THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

23 September 1971

Pentagon papers

Dear Carl:

Should a full set of these documents be opened to responsible scholars generally (as I think they ought to be), and should then one or two scholars of outstanding experience and ability set about of their own accord to study them, then I think the government would be well-advised to encourage their work and to give them every facility. But I think it would be ill-advised either to select them or to make the documents available to them alone.

Sincerely,

George Kennan

Dr. Carl Kaysen
Director
The Institute for Advanced Study

cc: Professor Gilbert

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

9 June 1971

MEMORANDUM for: Dr. Kaysen

FROM: Janet Smith

Dear Dr. Kaysen:

I have heard further from Professor Kennan about his Norwegian telephone number. The one that I gave you the other day is out-dated.

The correct number is:

45544

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

7 June 1971

MEMORANDUM for: Dr. Kaysen

FROM: Janet Smith

Dear Dr. Kaysen:

Professor Kennan mentioned before he left that you and Mrs. Kaysen might be travelling in Norway during the summer and should have his address.

As I shall be going on vacation on June 15 and might not be here in case you leave before July 8, I thought to send it to you now:

Dvergsnestangen
Randesund
Kristiansand S.
Telephone: Kristiansand
~~43844~~ 45544

The telephone number is in Mrs. Kennan's name. Mrs. Kennan's brother, through whom you could reach them in case of difficulty, is Herr Einar Sørensen, at Firma S. Sørensen, in Kristiansand.

JS.

In celebration of

The Fortieth Wedding Anniversary

of

Mr. and Mrs. George Frost Kennan

Their son and daughters

request the pleasure of your company

at a small dance

on Saturday, the eleventh of September

at ten o'clock

Prospect Club

Princeton, New Jersey

regretted on personal card Mr + Mrs C.K. 9/1/71

R.S.V.P.
Mrs. Walter Pozen
3050 University Terrace, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

Black Tie
(Surprise)

Mr. and Mrs. John Carl Warnecke

Mr. and Mrs. Walter Pozen

Mr. Christopher James Kennan

Miss Wendy Antonia Kennan

July 8, 1971

Dear George:

Our plans for our Scandinavian expedition seem now to have settled down. We hope to be making the brief Norwegian leg of our journey from August 14 to 18, arriving at Kristiansand on the ferry from Hirtshals, Denmark, on August 14. If it is convenient, we would like to see you and Annelise that evening, and perhaps you would be good enough to arrange for us to stay overnight in the vicinity. Our plan is to drive on next morning to Stavanger, where we will leave our car, and take the hydrofoil to Bergen.

The Institute has settled into its summer somnolence. I trust you are finding peace below and blue skies above!

Annette joins me in sending warmest greetings to you and Annelise.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
Dvergsnestangen
Randesund
Kristiansand S.
Norway

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

8 March 1971

MEMORANDUM for: Director's Office

FROM: Janet Smith

In response to your inquiry, Professor Kennan would be able to attend a Faculty meeting on Thursday, March 25, at 10 A.M.

Enclosed are:

1) His reaction to the proposal to include photographs of the Faculty in the annual booklet; and

2) The form stating that he will not be in the country when the Trustees meet.

Professor Kennan received the enclosed copy of Switzerland Economic Survey 1970 and thought that the Director or the people in the fourth school might like to have it.

JS

January 25, 1971

Dear George:

Thanks for the letter from Woodward. I have read it and made a note of the names. I agree with you that it should not be circulated, and I have made no copy of it.

If you are willing to trust yourself to me, I propose to drive to the Council. Why don't I pick you up about four o'clock to allow for the rush hour traffic?

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
Institute for Advanced Study

Attachment

Professor G. Kennan
c/o Firma S. Sorensen
Box 292
Kristiansand S.
NORWAY

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

11 January 1971

MEMORANDUM for: The Director

FROM: Janet Smith

Dear Dr. Kaysen:

Professor Kennan has asked me to advise you that he will be in Washington today and part of tomorrow. He expects to be in the office by 4 P.M. tomorrow afternoon.

Almost immediately after lunch on Wednesday, he will go to his farm, where he will remain until January 25, for family reasons. He plans to work there during that time. I shall be in touch with him by telephone during those days, should there be any message that you would like to have relayed to him.

JS

Kennan
(Pelling)

November 5, 1970

Dear George:

In the course of your thinking about South Africa, have you come across a good analysis of the present social and economic situation, especially in relation to the issue of American trade and investment? This question is now being agitated at the Polaroid Corporation, of which as you may know I am a Director. We have almost 900, out of 9,000, black employees, and the question is a tense one. I am trying to be helpful in pursuing a rational discussion which here, as always, is a difficult task, and I would appreciate any suggestions you have about this.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
Institute for Advanced Study

P.S. Thanks for your note about Pelling. It seems to me that we might well take up the question of inviting him as a visitor.

C.K.

CK's

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540
SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

June 15, '70.

Carl:

My memory clicked while I was on the way upstairs.

Albert Lord got into touch with me, when I was recently in the Boston area, in the following matter:

As you may know, he and the deceased Parry made, some years ago, a marvelous collections of recordings of the epic tales sung by folk-minstrels in the coffee houses of the Balkans, primarily in Bosnia; and they published these, in Serbo-Croatian and in English translation, in a joint work of Harvard University and the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences. Lord has since continued and broadened this work, but has run into increasing difficulty withregard to the financing of it. To get support at Harvard, he was had to widen it into a sort of interdepartmental program on Oral History and Mythology, or some such title, but now even the support for this is drying up -- although they had greatly exapnded the scope of the work and had moved, through qualified people, into the oriental and African fields. They wanted my help in drumming up funds to continue the program.

attached

I pointed out to them that their problem arose largely from the association of this work with teaching, because it was a kind of work which did not lend itslef to exploitation as an adjunct of undergraduate teaching; and I mentioned to him that they would be better off if they had some sort of an institute, like Dumbarton Oaks, where such work could be

concentrated.

I think the field is a legitimate one -- it certainly is, at least, among the Slavic peoples and among the Africans, and I suspect among many of the Asians. It is inter-disciplinary in that involves, of course, linguistics and history and literature, but also borders on anthropology. I think Geerts would be interested in it.

It occurred to me that the most suitable way to organize such work would be with a professor in an instituion such as our own, forming the nucleus -- as Homor does for the archeologists -- of a cluster of independent scholars to whose work he gives a sort of gentle guidance and structure. I gave him no reason to hope that anything of that sort could be done here; but it does represent a field in which, it seems to me, the Institute could conceivably be useful, and I just thought you might like to have it in mind.

G. F. K.

P. S. The Lord + Parry collection, as published, represents to my mind the greatest single work of literary folklore ever done in, or with relation to, the Balkans, and constituted a major contribution to Slavic cultural studies. I was at the time involved in the financing of it - hence Lord's interest in me, today.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

21 September 1970

MEMORANDUM for: Miss Wakeham

FROM: Janet Smith

Dear Angela:

Please forgive the delay in sending you this note to thank you for giving to Professor Kennan the copy of Notes for Essays 1951-1952. It is tremendously helpful to have it for the files.

Janet

Professor Kennan phoned on Wednesday, April 9, to say he would like to add the name of Henry Kissinger whom he had failed to mention when talking with Dr. Kaysen.

REB

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540
Telephone-609-924-4400

THE DIRECTOR

Memorandum for the Record

Conversation with Professor Kennan at lunch at the Nassau Club at 12:30 on Monday, April 6, at his request.

1. He raised the question of a successor to himself, pointing out that as a man interested in contemporary events and diplomatic history he was a successor at the Institute to Llewellyn Woodward and Edward M. Earle. He felt that this tradition should be continued, that it was extremely valuable to keep the Institute in touch with the contemporary world. I agreed that some continued representation in modern history, whether in the field of international politics and diplomatic history or otherwise, was desirable. I mentioned Professor Gilbert's interest in the possibility of inviting Franklin Ford. Kennan agreed that Ford would make an interesting candidate but said that he was concerned with a more modern orientation and also, if possible, with someone who maintained a connection with the history and literature of the Slavic world as he did. The discussion moved on to names, and Kennan mentioned Messrs. Tucker, Ullman, and Billington at the University, and at various times in the discussion Max Beloff, Alan Bullock, Leonard Shapiro, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Adam Ulam. I indicated that Ullman was not sufficiently scholarly, that Beloff and Shapiro were probably too near Kennan's own age, and that I thought Bullock unavailable; to most of which Kennan seemed to agree. I objected to Brzezinski also on grounds of lack of scholarship, and Kennan felt that Ulam had certain personal deficiencies which made him unsuitable as a candidate. I agreed that Tucker was the most interesting of the possibilities he had mentioned. In connection with Billington I asked about Malia, whose work Kennan does not know well.

2. We agreed that Professor Kennan would continue to think of the matter and would write a memorandum on it for his colleagues sometime during the course of the next year. I would also continue to think of it and would pass on any ideas I had of additional names to him, recognizing that the various elements and the combination of interests he himself represented were unlikely to be reproduced in any single person. I also said that I thought in general no one should be proposed for a professorship who was over 55. In the course of the discussion I reminded Kennan of the Meritt-Woodhead history to indicate that the Faculty might not be ready to discuss his successor immediately, although Professor Kennan had opened the discussion by saying that he felt his views on his successor did deserve special weight, citing the cases of Panofsky-Meiss, and Alföldi-Gilliam, as precedents.

CK
Carl Kaysen

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

8 January 1970

MEMORANDUM to: Miss Wakeham

SUBJECT: Names and Birth Dates of Professor Kennan's Children

Grace Kennan Warnecke (Mrs. John C.)--born June 5, 1932

Joan Kennan Griggs (Mrs.)--born April 24, 1936

Christopher James Kennan--born November 24, 1949

Wendy Antonia Kennan--born May 10, 1952

Janet Smith

file
Kennan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

18 March 1970

MEMORANDUM for: Director's Office

FROM: J. Smith

Professor Kennan thought that the Director might be interested to see this letter that he is sending to an American scholar.

JS

The pressure of other commitments is such that I have not been able, and would not be able at this juncture, to give your manuscript a thorough critical reading. This would be a long task, for one would have to have the source materials at hand and to examine not just the inner logic of the narrative but the manner in which the sources have been used. I have, however, glanced over the first four chapters, and I may make the following comments.

I recognize the amount of work that has gone into the study, and the effort made to arrive at an independent judgment on the questions involved. The book is readable, and superior in its entirety to some of the books that have recently appeared on this subject. Nevertheless I must confess to a sense of much unhappiness as I look through it, for it seems to me that you have been extensively influenced, in questions of content, as well as in style and use of source materials, by earlier "revisionist" writers of whose works I have no high opinion.

So far as concerns major matters of content, I am, as you know, in agreement with the thesis that the United States government was deceiving itself in hoping for the preservation of any sort of national independence or democratic freedom in the countries into which the Red Army was advancing in 1944-1945, and would have done better to have desisted from futile efforts on behalf of the respective peoples, which it was not in a position to back up. On the other hand, I do not think this would have made any appreciable difference in our subsequent relations with the Stalin regime. It seems to me that you wholly ignore the pre-1941 years in our relationship with the Russians. That relationship was not appreciably more comfortable than the one that developed after World War II. The "Cold War," in fact, began in 1917, not in 1945. I also think that you

greatly underrate the horror that Soviet rule spelled for the non-Russian peoples involved. The brutality of Soviet conduct with relation to the population of areas which fell under Soviet control is repeatedly and consistently understated in your work. The reader would not guess that for several of these peoples the prospect of Soviet rule represented a calamity no smaller than rule by the Nazis. Nor would the reader gain any adequate idea of the grim reality that lay behind the easy euphemism of "friendly" governments along Russia's western borders. Finally, I think that you, like the other revisionists, have greatly overrated the role of the atomic bomb in the calculations of American statesmanship as well as in the development generally of our relations with the Russians in those early years.

As for style, I must say that I deplore the practise, followed in countless instances in the works of W. A. Williams, G. Alperovitz, and others, of weaving quoted fragments of other people's language into one's own prose, thus giving a specious air of authority to what one is saying but making no effort to acquaint the reader, except insofar as he is willing to go to the trouble of tracing down footnotes, with the context from which these fragments were lifted.

Finally, in close connection with this last, I find much to object to in the use of source material by Mr. Alperovitz in particular but not by him alone; and I think you have weakened your work both by direct references to the Alperovitz book, as though it were an authoritative source, and by emulating certain of Mr. Alperovitz' abuses in the use of source material.

Let me offer two random examples:

You have cited, twice, I believe (once, at any rate, on p. IV/13), a sentence taken from a private memorandum written by Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew on May 19, 1945. It reads as follows: "A future war with Soviet Russia is as certain as anything in this world can be." This sentence is offered as support for your own statement that Mr. Grew was "vehemently anti-communist and was already committed psychologically to an eventual war with Russia." Mr. Alperovitz, as you know, similarly cited this statement in his Atomic Diplomacy. You must both surely have been aware that on the opposite page of Grew's memoirs from the one on which this sentence appears, Mr. Grew emphasized the purely private quality of this memorandum, and the distress of mind in which it was written, and said that if he had been preparing it as an official paper he would have added to that sentence the phrase: "unless we recognize the danger and take steps to meet it in time."

To cite the sentence in question, without letting the reader know of Mr. Grew's own qualification of it, seems to me unfair to him, and quite unjustifiable.

