing with her all the accumulated urgent correspondence plus accumulated manuscript material, etc., and taking home some of the notes and records that I have been able to complete in these weeks at Oxford.

Since there is, I believe, sufficient money in my travel account to cover this, and since it is a burden which -- in view of my forthcoming retirement -- I shall not be likely to be placing on the Institute in future, I would like to hope that this might be authorized.

If the authorization is forthcoming, I would ask you to let Janet know directly.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

  
George Kennan.

Mr. Minot Morgan,  
Institute for Advanced Study,  
Princeton.

June 29, 1973

Dear Felix and George:

Excuse my being so lazy as to write a single letter to both of you, but there are some developments in the matter of Bernard Lewis on which I thought it would be helpful if I could have at least an initial reaction from you.

As you will remember, there were a number of difficulties which you and others felt in regard to the proposal to invite Lewis as a Professor in the School of Historical Studies, and it was clear to me, as well as to the sponsors of the proposal, that the School would be unlikely to take any action in this matter in the coming year. As you probably know, this proposal was of interest not only to Messrs. Clagett and Setton, who put it forward, but also to some of our colleagues at Princeton. In particular, Abram Udovitch, the head of the Department of Near Eastern Studies who knows and admires Lewis's work, was keenly interested in the possibility that he might come to Princeton.

Lewis is determined to leave London and is strongly desirous of an early decision on his next move. Udovitch, on his part, is eager that some way be found to bring Lewis to Princeton. Recently Udovitch approached me to find out whether there was any way that the Institute could participate in an invitation to Lewis by the University. Udovitch has had some conversations with Lewis from which he concluded that Lewis would not accept a conventional offer from the University but might be open to some kind of joint arrangement. As you will recall, the Faculty has recently expressed a fairly strong negative view on joint professorial appointments, and I see no use in raising that question again. However, I did suggest that we could possibly offer him a long-term membership, on the basis of one term here each year during the tenure of his Princeton appointment. This would permit him to have much more free time for research and also to maintain an ongoing connection with the Institute, somewhat in the pattern of Neugebauer for example. Udovitch is convinced that Lewis would accept an invitation on these terms.

I have found a donor who is willing to give the Institute the sum required to support our share of the costs of such an invitation to Lewis, and Geertz and I both would be happy to see it made in the name of the School of Social Science as well as that of the School of Historical Studies.

If this arrangement were to work out, I would offer Lewis an office in the West building which would be available to him permanently, an arrangement which Geertz finds agreeable. Further, the School of

Professors Gilbert and Kennan - 2

June 29, 1973

Social Sciences would be prepared to invite one or two members each year on his suggestion, and I think that, if the invitation to Lewis is made, the School of Historical Studies should be prepared to do likewise. This is to give Lewis what in the past we have given Neugebauer, with results which I think have been widely felt to be admirable.

I have talked with Marshall Clagett and Kenneth Setton, the original movers of the Lewis appointment, who agreed that the arrangement would be desirable in that it would bring Lewis to Princeton and associate him with the Institute. Further, it would avoid some of the problems that arose in connection with the original proposal to appoint him to a professorship in the School of Historical Studies. The proposed arrangement would not commit one of the professorial slots and thus preclude appointments in other fields. It would not raise the question of adding substantial new resources to the library, and it would give our newly arrived colleagues a chance to make their influence felt in deciding what the next Faculty appointment ought to be.

While formal action must await a Fall School meeting, it would be helpful if you could give me some informal indication of your own views. Udovitch expects to see Lewis toward the end of next month and would like to have some idea as to whether he can give Lewis an encouraging report or not.

As you will remember, a long-term appointment of this character raises no question of the sort involved in our recent procedural wrangle. It would simply be a matter of notifying the Faculty members in the other two Schools that the Schools of Historical Studies and Social Science propose to make this appointment, two weeks before any final action is taken. It is my judgment, shared by Clagett and Setton, that no significant objection would arise in this matter from the other Schools.

I have had a preliminary discussion with Frank Gilliam as well, and his initial reaction was positive.