Let me take, secondly, just the language of the paragraph about the termination of Lend-Lease, on pp. IV/15-16. The paragraph follows one about Soviet actions in Poland which were disagreeable to the United States Government, and it begins with the words: "The United States and Great Britain retaliated." After a one-sentence reference to counter-measures immediately affecting Polish matters, the passage continues:

> More seriously, lend-lease aid to Russia was terminated on May 8. Harriman, and the top officers in the Department of State had urged that the United States "should retain current control of .... credits (to the Russians) in order to be in a position to protect American vital interests in the formative period immediately following the war."[46] The abrupt termination of Lend-Lease was a logical way to increase the economic leverage of American assistance, by increasing Russian needs.[47] Stimson had joined Harriman and Grew in urging Truman to terminate Lend-Lease, and it is clear that he realized the implications of the act. The Russians, Stimson felt, needed to be brought to a realization of American power.[48]

A few lines further down, it is stated that: "By May 10 it was clear both in Washington and London that economic pressure alone was ineffective against the Russians."

The reader could only conclude from these passages, as I am sure you would agree, that the termination of Lend-Lease aid was undertaken by President Truman, at the urging of Messrs. Stimson, Harriman and Grew, as a means of bringing pressure on the Russians to yield in the Polish question.

Now, in the first place, such a thesis represents a serious over-simplification, if not a distortion, of a complicated situation. The curtailment (it was not a "termination") of Lend-Lease to Russia which took place on May 11, 1945, was of course primarily a response to the termination of the war in Europe and the fact that the language of the Lend-Lease Act, as interpreted by the administration, afforded no legislative basis for the continuation, after the end of hostilities in Europe, of such of the Lend-Lease shipments as were related to

the war in that theatre. Shipments of items in the pipeline or on order could have been continued only on the basis of a special agreement whereby the Russians would have undertaken to purchase them on credit, the credit terms offered being extremely easy ones. The attention of the Soviet leaders had been repeatedly drawn to this situation; they had been urged, for months back, to conclude such an agreement; they had been warned time and again that, in the absence of such an agreement, shipments connected with the war in Europe would have to cease with the termination of hostilities. Nevertheless they had refused even to enter into negotiations on this matter, believing they could get better terms by holding out for a major American loan for postwar reconstruction.

There were disagreements in Washington over the manner in which these shipments should, under the terms of the Act, be terminated. The manner adopted, the abruptness of which the President himself later regretted, was chosen at the insistence ofthe Lend-Lease administrator, Mr. Malcolm Crowley. Mr. Harriman actually opposed it, and, as you know, the original order was modified, in the direction of greater leniency, only 24 hours after it was issued.

The impression that shipments were "terminated" because Messrs. Stimson, Harriman and Grew had urged it, is thus wholly misleading. No one in Washington questioned the fact that this particular portion of the shipments had to be terminated in deference to the terms of the Act, and there was thus no question of anyone "urging" Mr. Truman to take this action. By the same token, the action could not possibly be properly described as a move of retaliation against Russia.

So much for the background. Let us now look at the wording of your paragraph.

You name May 8 as the date of the termination of Lend-Lease. No mention is made of the fact that this was the day of the ending of the war in Europe. This omission has a striking similarity to the whole tenor of Mr. Alperovitz' Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam, in which the significance of the ending of the war in Europe, as a factor in the development of American policy, is grossly underplayed. Obviously, without reference to the ending of the European war and the terms of the Lend-Lease Act, the entire discussion of this episode misses -- if it does not conceal -- the main point.

From the following sentence, about Harriman's "urging current control of .... credits" the reader would derive

the impression that Mr. Harriman's words (again cited out of context and woven into your own language) were in some way connected with the termination of Lend-Lease. As source for this statement, you cite p. 35 of Mr. Alperovitz' book. An examination of the latter shows that Alperovitz lifted the phrase (which he, again, has woven misleadingly into a sentence of his own) from p. 41 of the Forrestal Diaries. (This source was itself evidently available to you, for later in this chapter you yourself cite, in another context, the same page and paragraph of the Forrestal book. There was thus no reason to cite the passage from Alperovitz.) But by taking over this statement verbatim from Alperovitz, you have also taken over his significant omission of the word "these" ("these credits") and its replacement by a hiatus. This omission obscured the fact that the credits which Mr. Harriman was talking about when he used these words did not relate to Lend-Lease at all but to the possibility of a major loan to Russia at a later date for postwar industrial development.

You then go on to emphasize the impression, already created in the reader's mind, that the "termination" of Lend-Lease (the reader would have no idea that shipments in the amount of hundreds of millions of dollars were permitted to go forward if they could be construed as connected with the Pacific War) was designed to "increase the leverage of American assistance, by increasing Russian needs." As substantiation for this statement, you again direct your reader to Mr. Alperovitz' book (p. 36). The reader who is curious enough to pursue this reference will indeed find there the following two sentences, which presumably serve as the basis for your statement:

> "Indeed, a limitation on Lend-Lease followed logically from the view that American diplomacy could gain if the Soviet Union were more dependent upon economic assistance. This would increase America's economic leverage and would 'make the Soviet authorities come to us,' as Deane had phrased it.[96]"

Now, the first of these two sentences was simply an observation by Mr. Alperovitz, and as such, scarcely a proper basis of authority for so far-reaching a judgment on your part. In the second of his sentences, Mr. Alperovitz seeks to lend authority to this observation by weaving into his sentence a phrase attributed to General John R. Deane, Chief of the American Military Mission in Moscow during the war, -- a phrase which, the

reader must infer, was used by General Deane in some connection with the matter at hand. Actually, pursuit of Mr. Alperovitz' footnote reveals that this phrase was taken (seriously out of context) from a letter written by General Deane to General Marshall not at all at the time to which your passage (or his, for that matter) refers but at the end of 1944 -- prior to Yalta, prior to Molotov's suggestion of a major loan, prior to the entire complication of the Polish question that took place in the winter and spring of 1945, and quite without reference to the immediate question of the termination of a portion of Lend-Lease at the end of the war in Europe.

The last sentence of your paragraph, professing to describe Secretary Stimson's feelings, is again substantiated by a reference to the Alperovitz book. But here again, confusion is compounded. Not only is Mr. Alperovitz' statement ("However, the Secretary of War was confident that America's power would bring the Russians into line: 'They can't get along without our help and industries ...'") somewhat different from yours, but it is itself buttressed once again, by the inclusion of a phrase taken from a document with which the reader is not familiar. In this case, the reader would not find it easy to have access to it, for it reposes in the Stimson papers in the Yale University Library, which are, I believe, open only to authorized scholars and to such as wish to make the journey to New Haven for this purpose.

All this might not be so bad if circumstances permitted us to have any confidence in Mr. Alperovitz' book. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The material on the very pages to which these of your footnotes refer contains a number of egregious inaccuracies -- inaccuracies which should not, it seems to me, have been difficult for any serious scholar to spot. On these pages, Mr. Alperovitz conveys the misimpression that President Truman had discretion, under the terms of the Lend-Lease Act, to continue or not to continue such of the Lend-Lease shipments as were related to the war in Europe. He states flatly that no warning had been given for Mr. Truman's action. This, too, as we have seen, is untrue.

And the footnote references in these pages stand up no better than the one mentioned above. It is stated (p. 35) that "Harriman believed that Lend-Lease shipments could now be limited exclusively to the materials that could be directly related to the common

war effort." From an examination of the footnote reference for this statement, it develops that the views referred to were those of General Deane, not of Ambassador Harriman; and even these views are incorrectly reported: Deane did not say that no further materials should be sent to Russia other than ones related to the common war effort; he said only that "where our assistance does not contribute to the winning of the war, we should insist upon a quid pro quo" -- which is quite a different thing. I could easily multiply such examples. These are all taken from the pages which you, by implication, endorse as a serious and reliable source of information on this subject.

I am sorry to have had to go into such detail about a single paragraph in a work of 300 pages. I hope this judgment does not seem to you too harsh. The task you have marked out for yourself here is a far-reaching one. It amounts to no less than a challenge to the view of the nature and purposes of the Stalin regime arrived at by several of our most distinguished leaders of the immediate post-hostilities period, not to mention the unanimous opinion of myself and others who had lived for many years in Russia and passed as experts on that country. It impugns the good-will and good judgment of such men as President Truman, Henry Stimson, Joseph Grew and Averell Harriman, charging them, by implication at least, with using intimidation and economic pressure to frustrate reasonable aspirations of Russian statesmanship, thus incurring major responsibility for the postwar deterioration of Soviet-American relations.

Such theses, as you know, have already been advanced by others, and this has had a more than negligible effect in shaking the confidence of the present student generation not just in the historical personages concerned but in the integrity of American statesmanship generally. To reinforce these theses now is of course your good right, if this is the way you see things; but it is a very responsible step, and you must expect, I think, to be held to the highest standards of scholarship. I would not think you would be justified in making the attempt except on the basis of a more extensive independent use of original sources, and less reliance on secondary works, especially ones of dubious scholarly quality, than is visible in the portions of your manuscript I have examined.

I have often been asked for my views on the books of Alperovitz and others of the "revisionists." I have

never previously had occasion to write anything on this subject. Since this letter illustrates the objections I have to some of this material, I may wish to show copies of it, eliminating all indication of your own identity, to a number of friends and acquaintances.

The typescript is being returned under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

George Kennan

George Kennan

September 15, 1969

Dear George:

Thanks for your note on Jagan Nath Khosla. My feeling is that he would do better at Woodrow Wilson or the Center for International Affairs at Harvard than he would here. Brookings is also a possibility. I believe, however, that the best possibility both in terms of finding a place for him and giving him the kind of intellectual home he would need is the Center for International Affairs at Harvard. I would suggest that you write Bob Bowie about him.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
Institute for Advanced Study

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

12 September 1969

MEMORANDUM for: The Director

Dear Carl:

Ambassador Jagan Nath Khosla, a distinguished Indian scholar and diplomatist who was my colleage when I was ambassador in Belgrade, has sent word that he hopes to see me at some time around the end of next week, and I am forewarned by the Council on Foreign Relations that he probably wants my opinion on whether there is any place in this country where he could retire for some two years in order to write a book --not memoirs, but a serious, objective treatise -- on recent developments (as I understand it) in Hungary, Indo-China and Indonesia, with all of which he has had some experience.

Khosla's present position is that of Director of the Indian Institute of Public Administration. He has had a number of responsible positions in the past. He has a Ph.D, in addition to a B.A. and B.Sc. He was called to the Middle Temple Bar in 1931, and subsequently practiced law in India. From 1932 to 1948 he was lecturer in law and political science, and subsequently Principal, at Punjab University. In subsequent years he has served in diplomatic capacity in London, Rome, Prague, Bucharest, Indonesia and Yugoslavia. He was at one time director of the historical division of the Indian Foreign Office. In 1954-55 he was president of the Vietnam International Commission and of the International Control and Supervision Commission for Laos. He was in Hungary in 1956 (presumably at the time of the uprising) as personal representative of the Indian Prime Minister. He has been president of the Indian Political Science Association and of its apparent successor, the International Political Association.

As you see, he is a man of some distinction and wide experience. I found him, as a colleague, quiet, serious, and agreeable--his wife, too.

If talk turns to his desire to settle down here somewhere for a time and write a book, do you think I should encourage him to feel that there might be a possibility of his coming here? There are, of course, several other possibilities that suggest themselves--notably Brookings, or one of the American schools of public administration. I am sure he will need some financing. The Rockefeller Foundation might, I should think, be a possibility. I am not even sure but that John Rockefeller, who is much interested in cultural relations with Asia, would be interested.

George K.
George Kennan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

May 27, 1969.

The Director

Carl:

I wanted you to see the note I have written to Tucker about his book.

If you want to look over any of the material in the book, the second chapter, on Marx & Distributive Justice is a good one to look at.

George K.

August 14, 1969

Dear George:

Your concern with what Morris Abram is after is, I am sure, not misplaced, but I do think you can take as much or as little of all these things as you wish. If you go to the dinner on the 23rd, it could be nothing more than a conventional gesture of courtesy. Clearly, if you turn out to be busy on the 23rd, it may be harder for Brandeis to put to you the further requests which might follow.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
Institute for Advanced Study

Attachment

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

13 August 1969

Memorandum to the Director

Carl:

Can you divine the motives behind this one? And can you tell me what, if I accept it, will ensue by way of consequence:--such as press interviews, demands that I make a speech, requests for participation in fund-raising campaigns, etc.?

Sorry to sound cynical, but experience has taught me to look these horses in the mouth.

G. K.
George Kennan

March 7, 1969

Dear George:

Thanks very much for your good letter of 28 February. As it turned out, we did in fact nominate both Adler and Dashen for professorships. No one in the Faculty raised any question in the end, and I am sure the Trustees will give their approval shortly. I agree with you that this will strengthen Natural Sciences greatly.

I am glad to hear the progress of your own efforts, and I hope that we will have a chance to see you when you are in Princeton. If you have a free evening, we would love to give you dinner. Let us know.

With greetings to the family,

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
All Souls College
Oxford, England

Sender's name and address:

G. F. Kennan
All Souls College
Oxford.

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

SECOND FOLD HERE

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

OXFORD
1 15PM
1 MCH
1969
A

Professor Carl Kaysen,
Director, Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, N.J.
08540
U.S.A.