With warmest greetings,

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor Felix Gilbert  
48 Ossington Street  
London W2-4LY, England

Professor George Kennan  
Beechwood Flats, Flat 3  
Iffley Turn  
Iffley, Oxford, England

SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS (PLEASE SHOW YOUR POSTCODE)

G. Kennan  
All Souls College,  
Oxford.

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD  
NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE;  
IF IT DOES IT MAY BE SURCHARGED  
OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

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BY AIR MAIL  
AIR LETTER

PAR AVION AEROGARME

REMEMBER  
to use the  
POST CODE



Mr. Carl Kayser, Director,  
Institute for Advanced Study,  
Princeton,  
New Jersey 08540  
U.S.A.

All Souls College,  
Oxford.

June 18, 1953.

Dear Carl:

I just returned yesterday from an absence of some days from Oxford, and found awaiting me here your letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> about the application to the Nat. Endowment for the Humanities. You are of course welcome to ask Janet to sign my name to the application, as Executive Officer, and this letter may serve as my authorization thereof.

I fervently hope that things will quiet down at the Institute next fall - but fear that this will not be the case - that there will, on the contrary, be more anguish to be gone through before we have done with the matter. I shall in any case use whatever influence I have to persuade my colleagues in the Historical School to permit the work of the School to proceed normally.

I hope you and Connette can get a good rest and vacation after what has obviously been a harrowing year.

Very sincerely,  
George K.

See folder for  
B. Lewis  
(facultly app tea)

November 7, 1972

Dear George:

Just a word to say how much I appreciate the good sense of your note to Morty White. If we could trade off just a milligram of the undoubted brilliance of some of our colleagues for a corresponding quantity of good sense, the Institute would be a better as well as a more agreeable place.

Annette joins me in warmest greetings,

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan  
Institut Universitaire des hautes  
Etudes Internationales  
132 Rue de Lausanne  
1211 Geneve 21  
Switzerland



TELEPHONE MESSAGE

For: Cuech Date: \_\_\_\_\_

From: \_\_\_\_\_

Of: \_\_\_\_\_ Time: \_\_\_\_\_

Phoned; no message

Will call back

Please call

Operator No. \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_

Area Code \_\_\_\_\_ Number \_\_\_\_\_

Message Mr. Kennan's address:

Overgsestangen

Randesund

Kristiansand S.

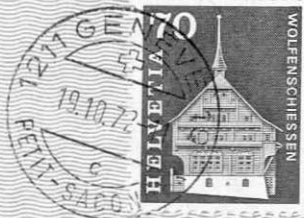
Norway

Signed AMPD

BY AIR MAIL  
PAR AVION

*Aérogramme*

Prof. Carl Kayser,  
Director, Institute for Advanced Study,  
Princeton, N.J. 08540,  
U. S. A.



Institut Universitaire des hautes Études Internationales,  
Geneva. October 18, 1972.

file  
Releher

Dear Carl:

This is just to acknowledge your circular letter of October 4, concerning the nomination of Prof. Robert N. Bellah as Professor in the Program of Social Sciences.

I assume that it will be some months, in view of the procedures to be followed, before this nomination will come to a vote in the Faculty, by which time the view of the ad hoc committee will be available. There is no need, therefore, for me to express any final opinion at this time. I will only say that the nomination appears to me to be an interesting and well-justified one; and I am delighted that we are ~~getting down to~~ <sup>occupying ourselves seriously with</sup> the appointment of another professor in what will soon be the new "school".

The two weeks in Vienna (from which place we have just come to Geneva) were pleasant and profitable. I have the feeling that after two years of being distracted by other things, I am finally getting down once more to history; & I am enjoying it intensely.

With warm regards to Annette & to yourself —  
Sincerely,  
George K.

Prof. Carl Kayser,  
Director, Institute for  
Advanced Study,  
Princeton.

*file*

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

17 October 1972

Dear Dr. Kaysen:

Professor Kennan, while in Vienna, has written to Mr. Harriman, in an attempt to enlist his interest in a Washington center for Russian and Soviet studies.

Professor Kennan sent the letter to me for xeroxing and mailing to Mr. Harriman. He wanted you to have a copy of it.

Sincerely yours,

*Janet Smith*  
Janet Smith

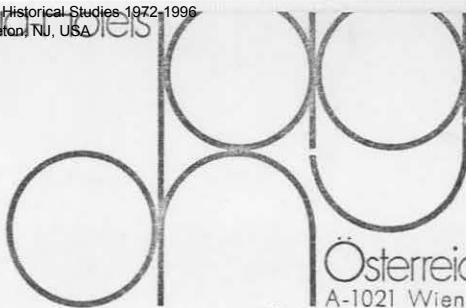
Dr. Carl Kaysen  
Director

*Handovered to M.V.F.*

---

Hotel de France

A-1010 Wien, Schottenring 3 ☉ 34 35 40



Österreichische Hotel-Betriebs A.G.

A-1021 Wien, Untere Donaustraße 25, Telefon 24 75 11/325

October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1972.

Dear Averell:

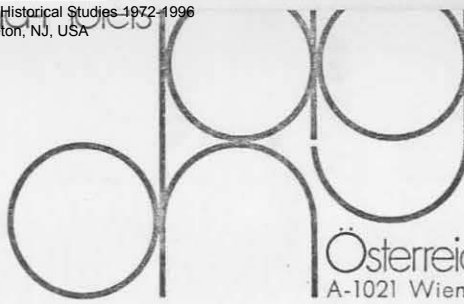
I am spending this fall in Europe, for purposes of historical research - hence the fact that this letter comes to you from Austria.

As you probably know: last May, being alarmed at the signs of a growing lack of interest & support for Russian & Soviet studies in our country, and aware that the recent sad deaths, in rapid succession, of Tommie Thompson, Phil Mosely, and Merle Fainsel had left a serious gap of leadership in this field, I convened in Princeton a small but highly qualified circle of authorities on such matters, from all parts of the country (including even Leonard Shapiro from England), and they, after examining the whole range of problems involved, produced a report, a copy of which I have asked be sent to you, indicating the directions in which action ought to be taken to assure the continued strength and vitality of this sort of study in our country. The most important of the conclusions flowing from this report is the need for the establishment of a national center in Washington for Russian & Soviet studies, comparable in a general way to Dumbarton Oaks in its relation to medieval studies.

The matter has recently been further discussed in a smaller group that included Karl Keyser, Jim Billington (Professor at Princeton), and representatives of the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. There is a general consensus, in these circles, as to how both as to the need for such a center and as to the general lines along which one ought to proceed; but there is at the moment, in my own temporary absence and in view of the

Hotel de France

A-1010 Wien, Schottenring 3 ☎ 34 35 40



Österreichische Hotel-Betriebs A.G.

A-1021 Wien, Untere Donaustraße 25, Telefon 24 75 11/325

gap in leadership occasioned by the deaths I have mentioned, no one with the position, the authority, and the institutional detachment to carry things forward and to ensure the maintenance of the momentum which the recent conference provided. When I come home in January, I hope to give much of my time to the subject. Meanwhile, however, those who have interested themselves in it sorely need the sort of wisdom, guidance and qualified interest that only you could give.

The purpose of this letter, therefore, is to appeal to you — not just as a favor to myself, though I should personally be deeply grateful; but rather as a matter of concern for the continued strength of work in this field in our country, — to give this your attention in my absence, and particularly to receive Marshall Shulman, whom you may know, head of the Russian Institute at Columbia, and to let him tell you what the problem is and benefit from whatever thoughts you may have on the subject.

I expect to finish my work in the archives here in about ten days and to make my headquarters for the remainder of the fall at the:

Institut des Hautes Universitaires des Hautes Études Internationales,

132 Rue de Lausanne,  
Geneva, Switzerland.

but I can also be reached at any time through my secretary at the Institute in Princeton.

With warm regards — Sincerely, George Kennan

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

THE SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

6 June 1972

Dear Carl:

That you, personally, have a pretty good idea of what my life is like, I do not doubt. But I thought it might be useful to you, for other reasons, to have this summary of what I can recall doing in the months since the beginning of the 1971-1972 academic term -- as an example of where a professor's time can go, at this curious institution.

## INSTITUTE AFFAIRS

I took my part, of course, in screening, last fall, the applications for membership in the coming academic year.

I did considerable reading in connection with proposals for new professorial appointments.

I functioned as Executive Officer in the School during the second term.

## CORRESPONDENCE

In addition to my own personal and business correspondence, which included a thick file connected with my duties as executor of an estate, there went out of this office, during the months from October 1 to May 31, approximately 700 letters -- 134, for example, just from May 1 to May 31, all of which were of a professional nature. The incoming letters must have been fully as numerous.