All Souls College, Oxford. Feb. 28, 1969.

Dear Carl:

This is in reply to your letters of Feb. 17 and 21, concerning the nominations of Messrs. Adler and Baxter for appointment to professorships in the School of Natural Sciences. ~~It's they both~~ Both letters reached me today, on my return from a week of lecturing in Cambridge.

My reaction, which I hope will not come too late to be of use to you, is this: I would have been prepared to settle for the joint appointments, rather than not have the men at all, but I think the full appointments preferable, have no adverse comments, and very much hope they will go through. I am very glad to see the School of Natural Sciences strengthened at this ~~time~~ time and in this manner — consider, in fact, that it is of almost crucial importance to the future of the Institute that its strength be maintained at the traditional level. The full professorial status at the Institute will not prevent these men from contributing generously to the work of the University and the remainder of the Princeton community, just as they would have done under the joint appointments.

I have been enjoying Oxford far more than I did on the first of my visits here. Thus far, I have been kept busy on the preparation of the Chichele Lectures, which turned out to involve much more work than I had anticipated. But they are now practically completed (they are not to be delivered until May), and I hope now to turn to my own work. In ~~the~~ mid-March, during the Oxford "holiday", I am going to the continent, to work in the German & French archives. I shall be back in the U.S. briefly

towards the end of May, to conduct the annual ceremonial of the Am. Academy of Arts and Letters, and of course I'll come out to Princeton at that time.

With warm regards to Annette & to my various colleagues

Sincerely,

George K.

FIRST FOLD HERE

February 21, 1969

Dear George:

Here is the outcome. I guessed wrong about the meeting and found somewhat to my surprise that only Gödel was willing to join the physicists and me in welcoming joint appointments. In the end I think we may be just as well or better off with the course of action we are taking since both young men are excellent, and their combined presence will do a great deal for the Faculty of our School of Natural Sciences.

With warmest regards,

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
All Souls College
Oxford
England

February 17, 1969

Dear George:

The attached piece of Institute business may be of interest to you. I will let you know how the Faculty meeting comes out. My expectations are for a good deal of sound and fury signifying nothing.

With best wishes,

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
All Souls College
Oxford
England

Materials re appointment of Adler and Dashen

January 9, 1969

Dear George:

My letter to you of April 29 about your leave arrangements indicates that they were for three months without pay. I am now arranging, in accordance with your request, that you should be paid for January and that the three months without pay should be February, March and April.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
Institute for Advanced Study

cc: Mr. M. C. Morgan, Jr.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

October 21, 1968

Dear Carl:

I have your note about George Kennan's possible leave of absence for the second term. The only intimation that has come to me has been from Felix Gilbert, who wants to avail himself of leave in 1969/70. He has not told me for sure whether he wants a half year or the whole year.

This is the information on leaves that I have to date.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

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

C O P Y

October 22, 1968

Dear Ben:

After further consideration, George Kennan decided not to apply for a sabbatical for the period of his absence. That leaves the slate clear.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor Benjamin Meritt
Institute for Advanced Study

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

21 October 1968

Dear Carl:

I have your note of the 17th and appreciate the suggestion that I might take my coming absence as a sabbatical leave.

I have thought this over, but it seems to me better for several reasons that I should not do this, but should, rather, proceed as we had previously planned, with a view to my taking my sabbatical leave some time later, when this suits the convenience of the Institute and of my colleagues in the Historical School.

Thank you for the suggestion.

Very sincerely,

George Kennan

George Kennan

Dr. Carl Kaysen

October 17, 1968

Dear George:

I have now considered your leave dates in the past, and it is clear to me that you are, under the rules, entitled to a sabbatical rather than a leave of absence without pay during the period in which you will be away at All Soul's. As you remember, we had previously agreed that you were taking a leave without pay for three months.

It may be that you would prefer to wait till a time when you expect to take a longer period of leave rather than use up the sabbatical for what is only a three months' period.

Please let me know what your desire is on this.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
Institute for Advanced Study

April 29, 1968

Dear George:

I am pleased to be able to tell you that the Trustees approved a leave without pay for you for three months in the second term of the next academic year to permit you to accept the invitation of All Souls College. The Institute will continue to make its regular contributions to your retirement and other benefits.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
Institute for Advanced Study

cc: Mr. Morgan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540
Telephone-609-924-4400

THE DIRECTOR

March 29, 1968

Memorandum for File

Conversation with Professor Kennan in the Director's Office 11:45 a.m. March 28, 1968

Professor Kennan has been invited to spend the spring term of 1968-69 at All Souls. It is not clear what amount of stipend they will provide him. He suggests tentatively that he take three months' leave without pay for next academic year, corresponding to the term time period that he would be away. It is agreed I will recommend this arrangement to the Trustees with the Institute's continuing to pay benefits.

C.K.

October 22, 1968

Dear George:

Thanks for your note about the Minutes. How right you are. Here is what I suggested to Deane Montgomery as the proper way to put what I said.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
Institute for Advanced Study

Attachment

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

22 October 1968

MEMORANDUM TO THE DIRECTOR

Dear Carl:

The present wording of the marked sentence on Page 2 seems to me to be unsatisfactory as a summary of what you were saying.

I would not like to make suggestions for amendment relating to one of your statements if you were going to do this yourself or if you felt it should not be amended. Could you let me know whether you intend to amend the sentence or would prefer that it stand as is?

George Kennan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF MATHEMATICS

October 18, 1968

Faculty
Institute for Advanced Study

Dear Colleagues:

I enclose a first draft of the Minutes of the recent Faculty Meeting. Please let me know in the next few days what changes and improvements you wish to suggest.

Sincerely yours,

Deane Montgomery

Deane Montgomery

Enclosure

DRAFT MINUTES

Faculty Meeting, October 17, 1968

Present: Professors Beurling, Borel, Cherniss, Clagett, Dyson, Gilliam, Gödel, Harish-Chandra, Kaysen, Kennan, Meiss, Meritt, Montgomery, Regge, Selberg, Setton, Thompson, Weil, and Whitney.

1.a. The Director reported that the Trustees had decided to build two buildings to the west of Fuld Hall, one to include a cafeteria and lounge, the other to be an office building. The office building would contain about 70 offices for members and secretaries and 10 offices for faculty with some possibility of rearranging this space.

It is estimated that the housing units now being built and the new buildings will cost about $4,000,000 of which it is proposed to borrow about $3,000,000 from an agency of the state of New Jersey under a 40-year loan with interest of 5 to 5 1/2 percent.

The Institute is the recipient of a bequest of unknown size from Mr. Samuel Leidesdorf. There is some prospect of receiving some funds for building purposes.

The Director mentioned the increase in rents in the Housing Project of between $20 and $30 a month.

Professor Selberg remarked that the decision to build may have been made too quickly and he suggested that it might be desirable to build a somewhat smaller office building, keeping in mind that it is almost certain that one could get National Science Foundation funds in a few years for a building providing space for the sciences. The Director thought that very likely such a building would be built in any case, so that the possible NSF funds would not be completely lost.

b. The Director reported that Admiral Strauss has resigned from the Board of Trustees and that the present Board has no chairman. Mr. Rosenwald is Acting Chairman. There will be a number of vacancies on the Board in the next few years and it might be desirable to have a few members from faculties of other institutions appointed to the Board. The Director encouraged our faculty to make comments and suggestions. He said that he and the Board were not disposed to accept members of the Institute Faculty as members of the Board of Trustees.

The Director stated that he is applying to the Ford Foundation for a 10-year grant to operate a program of social science with an estimated cost of $350,000 a year. There is some prospect of getting at least some of this request, but on a matching basis.

Professor Borel said that he understood that no long-range plans in the social sciences would be made until the present experimental program had been evaluated, and that no program in the social sciences should be pursued at the expense of the existing schools. The Director explained that obtaining funds from the Ford Foundation did not imply permanent commitment.

The Director said the Trustees had talked with him at the time of his appointment about expansion of the Institute and that perhaps he should have consulted others. He said that he felt the Institute should not operate in quite such a ~~secure~~ conservative financial manner as it had in the past and that the way to get money was ~~to increase expenses.~~ for the Institute itself to undertake new programs.

Professor Borel asked if the Faculty would be shown the application to the Ford Foundation. Professor Weil suggested that it be circulated to the Faculty or at least to representatives of each school.

2. Professor Weil made the following motion which had been circulated previously to the Faculty:

> "This faculty wishes for formal means to be established for bringing its views to the notice of the Director and Trustees, particularly in matters of academic policy."

The motion was seconded by Professor Whitney. There was considerable discussion and amendments were suggested by Professor Gödel, Professor Thompson, and Professor Meiss. All of these amendments were accepted by Professor Weil and are included in the following statement of the motion:

> "This faculty wishes for improved means to be established to elicit its views and bring them to the notice of the Director and Trustees, particularly in matters of academic policy."

During the discussion there was some comment on means which might be suggested. In particular there was mentioned a committee selected by the individual schools. Professor Weil said he had thought of various possibilities but thought it was best to leave until later the decision of just what method to use.

There were some remarks on the desirability of additional communication. Professors Kennan and Dyson felt there already was adequate opportunity for the Faculty to express its opinion. Professor Dyson said the Trustees had consulted extensively with the Faculty at the time of the Director's appointment. Professor Montgomery said these consultations stopped short of the main point and that neither he nor many other faculty members had been consulted about a school of social science, nor had they heard the name of any candidate being considered for Director.

The Director said he had no objection to the Weil motion and that if a number of faculty members felt a need, this in itself suggested the desirability of additional means of communication.

Professor Clagett asked Professor Weil if he were proposing an additional way of communicating to the Trustees. Professor Weil said he was leaving this open. Professor Selberg said that the Director was the normal channel of

communication but that in some circumstances it need not be the only one. Professor Gilliam said he felt that improved communication between schools and between members of the faculty in general was desirable, as well as a more regular arrangement for communication between the Faculty and Director. Professor Meritt felt that the main thing was the spirit in which matters were approached. Professor Gödel quoted the following sentence from the section of the By-Laws concerning the Director: "He shall be responsible for communicating to the Trustees views of the Faculty on all matters affecting the Institute." Article VI.

The motion was carried by a vote of 13 to 3 with 2 abstentions. The Director suggested that the individual schools should discuss this matter to see whether they could find some agreeable procedure.

3. Professor Montgomery remarked that he considered there had been a serious lack of adequate consultation concerning decisions involved in, or implied by, the new buildings and concerning the plans so far for the program in social science. Professor Whitney said this was a matter which would better be taken up by a committee. Professor Weil said that this might be a subject which could be considered by the Faculty, using whatever method is selected. He also suggested that it would be desirable to delay applying to the Ford Foundation until after such consideration.

4. Professor Setton was elected Secretary for the remainder of this academic year.

Deane Montgomery
Temporary Secretary

George F. Kennan

1950-1951	One year's membership
1951-1952	Five-year membership
1952-1953	In Russia
1954-1955	Membership extended to 6-30-61
Fall of 1955	- Elected to Professorship, effective 1-1-56
1957-1958	Leave without pay (Eastman Professor at Oxford)
7-1-61 to 7-1-63	Leave of absence - Ambassador to Yugoslavia

October, 1968

George F. Kennan

1950-1951	One year's membership
1951-1952	Five year membership (to 6:30-56)
1952-1953	In Russia
1954-1955	Membership extended to 6-30-61.
Fall of 1955	- Elected to Professorship effective 1-1-56
1957-58	Leave without pay (Eastman Professor at Oxford)
7-1-61 to 7-1-63	Leave of absence - Ambassador to Yugoslavia

August 19, 1968

Dear George:

Your letter of July 27 has been waiting here for me. Annette and I felt the impulse to go off, and we have just returned from three very agreeable weeks in France, including a return trip by ship on the France. We did nothing in particular, and I hope we did it very well. I did call in on Averell Harriman in Paris and was fascinated to see how he persists with, I fear, much less help and support than he should get from the President and the Secretary.

On the Institute matters, I have now made a definite commitment to Draper, even though Freund was not ready to speak favorably in behalf of the Rockefeller Foundation. He did, however, encourage me to reapply in the Fall, and perhaps we both can do something about this. In the meantime I think I will look into the situation at the Twentieth Century Fund.

On Miss Sachs, the course of action which the members of the Historical Faculty present here think best, as do I, is to wait and draw on the wide knowledge and experience of Kenneth Setton in recruiting a new librarian. In the meanwhile, Mrs. Agar will be acting librarian, and I am sure she will perform competently and agreeably. What inspired Judith Sachs I will never know, but my motto in this respect is "Amo Allemanes praesertim dona ferentes."

The Soviets have, after all, turned out to be sensible about the Czechs, and this probably represents an important step in their political evolution. I enclose for your amusement, but with no thought that you should feel obliged to read it or transport it back if it is burdensome, a draft of a paper of mine on the future of military policies. I put it in the mail just as the Czech crisis reached its peak. This gave me an added interest in the outcome, since I had predicted, in effect, in the course of the paper that the Soviets would not again bring tensions in Europe to the '53 or '56 levels.

The Republicans have just cheered us all up by producing Nixon and Agnew, and now I suppose we can sit back and wait for the Democrats to do an equally good job. In more than one way you show your wisdom by being in an inaccessible place at this depressing time.

I trust the rest of the summer provides good sailing and not too much interruption. Annette joins me in warmest greetings to Annelise and you.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
Box 292
Kristiansand S.
Norway

TO OPEN CUT HERE

SENDER G. F. Kennan, Box 292
Kristiansand.

MERK! DET MÅ IKKE LEGGES NOE INN I ELLER HEFTES NOE VED AEROGRAMMET. I SÅ FALL VIL DET IKKE BLI SENDT FRAM MED FLY, MEN MED JERNBANE ELLER SKIP.

TO OPEN CUT AT BOTTOM

KRISTIANSAND S. 29.7.68.-9-15

DEN INTERNASJONALE
SKOLESKIPSREGATTA
KRISTIANSAND 10.-15.A

KRISTIANSAN 7.6

NORGE
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AÉROGRAMME
AEROGRAM

PAR AVION
LUFTPOST

Dr. Carl Kaysen,
Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, New Jersey 08540
U.S.A.

Kristiansand S., Norway. July 27, 1968.

Dear Carl:

I have two of your letters to acknowledge: the one of June 25, enclosing copies of the letters to Freund and to Draper, which I was glad to see; and now the one of July 19 about Miss Sachs' resignation. This last, I must say, took me by surprise. Your proposal concerning her future relationship to the Institute seems to me, at first glance, eminently suitable. I wonder whether she herself has any plans for her own future work.

I also find myself asking what she herself feels about the problem of a successor: - whether, in particular, she considers either of the two ladies who have worked with her so long to be capable of filling the post. Neither, I suppose, has quite her educational qualifications, or anything like her linguistic ones, but both have have had long, thorough training as librarians.

After a month of having the feeling of being mentally dead - except for the problems of boats and the complex travel arrangements of children, I now feel myself coming to life again - would like to return to Princeton tomorrow - get down to some real work. I can't, of course, because of stupid involvements at this end, but will be back before the end of August. Even then, what I can do will not be, at least not immediately, classifiable as "proper work"; for much of it will continue to consist of fending off appeals and pressures to do every thing else but. This, however, is an unanswerable problem. It is beginning to catch up with me, even here. This afternoon, I talked to some 30 members of the French summer school in Kristiansand, who came out to swim but remained to ask questions. Tomorrow comes the parliamentary leader of the Norw. Liberal Party. The leading Oslo paper is after an interview. The Embassy at Oslo is trying vainly to reach me by telephone for God knows what purpose. In a few days, after

Taking my boat to Denmark for the benefit of son Christopher and some of his pals, I go to Finland to receive the architect Aalto into membership in the Am. Academy; + later in the month of August I go there again (as a result of an absurd misunderstanding) to give an "America Day" speech. In these circumstances, I might just as well be at home.

I note, with some apprehension, the abysmal crudity of the Russians with relation to the Czechs. They have behaved with such stupidity and primitivism that I don't know how long we can depend on

them to be even ~~dependable~~ reliable adversaries; and a stupid, erratic adversary is, in these circumstances, worse than a crafty but mature and consistent one. There are times when I could wish that Stalin was back in the saddle.

With warm greetings –

Sincerely,

George K.

July 25, 1968

Mr. Harold Willens
National Co-Chairman
Business Executives Move for
Vietnam Peace
800 West Pico Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90015

Dear Mr. Willens:

Thank you for your letter of July 22. I am sure Professor Kennan has expressed to his Secretary his views about communication, and I am in no position to contradict or override them.

Sincerely yours,

Carl Kaysen

bcc: Janet Smith

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

16 July 1968

Dear Mr. Willens:

Thank you for your letter of July 11th.

I fear that it is quite futile to attempt to write to Professor Kennan in Norway. He spends most of his time sailing and is almost completely inaccessible.

Sincerely yours,

Janet Smith

Janet Smith
Secretary to
Professor Kennan

Mr. Harold Willens
National Co-Chairman
Business Executives Move for
Vietnam Peace
800 West Pico Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90015

Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace

July 22, 1968

Mr. Carl Kaysen
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Mr. Kaysen:

Some time ago, John Kenneth Galbraith urged me to write Professor George Kennan inviting him to join our Diplomatic Advisory Committee now being formed. At the present time the Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace consists of approximately 2500 business executives as well as an advisory committee of five retired military officers of general and admiral rank. To date, Professor Galbraith, Benjamin V. Cohen, Roger Hilsman, and Edwin O. Reischauer have agreed to be part of our Diplomatic Advisory Committee.

Professor Kennan's secretary responded to our letter telling us that Mr. Kennan was in Europe for the summer. Ken Galbraith then suggested that I ask you for his address in Norway. I first wrote to Miss Janet Smith who responded per the attached letter.

I sincerely believe that Professor Kennan might well be interested in serving on our Diplomatic Advisory Committee and would like to be in a position to put the question to him direct. The enclosed material will indicate that our group has achieved respectability and contributed to the growing awareness that the Vietnam War is against our national interest.

Perhaps in terms of this material, you will be helpful in giving me a forwarding address so that I can communicate with Professor Kennan.

Sincerely,

Harold Willens

Harold Willens
National Co-Chairman

Copy sent to Janet Smith

National Co-Chairmen

Henry E. Niles
901 No. Howard St.
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Harold Willens
800 W. Pico Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90015

Dear Angela:

I appreciate your cooperation. I would really hate to have Professor Kennan's vacation disturbed by anything like this. I don't give out his address, except in rare and special circumstances, so I shall appreciate your not doing so. Many thanks.

JS

July 16, 1968

16 July 1968

Dear Mr. Willens:

Thank you for your letter of July 11th.

I fear that it is quite futile to attempt to write to Professor Kennan in Norway. He spends most of his time sailing and is almost completely inaccessible.

Sincerely yours,

Janet Smith
Secretary to
Professor Kennan

Mr. Harold Willens
National Co-Chairman
Business Executives Move for
Vietnam Peace
800 West Pico Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90015

bcc: Miss Wakeham,
Director's Office ✓

CROSS REFERENCE

FILE: Kennan, George

RE: Possible long-term appointment of Theodore Draper

LETTER DATED: June 8, 1968

SEE: Institute Miscellaneous - Draper, Theodore

See Draper
{SHS funding}

May 7, 1968

Dear George:

Thanks for the copy of your letter to Louis Halle, and the note from Walter Butterworth. I think a membership for Draper is an idea worth considering, however, I am skeptical about Hamilton; with all due respects to journalism, there is some difference between journalism and scholarship, but you may get a different expression when you talk to me.

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

P.S. Warmest congratulations on the Pulitzer!

Professor George Kennan
Institute for Advanced Study

May 1, 1968

Dear George:

Thanks very much for the copy of your volume of papers from Prague. I fail to understand how you can write books faster than I can read them, but I guess that is hardly an occasion for complaint!

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

Professor George Kennan
Institute for Advanced Study

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

February 28, 1968

Note for File:

Professor Kennan will take several weeks in the Caribbean from the middle of March for reasons of his wife's health.

C.K.

Public Broadcast Laboratory
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10017

Telephone (212) 661-6900

June 27, 1967

Dear Carl:

As you may recall, you advised me to contact Ambassador Kennan directly by mail to invite him to participate in the broadcast with Madame Alliluyeva for the Public Broadcast Laboratory. His secretary acknowledged my letter and said it would be brought to the Ambassador's attention when he returned from an extended trip.

I am enclosing, in confidence, a xerox copy of a letter we have received from Evan Thomas. As you can see, if Madame Alliluyeva does appear on television, she will most likely do it at the advice of Ambassador Kennan.

If you could, should the opportunity arise, I would appreciate your conveying the sense of this note and of our deep interest to Ambassador Kennan.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Av Westin
Director

Dr. Carl Kaysen
The Institute for Advanced Study
Olden Lane
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

NET

HARPER & ROW, PUBLISHERS
INCORPORATED

150th ANNIVERSARY

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

49 EAST 33D ST., NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
889-7500 • CABLE: HARPSAM

June 22nd, 1967

Dear Jane,

I saw Alan Schwartz yesterday morning, and apparently Mrs. Alliluyeva has not made up her mind what she's going to do in the way of public or TV appearances. But there's a distinct possibility that she may decide to do your non-commercial ETV, and nothing else. (You understand that I have very little influence in this matter, and that probably Mr. Kennan will advise her, and that she will then communicate with Alan Schwartz.) More later.

~~Regards~~,

Evan

Evan Thomas

Miss Jane Rosen
Coordinator, Special Projects
Public Broadcast Laboratory
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

EWT/bl

Kennan

February 27, 1967

Dear George:

Again, it was a pleasure. Here are the suggestions for minor changes of which I spoke.

P. 3 - isn't an "of" missing here?

P. 8, next to last line - "group: might be better than "objects." Objects don't have purposes.

P. 10 - next to last line - how about "the baleful determination to stamp out" instead of "malevolence of intent towards."

Page 15, 7th line - second paragraph - I would suggest deleting "produced by the Industrial Revolution."

Cordially,

Carl Kaysen

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

Enclosure

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

22 February 1967

To the Director:

This, for your perusal, is the draft of a leading article for Foreign Affairs for the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Would you object to any of the language on pages 9 and 10?

Don't let this be a burden.

George Kennan

G. F. KENNAN

Tentative personal schedule for coming year

1. Fall term, 1966: until December 9
   Teaching graduate seminar and lecture course at Woodrow Wilson School on "History of Major International Developments from 1870 to 1945."

2. December 9, 1966, to February 1, 1967.
   Work on two books:
   (a) Collection of documents on developments in post-Munich Czechoslovakia, written by me during period of my service as official observer there from day of Munich to outbreak of World War, to be published by the Princeton University Press.

   (b) Volume I of intellectual-political memoirs, under preparation for Little, Brown--Atlantic Monthly Press, and scheduled for delivery under contract by February 1.

3. February 1 to April 1, 1967.
   Preparation for lecturing in Cambridge in April, plus preparation of special leading article on Russian Revolution for anniversary edition of Foreign Affairs.

4. April 4 -22, 1967, in Cambridge
   (a) Participation (including delivery of 6000-8000 word paper on "The Disintegration of the Imperial Regime") at the Conference on the Russian Revolution, to be held at Harvard under the auspices of the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Russian Research Center.

   (b) Three-to-five day visit to the Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History, at Harvard, including delivery of one public lecture--subject as yet undetermined.

5. May 1 to June 25, 1967.
   Visit to Africa, under auspices of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program. This includes delivery of single public lectures at four or five South African universities, presumably on the subject of the Russian Revolution from the perspective of 50 years.

6. June 25 to July 31, 1967. Vacation in Norway.

7. July 31 to September 30, 1967. Work, here at Princeton, on the two books.

8. Fall term, 1967. Here at Institute, except for three weeks at Harvard, for delivery of three lectures in Russian history, under auspices of the Russian Research Center.

CROSS REFERENCE

FILE: Faculty - Kennan

RE: ~~12/2/65~~ Walt Rostow

LETTER DATED: 12/2/65, from James E. Cross to GFK

SEE: Inst Misc - Rostow

Fac Kennan

17 March 1966

MEMORANDUM TO: Office of the Director

FROM: Constance Moench, Secretary to Professor George Kennan

Professor Kennan recently visited Harvard University for academic purposes, returning to Princeton in the middle of his visit to attend the luncheon and dinner for the new Director on March 12. He thought the travel expenses involved might legitimately be charged against his Institute travel fund and asked me to give you the following information:

Four trips between Princeton and Cambridge--March 10, 11, 20 and 23

plane-- $16.00 each way, 4 times	$64.00
taxis in Boston-- $3.75 each way, 4 times	15.00
	$ 79.00

Kennan

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

RELEASE: MORNING PAPERS OF MONDAY, JANUARY 3, 1966 UNIVERSITY NEWS OFFICE

President Nathan M. Pusey announces the appointment of George Kennan, diplomat and historian, as University Fellow in History and Slavic Civilizations at Harvard University. "This is a unique title," Mr. Pusey pointed out, "giving Mr. Kennan a part-time position somewhat analagous to that of a University Professor, the highest academic rank at Harvard."

The new office, effective at once, will enable Mr. Kennan, while continuing his Professorship at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J., to participate in seminars and conferences and give occasional lectures at Harvard. It will give Mr. Kennan a focal point at Harvard for research and writing, and the opportunity to meet regularly with colleagues and students in historical and Slavic studies.

Mr. Kennan is the author of several books including: "American Diplomacy 1900-1950" (1951), which won the Freedom House Award; "Realities of American Foreign Policy" (1954); "Das Amerikanisch Russische Verhaltnis" (1954); "Russia, the Atom and the West" (1958); "Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin" (1961); "On Dealing with the Communist World" (1964); and a two-volume history

(more)

of Soviet-American Relations 1917-1920, "Russia Leaves the War," Vol I (1956) and "Decision to Intervene," Vol II (1958). The first volume of this series won the Bancroft Prize, the National Book Award, the Francis Parkman Prize, and the Pulitzer Prize.

When Harvard conferred on Mr. Kennan its honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1963, Mr. Pusey noted, "He brings to the interpretation of history the rich experience of a discerning diplomat."

Mr. Kennan, born in Milwaukee in 1904, graduated from Princeton University in 1925 and began his long diplomatic career with an appointment in 1927 as Vice Consul at Hamburg. In addition to several tours of duty at Moscow in junior capacities, he has served in Tallinn, Riga, Kovno, Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Lisbon, London and Washington, and as ambassador in Moscow and Belgrade.