## WRITING

I completed, with the writing of 237 more pages, the second volume (1950-1963) of my own memoirs, submitted it to the publisher, read and corrected the galley proof.

In addition to this, I wrote twelve smaller pieces for publication: forewords, obituaries, articles, replies to questions for publication, etc., and one address, for the latter of which approximately 70 requests for copies have already been filled by my office.

## READING OF SCHOLARLY MATERIALS AT THE REQUEST OF OTHERS

From August, 1971, to June, 1972, there were sent to me

Dr. Kaysen

2.

6 June 1972

for my attention, 164 short items of literature, totalling 1,334 pages, of which I read some 15, totalling 338 pages.

Of somewhat longer and more serious pieces -- scholarly monographs, chapters of books, etc., -- I received at least eight, and have record of reading 389 pages of this material, in addition to commenting on it in writing, in most instances.

Finally, there were sent to me, with the request that I read them and comment, 51 books, totalling about 16,000 pages. I read 9 of these works, totalling 3,385 pages.

Altogether, this meant something over 4,000 pages read for professional reasons, at the request of others; and most of this required written comment and criticism, sometimes lengthy.

#### SEMINARS AND CONFERENCES

I conducted, during the year, eight seminars or conference sessions, in addition to the organizing and conducting of the two-day conference on Modern Russian and Soviet Studies. I participated in environmental hearings called in New York at the request of the Secretary of State, on March 2.

On March 29, I gave an Oral History interview at the Ford Foundation, and was interviewed on May 31, here in the office, by German TV (in German) on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Marshall Plan.

#### RESEARCH

In addition to this, I did contrive to go through approximately 30 volumes, from Firestone's holdings, bearing on my own field of interest -- the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1894, to prepare bibliographical cards on all of them, and biographic cards on a number of the personalities involved.

#### INVITATIONS DECLINED

The number of invitations declined (invitations to speak, attend conferences, write articles, etc.) ran to about 115, from October 1 through June 2. Many of these came, however, in the form of phone calls and visits; and the declining took time.

\* \* \*

This will give you some idea.

What I would have done had I been at a place where I was expected,



Dr. Kaysen

3.

6 June 1972

on top of all this, to teach, I cannot imagine.

All of the best for the summer --

Sincerely,

George Kennan

Dr. Carl Kaysen  
Director  
The Institute for Advanced Study

dictated on 6 June 1972  
transcribed in absence of Professor Kennan  
and not signed by him

March 30, 1972

Dear George:

Thanks for your note about Hill. Everything you told him is certainly O.K., but I have some reservations about whether the Institute is the best place for him. He might do better to be at the Woodrow Wilson School. In any event, let's see what he has to say a little later about his success in doing the work he plans for the coming year. At that point I might wish to take the matter up with John Lewis.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan  
Institute for Advanced Study

Attachment: Letter from Martin Hill

Copy filed in IAS Miscellaneous - Hill, Martin

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

25 March 1972

The Director:

Carl:

Mr. Hill, an old hand of the League of Nations / U.N. secretariat, lives here in town. Though no longer young, he is vigorous and intelligent; & he is, generally, a person of some distinction.

I lunched with him today & discussed with him the plans set forth in his letter. We agreed that the first alternative - a historical treatise - was the most promising one. It developed, however, that most of the research would have to be ~~done~~ done in the U.N. library & archives. The final writing could be done here.

I told him there could be no question of his coming here in my case before 1973-1974, and advised him to seek a foundation grant (this should not be hard to obtain) to support research work in U.S. over the academic year 1972-1973;

but I added that if, after the completion of the research, he thought it would be useful for him to come here for the writing in 1973-1974, I would be glad to take the matter up with you.

It seems to me that the project would be a suitable one for us - probably for the Director's fund - especially because of the early connection of the Institute with the U.N.

George K.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, Princeton, New Jersey  
Office of the Director

C O P Y

Kennan -  
(see IAS Misc. file)

January 4, 1972

Dear George:

I showed Cowen's papers, which I return herewith, to Homer Thompson. He would be quite content to see Cowen invited as a visitor outside of term time. Why don't you suggest to Libby Knapp that we would welcome Mr. Cowen any time after April 15 for a stay of two or three months. At that time we could certainly provide him with an office and, if he wanted, an apartment as well.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan  
Institute for Advanced Study

Attachments as indicated