In 1957-58, Mr. Kennan held the George Eastman Visiting Professorship at Oxford, and in 1960, he served as Visiting Professor at Harvard.

Mr. Kennan was elected to the National Institute of Arts and Letters in 1962 and to the American Academy of Arts and Letters in 1964. He became President of the National Institute of Arts and Letters in 1965.

He is married and has four children.

(end)

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

On November 22, 1965 at 8:15 p.m. in the Seminar Room of the new Library, Professor George F. Kennan will lecture, for members of the School of Historical Studies, on certain questions connected with Stalin's early life, as examples of the nature of the evidence available for the study of recent Russian history.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

3/8

The Director

Robert:

I had promised Nicolayevsky I would write an introduction to this publication of a selection of his articles, in English translation.

I thought you might like to see this first draft.

The "Letter of an Old Bolshevik" — a most interesting document — is at sheet 8 of the proof, if you would care to see it.

George K.

Fac Kennan

INSTITUT UNIVERSITAIRE DE HAUTES ÉTUDES INTERNATIONALES
GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

132, RUE DE LAUSANNE, GENÈVE

TÉLÉGRAMME
INSTONAL GENÈVE

TÉLÉPHONE
31 17 30

Les Granges/Salvan,
Valais

2 September 1964

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer:

As you know, earlier this year we told George Kennan that, if he wished a second academic home on this side of the Atlantic, nothing would delight us more than to have him consider our Institute it. This appealed to him, with the consequence that he and Mrs. Kennan stopped off in Geneva last July, on their way from Tokyo to Norway, to see us about it.

In fact, we talked mostly about other things, but I gathered that he would like, in principle, to come to us every year in the spring after he is free to leave Princeton. I say "in principle" because he does not want to be at all committed and in practice would probably not come every spring. Jacques Freymond (the Director of the Institute) and I sympathize with his desire not to be committed and say "amen." There the matter stands.

I write you because George suggested that I talk the matter over with you when you came to Geneva. However, I don't get back to Geneva from this mountain-retreat until Friday afternoon, and my information is that you will probably (but not surely) leave Geneva Friday. I don't want to make demands on your time in what must be a crowded few days for you.

We do very much want to have George as part of our circle whenever he can join us, and that is all we have in mind. Nothing as formal as lecture-courses and weekly seminars need be involved for him. One possibility is to organize, out of selected students and staff members, some ad hoc discussions with him -- presumably of matters Russian. This could range from the informal and occasional to something like a regularly scheduled meeting of a discussion group, with papers. However, I have myself had the experience of being a research professor (at the University of Virginia) with no duties and no obligation even to do research; and he would be most welcome at the Institute on the same basis any time he chose to drop in.

I go into all this because it will enable you to judge whether there are any problems or points to talk over that would justify your time. If so, I should most warmly appreciate a 'phone-call to me out here (dial 026-6-57-44). Or, if you are going to be in Geneva after Friday, I could call on you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Louis J. Halle

Louis J. Halle

Dr. Robert Oppenheimer,
Hotel des Bergues,
33, quai des Bergues,
Genève

Sensario to 5/20 6/29

Fac Kennan

10 March 1964

Memorandum to Mr. Morgan:

Dr. Oppenheimer has authorized payment to Mrs. Rigmor Burlingham for part-time work for Professor Kennan, at the rate of $4.00 an hour, to be charged to Professor Kennan's assistant fund.

Verna Hobson

Copy to Professor Kennan

GEORGE F. KENNAN
146 Hodge Road
Princeton, New Jersey

March 9, 1964.

The Director, Institute for Advanced Study.

Dear Robert:

As I mentioned to you yesterday, I am using Mrs. Rugmer Bulingham now and then, particularly during this present illness, to do odd jobs of research and library work for me. She has had some professional library training and experience, and is looking for regular library work here, but has not yet found anything suitable; so for the moment she has time to give me this help.

I should like to pay her for this occasional services, at the rate of $4.00 an hour, if possible from my assistant's fund. If you approve,

perhaps you will be good enough to notify the Business Office to this effect.

Sincerely,

George K.

Approved

R. O.

Fac Kennan

2 May 1963

Dear Mr. Kennan:

I read your cable to Dr. Oppenheimer by telephone to Copenhagen this morning, and he asked me to send you word that he was always clear that the story was garbled; and that he is hopeful and eager to see you in June.

The Oppenheimers left last Saturday for three weeks in Copenhagen and Paris.

We have informed Buz Henry, and are informing Mr. Hochschild, who is just back in this country.

Best wishes to you and your family, and to Dorothy,

Verna Hobson

Ambassador George Kennan
United States Embassy
Belgrade
Yugoslavia

Copy sent to Paris

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy,
Belgrade, Yugoslavia.
April 29, 1963.

Dr. Robert Oppenheimer,
Director, Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, New Jersey.

Dear Robert:

You will have seen the press speculations and leaks that have appeared in the press with regard to my future. I had nothing to do with the appearance of these items, and I have not welcomed them, since I should have preferred that there be no announcement and no public discussion of these matters before the beginning of July.

It has been decided in Washington that no official announcement on this subject will be made there prior to Secretary Rusk's visit to Yugoslavia at the end of this week. Even then, there is a small area of uncertainty concerning the final decision. Things have recently taken a turn for the better in our affairs here. There have been expressions of hope from senior levels in the Yugoslav government that I would not leave at this time. I have been prepared all along to prolong my stay here if I could have the feeling that this was strongly desired and that my activity as ambassador was part of a serious and determined effort to place our relations with this country on a sound and hopeful basis. The possibility that I might remain after this summer is, however, a slender one.

Whenever the government's announcement of my retirement is made, it would seem to me fitting if the Institute were to put out at the same time its own announcement of my resumption of residence and active status at the Institute -- particularly so because I believe the government intends to mention, in its announcement, the Institute and my intention of returning to it. I am therefore addressing to the Director of the Foreign Service the following self-explanatory letter.

I have much appreciated

I have much appreciated your keeping me informed about the various problems that have arisen in connection with the faculty and its procedures, and the various nominations for appointment. I have not yet learned of the outcome of the April meeting of the Trustees and the planned meeting of the faculty; so I shall not attempt to comment on these problems at this time. I hope it will not be too long before we can have the opportunity to talk personally of these and many other things.

Very sincerely,

George F. Kennan
American Ambassador

Enclosure:

Copy of letter to
Director of the Foreign Service

UNCLASSIFIED

Belgrade, Yugoslavia.
April 29, 1963.

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Dear Tyler:

I have just this morning received the message from the Acting Secretary saying that no announcement concerning my retirement is to be made prior to the Secretary's forthcoming visit to Belgrade.

Since it is probable, as I understand it, that the government's announcement will mention my connection with the Institute for Advanced Study, I think it would be helpful to the Institute if the Department would let them have advance notice of any announcement it may be preparing to make, so that they can, if they wish, make at the same time their own announcement of my intention to resume work and residence there. I would be grateful if you would hold this in mind and see that it is done at the proper time.

I have taken the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, Director, Institute for Advanced Study.

Very sincerely,

George F. Kennan
American Ambassador

The Honorable
Tyler Thompson,
Director General of the Foreign Service,
Washington, D. C.

UNCLASSIFIED

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1963 APR 29 PM 6 37

PA238 SSF582

P CDU775 WUB706 29 PD INTL=CD BEOGRAD VIA RCA 29 1835=
=LT OPPENHEIMER INSTITUTE ADVANCED STUDY =
PRINCETON (NJER) USA=

PRESS REPORTS RE HARVERD QUITE WRONG MATTERS STAND PRECISELY AS ALREADY DISCUSSED BETWEEN US PLEASE TELL HOCHSCHILD AND HENRY LETTER FOLLOWS=

KENNAN...

Read to Henry by telephone 5/1/63

TELEPHONE No.
TELEPHONED
TIME 1002
BY
TO BE
ATTEMPTS TO DELIVER

Lae Kennan

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
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LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1943 MAR 18 P 9 49

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:LT OPPENHEIMER INSTITUTE ADVANCED STUDY= PRINCETON (NJER)=

:DISREGARD LETTER MARCH FIRST PROSPECTS IMPROVING= KENNAN=

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9160
RK
WC 850a

5/17/63

Mr. Galloway of the State Department called to give us press release they had written for release this afternoon. Said he did not know in what form the White House would give the release, but Kennan had asked S.D. to keep us informed! and if the Institute should wish to make a statement, do so.

"Our Ambassador to Yugoslavia, George Kennan, has informed the President that he feels it necessary to return this autumn to his academic duties as a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, from which he had been given leave of absence to enable him to serve as Ambassador to Yugoslavia. This move is in accord with Ambassador Kennan's long-standing plans. No decision has been reached with respect to Ambassador Kennan's successor."

This is CONFIDENTIAL until after release has been given.

For Kennan

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

sent ntlr 5/18/63

~~Ambassador and Mrs.~~ Kennan
American Embassy
Belgrade
Yugoslavia

Both the story from Belgrade and the story from Washington seem straight. They are consistent and clear. The Institute will gladly respond to enquiries but should not I think initiate a confirmation to the press. We look to your return in the autumn with joy and hope to see you both in a fortnight at Mount Kisco. Love, from

Kitty and Robert

May 13, 1963
(DATE)

FROM: THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TO: Dr. Robert Oppenheimer

[X] FOR INFORMATION – DO NOT RETURN

[ ] TO HANDLE

May 13, 1963

The Honorable George Kennan
United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia
c/o Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 5. Needless to say, I am delighted to have it and to find that it confirms what we had supposed.

We in the University -- and I use this "we" to include the History Department as well as the Woodrow Wilson School and myself -- are certainly looking forward to your return to the Princeton community, and we hope that we can help to create here in Princeton the kind of situation which will be most rewarding and satisfying to you.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Robert F. Goheen

RFG/eae

bcc: Dr. Robert Oppenheimer
with copy G. F. Kennan ltr. 5/5/63

cy w/AF memo sent to Patterso
cy also sent to Prof Blum
5/10/63

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy, Belgrade,
May 5, 1963

Dear Bob:

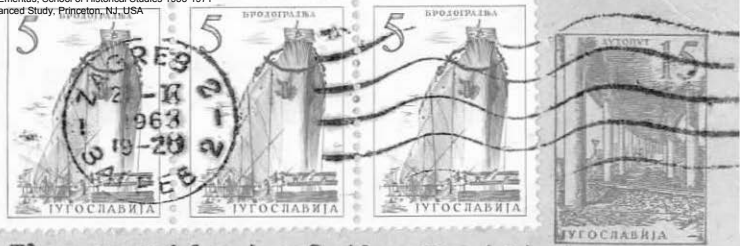
I have your letter of April 24 and hasten to assure you that, while the New York Times report was technically true in the sense that I had been offered a University professorship at Harvard, it was not correct in conveying the impression that I had accepted it. I had written to President Pusey some time ago informing him that I felt unable, while serving abroad in this way, to make any final decisions concerning my academic future and that I proposed when I left here to return, initially at any rate, to my post at Princeton. I am confident that I had nothing whatsoever to do with the leak in Washington, which was most unfortunate and has caused me a good deal of embarrassment.

I have had very much in mind in recent weeks the prospect of making a contribution at the University in the second term of next year, in the field of politics, and have even begun reading for it, to the extent this somewhat hectic work permits.

Very sincerely,

George F. Kennan

Dr. Robert Goheen,
President, Princeton University,
Princeton, New Jersey.



The president of the Institute
For Advanced Study

Princeton University

P R I N C E T O N, N.J.

USA

21st February 1963

Dear Sir, When Cardinal Spellman pretends so sanct
moniously-clumsily, like recently at the Berlin wal
, to pray in public for the POOR and oppressed by
communism, then he is evidently lying the very same
un-Christian and arrogant way MULTILATERALLY in fa-
vour of the ULTRARICH and privileged of the PINK Am
rican Masonry and Jewry - Mr.JFK quite evidently
is lying, when he is speaking of a MULTILATERAL NAT
missile force, keeping the missiles unilaterally fo
himself, like Mr.Spellman does his aid for the poor
and oppressed by communism, at the same time.
The unwise and dangerous for him silence of Your for-
mer professor Mr.G.F.Ke.to my appeal, recently forwa
rded through You, only proves he is extremely fitti
g in that suicidal Spellman train of thoughts too.
Sincerely Yours

Milan Vomačka

Dr.Milan Vomačka, Zagreb III.,
Karasova ul.3, Yugoslavia

For Kennan

Fac Kennan

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy, Belgrade,
March 1, 1963

Dear Robert:

On February 19 I wrote you, somewhat optimistically, saying that I expected to be able to attend the colloquium at Mt. Kisco. Since then a number of things have come up which affect my program for the remaining months of service at this post, and it begins to appear less and less likely that I could free myself for so long a period from official duties on this side of the water. It looks as though I should have to come home briefly for the week of June 9-15 for other matters. But to try to leave here before the end of May would involve my being absent from my post almost without interruption from mid-May to the beginning of July. I doubt that the Department of State would view this favorably; and I think chances are that even if I attempted to plan it this way, I would only find it necessary to change plans at the last moment. It is, among other things, quite possible that Mr. Khrushchev might be coming here in June, and that our Government would place some importance on my being here at the time of his visit.

We are now firming up the arrangements for final departure from Belgrade sometime in August and for taking the custody of our house in Princeton, once again, as of September 1. That would seem to me to be, prospectively, the most suitable day for the resumption of my status at the Institute; and unless you have objection I shall propose this to the Government.

I have thought much, since returning to Europe, of our talks and of the problems of the Institute. You know, without my reiterating it, how I feel about all this. I have been grateful to receive the accounts of the faculty meeting and am particularly pleased that a satisfactory solution seems to have been found of the problem of Professor Milnor.

With warmest regards to Kitty,

Yours,

George.

Censorship danger for all INCOMING letters!

For Kennan

Dr MILAN VOMAČKA

ZAGREB III., Karasova ul.3,
Yugoslavia

19th January 1963.

The President of The Institute for advanced study

Princeton University

P R I N C E T O N, N.J.

Dear Sir,

When all is said and done, only by American fault and guilt the USA-fed red Yugoslav State-police conspiratively put me since long under a virtual DEATH-SENTENCE by starvation: I am neither permitted to work and earn here (for the very same phenomenon the USA recently accused Hungary before the UNO!) nor am I permitted to quit this country. No passport for me either.

It would take too much time and be by far too dangerous to explain that unfathomable to a normal western brain phenomenon here, in a half-and-half censorship-conditioned letter.

Your former professor, Mr.George Kennan (whom the Soviet government dismissed as a should-be NAZI several years ago!), knows all about that problem of mine but he does not want to help me for reasons being completely incompatible with American and western interests.

Therefore I was, unfortunately, forced to start an extremely well-grounded anti-Kennan campaign with quite a series of White House, Senate and Congress personalities. And should Mr.Kennan not help me very soon I shall, unfortunately, be forced to extend my desperate campaign against all those Kennan attitudes to the American press (ANONYMOUSLY, of course) too.

Because Mr.Kennan is, unfortunately, completely out of reach for me by regular mail or reception, I must beg You to forward kindly that bad news to Mr.Kennan. Of course, You cannot do that by regular mail (better use State Department channels!), because such a letter would never reach (CENSORSHIP for all incoming letters!) Mr.Kennan and would only be detrimental to ALL concerned sides.

If You don't want to undertake anything, Sir, then I must beg You to destroy kindly that letter (or keep it for Mr.Kennan's first visit with Your University!), not returning it in any case for censorship reasons.

Begging You to forgive me the intrusion and troubles I am causing You by this unusual way of writing in that most desperate situation I am kept in here, I remain

most respectfully and sincerely Yours

Dr Milan Vomačka

Eventual answers via: Mrs.Lenemarie Vomačka, Zagreb I., Ilica 30,
c/o MLADOST

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy, Belgrade,
November 16, 1962

Dear Robert,

In writing this letter, I am drawing on your patience to let me talk a bit about my future. The time has come when I am afraid I have to make at least tentative plans. Letters lie on my desk from both the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton and the Fletcher School of Diplomacy at Tufts, asking me to teach at those places. Pusey, who spoke to me this last summer about a "university professorship" at Harvard, is waiting for an answer. And Yale, which has offered me Bemis' position, has shown itself inclined to wait patiently, but not indefinitely, for a reaction. All in all, I have the feeling that I owe to many people an early clarification of my future plans. The debt is not made easier for me by the knowledge that this is, in view of my age, the last decision of this nature I can expect to make. Whatever I decide, I must be prepared to live with for the remainder of my active life, if I am to accomplish anything worthwhile.

No one, of course, can make this decision for me. But I am very lonely in it here. I cannot talk to anyone here about plans to leave my post next summer, for it would weaken such present usefulness as I have. Nor would there be anyone here who would understand these things even if I could talk about them. So I want you to let me expose this problem to you as I see it, and to tap once more your own judgment, which has been of greater help to me in the past than that of any other friend.

Two main alternatives seem to me to present themselves. One is that I yield to the most obvious and insistent pressures and spend the remainder of my active academic life in the formal position of a professor of politics or of recent diplomatic history -- actually as an instructor of young people in the viewing of contemporary life. The other is that I genuinely withdraw into history -- and into a period and branch of history sufficiently remote from our present problems of international affairs so that there is no danger of my being drawn into the vortex of discussion that surrounds them. I shall tell you presently what I have in mind, in detail, if this were the course to be adopted.

The first alternative has more to be said for it than might immediately appear. The fact that this is, overwhelmingly, what people want of me and expect of me -- what students invariably look to me for --

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer,
Director, The Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, New Jersey.

seems to me to be of itself a powerful argument in its favor. Beyond that there is the ever-recurrent reflection, with which so many of us have wrestled in recent years, that the time is critical beyond words -- that what is at stake in the outcome of contemporary issues is not just the study of history but its very continuation, and that the least one could do to help assure that there continues to be a history to be studied would be more important than the greatest historical manuscript one could add to the ashes of a holocaust.

On the other hand, I would not look forward much to this sort of thing. I would find it, incidentally, incompatible with a further association with the Institute. It would mean a disorderly, harried life, marked by endless pressures to sound off about passing things, which one understands imperfectly. It would be almost impossible to conduct this life without being swept at every point into the cacophony of commercialized chitchat about world events. I would be working in a field which is not a discipline, and I would not know how to make an orderly presentation of what I have to offer. My views on current problems would be apt to make universities uncomfortable, and to estrange such mass media as might be initially lured into purveying them. I would probably be pressed to speak too much; the voice would soon wear thin; nothing permanent or even identifiable would remain to mark the effort.

The second alternative, obviously, implies a field of study to which I could address myself over a period of several years -- one which would really interest and absorb me -- and one in which I would hope to make some sort of lasting contribution to historical scholarship. I have thought a bit about this, and I think I can see such a field. In its broadest aspects, it is the development of outlooks and tastes in the modern world (not just Western Europe, but Russia and the United States as well) in the period from -- roughly -- 1815 to the events of mid-century: 1848, the Crimean War and freedom of the serfs, the Civil War in our country, etc. This is the period of transition from the clear and symmetrical concepts of 18th century culture to the strange Victorian world of the latter half of the century. It has always intrigued me as a problem in aesthetics; but I am no less interested in the intellectual and political impulses that produced the romantic movement. All of this interests me particularly because, in so far as any period can be said to have been decisive in laying the origins of the problems of our own time, this one seems to me to answer most closely to this description.

What I envisage, at this stage, is nothing so ambitious as a single book. It is rather that I would choose this as a field in which to work over this coming decade, while I can still hope to be able to have some creative capacity. I should like to steep myself in the entire period -- to try to make myself a part of it in every way -- to become conscious, in so far as a historian can do so at all, of all of the

currents and impulses to which men were exposed at that time -- to let this work in me, and then to determine, as spirit and occasion might dictate, what I want to express, and what form to give it.

This is, it seems to me, a task for which I am as well-fitted as for any. It would permit me to use the languages I know: Russian, German, French, plus some of the Scandinavian and the secondary Slavic languages. It precludes me entirely neither from American history nor from Russian history. It would permit me to do what I have always wanted to do: namely, to study more deeply the Russian literature of this period -- but to do this without covering in the same way and from the same standpoint all the ground so ably covered by Isaiah Berlin and Venturi and others.

Two or three weeks ago I delivered two lectures at the University here (in Serbo-Croatian) on the visits to America and Russia, respectively, of Tocqueville and Custine, in the 1830s. I greatly enjoyed preparing these (Betty Horton helped me on one of them when I was home last summer) and genuinely regretted that I could not pursue the inquiries further.

Should this alternative be selected, what I should like, ideally, to do is to combine deep reading and research with a certain amount of teaching and lecturing -- the lecture series varying from time to time (perhaps every two or three years) with the trend of my own interest and inquiry. Books would probably come out of the lecture series; they seem to have a habit of doing so. I think I need the stimulus and discipline of some teaching and lecturing to carry me in a field so vast and so remote, in many ways, from the preoccupations of our generation. It would be my hope that at the end of several years of immersion in this field I would have produced, in some form, something that would have permanent value, and more than minor.

If I were to take this course, I would regard my contribution to public life of our time as completed and I would expect to detach myself completely from the public discussion of contemporary affairs (Dorothy smiles as I dictate this; but she is wrong).

If this last were to be the decision, the further question arises as to where one should work. I could of course use the Institute as a base for study and research and try to do the teaching and lecturing elsewhere as I did at Yale and Harvard in the period before I went back to government. This is not wholly satisfactory, for a number of reasons, personal and otherwise. I am inclined to feel that it would be better to have a single campus on which to try to do this sort of thing, to be resident on it and to have a regular status on it. The university professorship at Harvard, with its rather mild, implied obligation to contribute in the field of teaching but with its great flexibility and its lack of association with any particular department, would seem close to ideal from this standpoint.

On the other hand, Annelise would prefer to remain in Princeton, and indeed I do not look forward much personally to pulling up stakes. We are well-established in Princeton and happy in our friendships there. One forgets what a lovely place it is until one is suddenly put up in all seriousness against the prospect of leaving it for some place else. I need not tell you that it would be with real sorrow that I would leave the Institute where, all the troubles and asperities notwithstanding, I have a deep sense of attachment to my colleagues and to the place, and above all to yourself and Kitty.

These, then, are the alternatives. I do not ask you to choose for me. I wish only that you would comment on them in your way. You know that whatever choice is made, nothing will ever weaken my appreciation for what you and the Institute have done for me. Whatever I may accomplish as a scholar, in these remaining years, will be something that would never have happened without your confidence in me and without your help and encouragement.

The last weeks here have been terribly difficult ones. What the Congress did with respect to the Most-Favored-Nation treatment and aid to Yugoslavia really shattered not just my own efforts of the past year and a half and the efforts of those who have been associated with me here but much of what had been accomplished in previous years as well. I cannot recall any instance of an action more drastically and needlessly destructive, or more utterly without positive rationale. As the Yugoslavs keep saying: "Whom was this supposed to benefit?" There is some hope that we can get some of this reversed over the course of the winter. If we cannot, it will be quite disastrous for our relations with the Yugoslavs. It has been a comfort to me that the latter know very well what my own position has been with regard to these matters and have treated me here with sympathy and consideration in what they know is a very difficult personal position. But all this has been a blow, and I am ~~very~~ much aware that what needs most to be done for U.S.-Yugoslav relations has to be done in Washington rather than here.

With most affectionate greetings to Kitty and yourself,

As ever,

It is a sign of how poorly prepared I am to make this decision that after dictating the above, and then looking at it again, after spending ~~George F. Kennan~~ three days in bed with the flu, I'm not sure that it has any value at all.

There is one more book on public affairs which I want to publish before I resume work as a scholar. It would be an autobiographical piece - an attempt to recount the development of my own ideas about public problems over the period 1941-1961. I hope to be able to do most of the work on it before I leave this post. But what if it should be a success? ~~Ba~~ What - as the Germans would say - wenn es Schule machen sollte?

(over)

could I then really retire to the early XIX century? And would it not be fairer of me, then, to take the Harvard post, where I could jump either way – where no one would care particularly which field I worked in – rather than to run the risk of involving myself once more, as a professor of the Institute, in things that don't belong there?

This is the whirl pool of questions in which I rotate. How I wish I could talk with you rather than just write you about it.

Yours,

George K.

Fac Kennan

4 December 1962

Dear George:

I was most grateful for your long, detailed letter of November 16th, and even more grateful for our telephone conversation on the day that your letter reached me. You are, of course, quite right that no one can, and no one should attempt to make these decisions for you, and my principal counsel is that you follow the dictates of your conscience and your own sense of anticipation and fitness with regard to the years ahead. I remember Justice Frankfurter's story of the colored man who had been convicted of burglary, and who, when the judge asked him whether he had any words to say, replied, "Just this, Judge, remember you are taking an awful lot of liberty with another man's life." I hope that you will remember this story, too, in giving an appropriately small weight to what other people expect of you, and a very great one to what you expect of yourself.

What I can do is to review again what I know of the true meaning of an Institute appointment, and perhaps at the end to make a procedural suggestion that may help you in reaching your own conclusion. You must know that I cherish you as colleague and neighbor far too much to trust my own objectivity.

It is, of course, clear that no man would have reason to accept a professorship at the Institute unless he had a serious and continuing interest in advanced study. There is no presumption that the subject of study, or the style, will be the same after a man has been here a while as it was to start with, and important changes have indeed occurred in the intellectual development of many members of our faculty. With regard to teaching, the situation is very much freer, and the practice very much more active than you may know. For obvious reasons, I am disturbed when a temporary member does much teaching, since escape from that is one of the purposes and benefits of membership; but perhaps a majority of our faculty members do in fact teach from time to time. Cherniss is giving a course for Princeton right now; Dyson did last year; Panofsky has often lectured in New York; and all of the young physicists, like you, have come here with little or no professorial activity behind them, and like you, find it, in moderation, helpful and constructive. I realize that a visiting lectureship in a remote place away from home is not at all the same thing as teaching at home, but I am sure that in the department at Princeton, as well as in the School, there will be a recurrent and varied need for just such things as you would wish to provide, and I even have the hope that before long the quality of Rutgers University may be worthy of the small state which it serves. I see, indeed, no conflict at all between your being here at the Institute and your teaching, at times that seem right to you, in nearby campi.

There is one other point: the Institute was surely not primarily designed by Flexner as a forum for the discussion of public issues, though there was enough of All Souls in his model to reinforce rather than to preclude that. I would remind

you that our first professorial appointment was Albert Einstein, and that his pronouncements on public issues are sufficiently numerous and voluminous to make more than one book. I remind you that Earle and von Neumann, and indeed I myself, have not felt silenced, nor even inhibited, by our attachment to this place. For all these reasons, I see nothing in our tradition, our practice, or our purposes which would necessarily inhibit any of the variations you describe as possible for your future life.

It is true that involvement in public affairs, teaching, and study are probably rather more universal in the Harvard faculty than in ours; and it is also true that the Cambridge community is a larger and, I believe, richer community than ours in Princeton, not in all fields, but taken as a whole. I know that these considerations may speak for Harvard, and I would understand that. But my practical suggestion is that you seek to postpone the decision between the Institute and Harvard until you have left the public service, and had some substantial sample of private and scholarly life. I would imagine that Pusey would be prepared to keep the chair warm for you, since it is not a departmental one, and would not be filled by another man, and since I know that very late appointments--much later than yours would be--have often been made. I would suggest that you come back to the Institute when you are free to do so, and try it for six months, or whatever time seems right, and at that point reopen or close the University Professorship at Harvard. I think that this will enable you to make a decision the wisdom of which you will have less reason to doubt than any that you could make today. As for the Woodrow Wilson School, it would seem to me enough to express appreciation and interest, but to defer any commitment. As for Yale, I should think that you might decline in order to clear your desk of at least one decision.

I remind you again that my efforts to be of help to you may be thoroughly undone by my own concern to have you near me. If you are ready to make the Harvard decision, and sure of your ground, this letter should not make it harder for you.

Kitty sends you both her affectionate wishes. I have talked with her of your letter, and in general terms I think she agrees with me. And I send my very best to Annelise and to you. Perhaps we shall see each other in June.

Robert Oppenheimer

The Honorable George Kennan
American Ambassador
Belgrade
Yugoslavia

cc Mr. Morgan

20 April 1959

Dear Professor Kennan:

The Trustees of the Institute, meeting on April 18th, have fixed your salary, and that of your colleagues, at $22,500 a year, starting July 1, 1959.

I am glad to tell you the good news.

Very sincerely,

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor George Kennan
The Institute for Advanced Study

File Kennan

27 October 1959

Dear George:

It seems to me very good of you to undertake the voyage of discovery to Boston and way stations. I should have said that you may charge the expenses of this trip to Institute travel funds, rather than to your own, since you are undertaking it not for your work but to help the institution.

Very sincerely,

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor George Kennan
The Institute for Advanced Study

Copy to: Mr. Morgan

file cc: Fac - Kennan
Fac - Library Comm.

27 October 1959

Dear Professor Kennan:

This will acknowledge with gratitude your willingness to accept the chairmanship of the Faculty Library Committee at the Institute, and will also be a letter of appointment to that office.

I know that our colleague Harold Cherniss, who has held this office for many years, shares my gratitude that you are willing to assume it.

Very sincerely,

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor George Kennan
The Institute for Advanced Study

Copy to: Professor Cherniss
Professor Thompson
Professor Weil
Miss Sachs

Fac Kennan

14 February 1961

Dear Professor Kennan:

At their meeting on February 9, 1961, the Board of Trustees of the Institute for Advanced Study voted to grant you leave of absence as Professor in the School of Historical Studies, to begin with our next semester, July 1, 1961, and to extend indefinitely. At the same time, the Board asked me to express to you their earnest good wishes in your new service to our country.

During your absence, we shall expect to continue our payments to the fund for your retirement. Mr. Morgan and I will, of course, be glad to talk with you, and hopeful of helping you, in any of the practical or financial problems that may be occasioned by your departure.

Very sincerely,

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor George Kennan
The Institute for Advanced Study

cc: Mr. Leidesdorf
Mr. Morgan

Prof. Kennan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Oct. 24, 1958.

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Robert:

Attached is Harvard's reply to my recent letter.

Could I talk to you about it, at your convenience?

EFK

Prof. Kennan will be away Monday, will check in Tuesday am.

V.H.

For Kennan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

November 24, 1958

Dr. Oppenheimer:

Mr. Kennan wanted me to send you this latest from Professor Gilmore for your information. He asked me to say that his first reaction is to tell Professor Gilmore simply that he will be available at Harvard's disposal, beginning April 10, for the remainder of April and May, and will arrange the lectures to suit their convenience.

Mr. Kennan has left for New York (a study group at the Council on Foreign Relations) and Washington (lecture at the National War College) and will plan to see you about this after the Thanksgiving holiday.

Dorothy M.

Dorothy M. Hessman

Attachment:
Gilmore file.

returned file with note
"Ro agrees with Mr. Kennan"

Kennan

Monday noon.

Dear Robert:

I was not able to reach neither Shep Stone nor Dean Rusk by phone, before leaving.

I would like, therefore, to take you up on your kind offer and to ask whether you would mind sounding out Shep Stone on my behalf. He should be back tomorrow.

Estimated cost: $1,000.00.

Yours,

George K.

Foe Kennan

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO

American Embassy, Belgrade,
September 22, 1961

Dear Robert:

In mid-July, I received from Arthur Link a letter enclosing a copy of his letter to you of June 27, concerning the place of diplomatic history at the Institute. With the opening of the new term, I am sure you will be having this problem on your mind. Whether the following thoughts, coming from one now so remote geographically and so little in touch, will be useful, I cannot know. I offer them on the chance.

There are, of course, three questions involved here, intimately connected but not identical. One is that of modern European history generally; another -- diplomatic history; a third -- American history. I would like to see an interest and competency in all three fields reflected in the composition of the Institute's faculty and in the work done there by temporary members.

Modern European history, in this sense, could mean anything from the beginning of the Renaissance down to World War II; and if the scope is to be broad enough to serve our purposes, it must embrace diplomatic history as well as that of domestic affairs. In the case of the history of European countries over these centuries it would be a narrow interest indeed, and one too highly specialized -- surely -- for our purposes, which did not include the external relations of these countries as well as phases of internal development.

The same applies to American history. Surely no American historian whose interests did not include the external relations of our country would be suitable for inclusion on the Institute faculty.

We could

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer,
Director, The Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, New Jersey.

We could assume, therefore, that if appointments were made in either of these fields, strength would be added to the resources available for the pursuit of diplomatic history at the Institute.

And this, it seems to me, is the proper way for such strength to come. Diplomatic history is not a discipline in itself, nor is it separable from political history generally. Anything of any value written about the diplomacy of a country assumes an adequate knowledge of all those factors of internal life out of which impulses of diplomatic action emerge. Our problem comes back, therefore, to the one which caused us so much difficulty during this past term: the possibility of appointments in these fields of modern European history and American history.

I have respect for what I understand to be the opinion of some of my colleagues: that we should look for distinguished scholars where we can find them, taking their fields of interest as they come, and should not be concerned for the encouragement of one or another field of scholarship as such at the Institute. To the extent that this means we should not take people for the sake of encouraging work in a given field whose qualifications we would not otherwise consider adequate, I am thoroughly in agreement. However, I can see no reason why it should not be a source of concern to us that fields of knowledge which lend themselves to inquiry at the Institute, and in relation to which valuable work has been accomplished there in the past, should continue to have their place among the objects of study within our walls. It seems to me that just as the existence of a strong collection of books in a given field always represents a commitment on library procurement policies, so the existence of strength in a given field at such an institution as ours, with the undefinable advantages of tradition and precedent it brings with it, represents in itself something worth cherishing and preserving and, if possible, continuing. I have no shame, therefore, in my feeling that we ought to be concerned for the continuation of modern history as a subject of study at the Institute and that for this reason we ought to be unhappy at the absence of modern historians on our faculty and anxious to correct the deficiency if we can properly do so within the limits of our own standards.

Even these standards, however, must be taken with relation to the subject itself. They cannot be borrowed from other disciplines. I am inclined to doubt that you will ever find in the field of modern history the grand elder statesmen, revered and detached, who exist in other fields of inquiry and some of whom we have been privileged to have among our colleagues. Modern history is too close to the dust and sweat of the present. Its devotees are too apt to be carried off, as I myself have sometimes been, into the activities and the contradictions of the present

day.

day. There are exceptions, of course, but for some reason or other it seems to be a field that offers its attractions mostly to younger men. All these circumstances seem to me to constitute only reasons why we must ask ourselves whether the standards to be applied should be considered identical to those which we apply in other fields. I am not suggesting they should be more lax; I am only suggesting that their severity should be of a different nature.

All these thoughts incline me to feel that we should not desist from the effort to make appointments in this field. On the other hand I must also recognize that if we were to apply the standards voiced at our faculty table last year, it is unlikely that ~~this~~ such appointments will ever be made. If Link and Beloff are not considered acceptable in the field of American history -- Link because his interests are not wide enough, and Beloff because his are too wide -- I would not know where to turn.

Link's letter, of course, is directed specifically to diplomatic history. This is a problem which goes beyond the question of professorships, and includes memberships as well. Here again, I am inclined to think there will have to be somewhat greater flexibility than we have had in the past if the sort of thing that Link has in mind is ever to be realized. What we need is to be able to bring together a number of scholars of different ages and stages of development, and for varying times, depending on their work and their situation. I think, too, that we do need something in the way of regular contact between them and mutual criticism and discussion -- something akin to, perhaps, but certainly not identical with, the physics seminar. There is no one who is more skeptical than I about any form of collective work in the field of history, and this is not what I am suggesting. But the loneliness in which my own work was performed at the Institute in these recent years was extreme and in my view excessive. Aside from your own kind interest, Feis and Woodward were my only mainstays. Neither of them was always available, and neither will presumably be very much available in future. I think it would have been better for me had there been more people with whom I could have talked over what I was doing, and more people in whose work I had taken an interest, even if this delayed the accomplishment of my own. I agree with Link that Princeton is an admirable center (I would know of none better, anywhere in the world) for the pursuit of modern and recent diplomatic history. The Institute can offer unique facilities for this sort of work; and in my opinion the Institute will be impoverishing not only itself but the Princeton community if it fails, for reasons of mere administrative inelasticity, to do what it can along these lines.

I think this is all I can say that will be useful at this time. ~~think~~ You know that I came away from Princeton last spring with a real feeling of concern for the future at the Institute of those fields of

scholarship

(and I should also mention E.H.A.'s invaluable help in reviewing the manuscript of my first volume)

scholarship in which I could personally play only a tiny part but which I strongly feel ought not to lose their place in the activities of the Institute.

With warmest personal greetings to my colleagues on the Faculty,

Very sincerely,

George K.
George F. Kennan

P. S. This has been, of necessity, hastily dictated, at the end of a long day and a long week, and only by kindness of Dorothy, who has faithfully stayed long after hours. To forgive the obvious evidences of this circumstances

Fac Kennan

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

1206 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
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FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
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NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

sent 9/28/61

Ambassador and Mrs. Kennan
American Embassy
Belgrade
Yugoslavia

With sorrow tell of Lady Woodward's death in England. Your good letters 21st 22nd arrived today. With all affection.

Kitty and Robert

Fac Kennan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

February 27, 1961

Robert:

I send you this just to show you an example of the sort of thing I have been doing in quantities greater than outsiders might suppose. This involved two different readings of a 400-500 page thesis. There is a lot of this that comes the way of anyone concerned with recent diplomatic history; and it is work which I find particularly suitable for a professor here at this Institute, who is spared the usual teaching load.

George K.
George Kennan

returned to K.
3/27/61

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer,
Director,
The Institute for Advanced Study.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Sunday, December , 1959.

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Dear Robert:

I have been thinking, overnight, about what you said yesterday, and I would like you to know of my reaction to it before you talk with Harold Hochschild or any other of the Trustees.

If, as I take to be the case, I should have to go on leave ~~not~~ from the Institute not later than July 1 in the event that I continue to permit my name to be spoken of as a candidate for the Senate, this – for me – is definitive, and I shall have to tell Coheen that I am not available, now or at any time so long as I am connected with the Institute, for any elected public office. For I am no more in a position today than I was six years ago to support a family for several months without any regular source of income; and I see no prospect of being in such a position so long as I lead the scholar's life.

However, this state of affairs makes me very unhappy, for three reasons:

a) When, in 1955, I withdrew my candidacy in Pennsylvania in deference to the Institute's ruling and that of the Rockefeller Foundation, I got the impression, perhaps erroneously, that what precluded my having anything to do with politics was the fact that my work at the Institute was then being supported by grants,

P.S. I have told him this, in effect, today – in writing. Dec. 14.

and that there was a possibility of the two institutions' losing their tax-exempt status if any of this money could be shown to have gone directly or indirectly for political purposes. I also gathered that these considerations did not prevail in the case of regular faculty members of educational institutions, whose salaries are clearly taxable, and who enjoy the same facilities as anyone else for engaging in political activity. The fault for this misunderstanding may have been mine; to have it clarified is nevertheless a bit of a jolt.

b) I can understanding that the Institute could not keep me on its payroll if the preoccupations of a political candidacy led to a serious impairment of my contribution as a scholar. If I were to run successfully for the Senate during the present year, I should of course expect in any event to lay down my duties at the Institute at the end of the year, when I should be going to Washington to assume public office. It would, at that time, be just three years since I had assumed the status of a professor at the Institute. During that period I would have ~~completed~~ ~~even if I~~ accomplished despite the distractions of the candidacy — the completion of one book and the writing of another from scratch, the writing and delivery of approximately forty academic lectures, the preparation of three scholarly

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PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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monographs, the holding of academic seminars and conferences uncounted, and the meeting of my regular duties as a faculty member at the Institute. This, if I am not mistaken, would still be a not discreditable record ~~of course~~ of scholarly work for the three-year period. The fact that I should have contived to bear, on the side, the fatigues of a political candidacy would be be a circumstance that might have proceeded at the cost of my own strength and of the interests of my family, but not at the cost of the scholarly demands which the Institute represents.

c) You reminded me, very properly, of the question that was put to me at the time of my appointment as a professor: whether, that is, I was accepting this new status seriously and as a permanent calling. I answered at that time affirmatively, with the usual reservation about the possibility of a recall to service in the Executive Branch of the government.

I cannot reproach myself with lack of effort to live up to this undertaking. In the present year alone, I have record of having declined something over 460 requests for commitments which, it seemed to me, would conflict with my work as a scholar. The other years would show comparable figures.

But these intervening 2 ½ years have seen a certain

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PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

change in my own situation. The reception of the Reith Lectures in England has increased both the importance of the demands being made upon me and the opportunities for service which they represent. It is becoming increasingly difficult for me to speak and write publicly on contemporary affairs without being pressed towards the brink of precisely that participation in public life which is involved in Mr. Coheen's inquiry. Also, I feel more and more strongly, as time goes on and as the outside demands grow upon me, that the isolation of my position here is beginning to tell on the usefulness of my views; and unless I can get closer, through another period of participation in public affairs, to the things I am talking about, I must withdraw entirely from the public discussion of matters of this sort.

When I put these things together — the expectations of my colleagues, flowing from the assurance I gave three years ago, and the increasing difficulty of trying to contribute from so isolated a position to the discussion of contemporary questions — it seems clear to me that I cannot, in good conscience, remain at the Institute unless I am prepared to give up entirely and permanently any attempt to make a contribution to the life of my own time outside the strictly historical field. It is not right, as I see it, that anyone should participate prominently in the debate of public issues, as I have

have done, and particularly is it not right that he should take a sharply critical position towards the policies of his own government, unless he is prepared to stand for his views, on demand, by the acceptance of public responsibility.

This naturally creates for me a difficult conflict of obligation. It is not just myself who is involved in this problem. I have been brought to realize, particularly in the past two years, that there are many thousands of people, not just in this country but in Europe and Asia as well, who have given me a measure of personal and intellectual confidence, and who look to me to do my part in finding the answers to problems and dilemmas we all have on our minds. Many of these are young people. Besides, I, like yourself, have children; and the sort of world they are going to have to live in is not a matter of indifference to me. If my obligations as a faculty member at the Institute are really inconsistent with these demands, then it is clear that I must make a choice.

d) I think I should add that while I can well believe that the Institute cannot, in the light of the temper of the time, take any other position than the one you have indicated, the principle underlying this view bothers me. In the intent of the architects of our political system, public office was obviously conceived as a form of service by the individual to the state; and it was surely not their intention to

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PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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restrict the possibility of rendering such service to those who had sufficient means to enable them to forego, over the entire period of their competition for office, their normal sources of livelihood. The legal profession, if I am not mistaken, recognizes this and does not make this demand, as a rule, on its members. Even the academic profession appears not always to have done so. Plainly, only a small percentage of the citizenry would be in a position to run for public office at this price; and if the rule is to be generally applied, the sources of recruitment into elected office must remain restricted (as I suppose they generally have been) to ~~men~~ men of means, ~~lawyers~~ lawyers, and those who are not above accepting support from those who have a financial interest in the conduct of the office and whose support carries with it an improper price.

Perhaps all this is necessary + unavoidable; but it seems to me to represent a certain distortion of the democratic concept — and a pity.

Let me just say, in conclusion, that I realize that you have acted throughout these matters, only in the strictest consciousness of your own duty to the Trustees and faculty of the Institute. I am deeply grateful for the understanding you have shown, throughout, for the conflicts all this raises with respect to my own position; and I do not for a moment think you could have done otherwise than you did.

Sincerely, George K.

Fac. - Kennan
CK Dept Gen. - Russians

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

November 17, 1959

Dr. Oppenheimer:

For your information -

George Kennan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

October 21, 1959

Dear Bill:

I enclose, for the event that you have not seen it, a letter from President Goheen of Princeton University to Mr. John A. McCone, Director of the United States Atomic Energy Commission. President Goheen had spoken to me about this the other day when we happened to meet socially. He is much troubled about the matter, and rightly so. He did not ask me to write you; I am doing this on my own initiative, but will send him a copy of this letter for his information.

I would like to support very strongly the view he has put forward. Not only am I sure that Mr. Goheen would not have overstated the awkwardness and unnaturalness which would be involved for the University by denying Mr. Shevchenko access to the otherwise unclassified operations, but I am persuaded that it is not sound policy to attempt to retaliate personally against Soviet visitors and guests in this country for all the limitations placed on Americans in Russia. We could have refrained entirely from entering upon this particular exchange and thus have given no opportunity for Mr. Shevchenko to come here, and there might have been something to be said for that; but having once accepted him as an academic guest in this country for a longer period of time, our best course, surely, is to send him back with kindly rather than hostile feelings toward the environment in which he has lived here, and this will certainly not be accomplished by an attempt to apply to him artificial restrictions not justified by normal security considerations and not suffered by any of those with whom he is associated.

I very much hope that the competent authorities within our government can find it possible to give consideration to President Goheen's views and to reexamine the position that has been taken in this question.

Very sincerely yours,

George F. Kennan

The Honorable
William S. B. Lacy,
c/o Department of State,
Washington 25, D. C.

GFK:dmh

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

PRESIDENT'S ROOM

October 14, 1959

Honorable John A. McCone
United States Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McCone:

I am writing about the case of Mr. V. J. Shevchenko, a physicist from the U.S.S.R., for whom a year's sojourn at Princeton University has been proposed as a part of the cultural exchange program between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The original proposal was that Mr. Shevchenko should spend a year doing research here in the Department of Physics at the same time that Dr. H. A. Hill of this university would spend a year in Russia. The proposal was subsequently modified to allow Dr. Hill to delay his visit to Russia until next year.

I am addressing this letter to you because attempts to translate this arrangement into actuality have raised serious questions. The presently proposed restrictions on Shevchenko's position within Princeton University are unacceptable to the University as a matter of principle and are an illustration of what I believe to be basic fallacies in the present policy of exchange. In this letter I would like to discuss, first, the position of Princeton University with regard to this particular case, and, second, the position subscribed to by myself and many of my colleagues with regard to the general philosophy of these exchanges.

As we now understand it, Mr. Shevchenko, an experimental physicist with an established reputation, would be permitted to work with a group in our Physics Department using the cyclotron in Palmer Physical Laboratory. However, he would be denied access to one of the Department's major undertakings even though it is an unclassified project. This is the high-energy accelerator which is being constructed at the James Forrestal Research Center, an integral part of the University located on the eastern edge of the campus some two miles from Palmer Laboratory.

Also located at the Forrestal Center is another large AEC-financed project, Project Matterhorn, which has been unclassified for over a year - since the Geneva Conference of September, 1958. Other work at the Forrestal Center is for the most part in the field of aeronautical engineering.

This does include some classified programs; but the latter are under proper security control, are not accessible to the scientists working on either the accelerator or the controlled thermonuclear project, and are not at issue in this case.

The undergraduates, graduate students, postdoctoral research fellows, research associates, visiting professors, and staff of the Physics Department constitute an international group freely exchanging information and ideas in the normal tradition of scientific instruction and research. In particular, members of the group in nuclear physics should have free access to all the activities of the department, in whatever part of the campus they may be located, since none of these activities involve classified research. More generally, the members of the whole group should have free access to other unclassified scientific activities of the university if they so desire. We believe it is contrary to the principles on which the freedom of a university rests to put limitations of movement and access on a particular individual accepted as a member of the group. We also believe such procedure would be contrary to the principles of international amity which this exchange is supposed to promote.

Various suggestions have been made by which the onus of restriction might be shifted from Princeton University by a limitation of Mr. Shevchenko's visa. The question has also been raised as to whether or not the Atomic Energy Commission has a legal right to prevent Princeton University from allowing Mr. Shevchenko to have access to the accelerator, controlled thermonuclear laboratories, or other work supported by the Commission. These arguments of detail seem to us somewhat beside the point. We do not question the right of either the Atomic Energy Commission or the State Department to put geographical restrictions on Mr. Shevchenko's visa. Our position is that, if such restrictions are going to interfere with his normal activities as a member of our scientific group, it might be wiser to give up the idea of the exchange.

Turning to the more general problem of which Mr. Shevchenko's case is an illustration, I would like to call your attention to the statement issued by the American Council on Education on April 14, 1959, a copy of which is attached.

In further support of the position taken by the Council I would like to cite 3 fallacies in the present program. The first is the assumption that it is possible to equate the visit of Russian scientist A in Laboratory X in this country to the visit of American scientist B to Laboratory Y in Russia. The notion that these exchanges should be exactly equivalent in advantage, or possibly somewhat to the greater benefit of the U. S., is impossible of application. No quantitative measurement of such advantages is conceivable either in detail or statistically.

The second fallacy is the assumption that the U. S. Government should, or can, control the educational or research institutions in this country in a manner similar to the control exercised in Russia. In spite of the large amount of money which universities receive from the federal government to support scientific research, the universities have so far preserved a degree of independence that is of the utmost importance. In fact, to a considerable extent it is this very independence that makes them desirable places for basic scientific research to be carried forward.

In suggesting a possible third fallacy in the present cultural exchange, I speak with less certainty than on the previous two. It occurs to me that, from the point of view of the U.S.S.R., complete freedom of movement for their citizens sojourning in this country is highly undesirable. It would appear that the present policy, whereby the U. S. Government enforces and polices a restriction that is very welcome to the government of the U.S.S.R., is hardly the valuable negotiating point that it is supposed to be.

Sincerely,

Robert F. Goheen

RFG/hjf
enclosure

bc:

There follows the text of the Commission's formal Resolution on this subject, dated May 21, 1958. This Resolution was transmitted to the Secretary of State with a letter from President Arthur S. Adams, dated June 23, 1958:

RESOLUTION BY THE COMMISSION ON EDUCATION AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION CONCERNING FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT FOR EXCHANGE VISITORS FROM THE U.S.S.R.

The Commission on Education and International Affairs of the American Council on Education has noted with satisfaction the progress which has been made in the development of a cultural exchange program between the U.S.S.R. and the United States. It hopes that the recent agreement will be only the first step toward considerably expanded exchange activities with Russia in the future.

In order that the portion of the program affecting Russian visitors to this country may have maximum effectiveness, it is essential that these visitors gain knowledge and understanding of the American way of life, not merely from what they are told, but primarily from what they actually experience. The Commission believes that they should be permitted to enjoy to the greatest possible extent the freedoms which American citizens take for granted.

Freedom of movement is one of those fundamental rights characteristic of life in the United States. The Commission on Education and International Affairs, therefore, notes with concern that Russians coming to this country under the recently signed technical, cultural, and educational agreement will be affected by special restrictions which were originally established for Russian diplomats to match restrictions on our diplomats in the U.S.S.R. In the light of available information, the Commission considers that freedom of movement for Russian visitors would be advantageous to the United States, regardless of any restrictions on travel that the U.S.S.R. may impose on American citizens in Russia. This country has the opportunity, the Commission believes, to demonstrate a significant difference between life in the free world and life in areas where such freedoms are not enjoyed.

It is therefore recommended that the United States Government in conducting cultural exchange programs with the Soviet Union impose no restrictions on the movement of Russian visitors which are not considered essential, in the interest of national security, for visitors from other foreign countries.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

November 10, 1959

Dear George:

I apologize for the delay in answering your letter of October 21, 1959. As you may well understand this matter has been considered by more than a few agencies of this Government and a reply to President Goheen awaited a consolidation of the positions of those agencies, an operation not easily consumated.

I sincerely believe, George, that the position we have described in my letter to President Goheen is the best we can adopt. I do not mean, of course, that it is ideal. We have said that in dealing with the Soviets on exchanges, an insistence on reciprocity affords us some opportunity to get our people into the Soviet Union and nothing else does. We know that individual Soviet academicians, industrialists, artists and others are eager to receive our people generously and without imposing unreasonable limitations on their activities; unfortunately, this is not the attitude of their bureaucratic masters.

I fear that you will not be satisfied with the answer to President Goheen which I have been obliged to send him, but I hope that your painful experience with the Soviets provides you some basis for understanding why we must stand where we do. I must add that I not only hope but believe that if the exchanges in the broad fields covered by the agreement can continue, the men in the Kremlin will find it increasingly difficult to inhibit the activities of our people in the Soviet Union on exchange visits. But until that happy day arrives I must, it seems to me, insist on strict reciprocity in all important exchanges.

My very best to you and your family.

Faithfully yours,

Bill.

William S. B. Lacy

Mr. George F. Kennan,
The Institute for Advanced Study,
School of Historical Studies,
Princeton, New Jersey.

Dear President Goheen:

I refer to your letter dated October 14, 1959, to Secretary Herter concerning the proposed exchange under which Soviet physicist V. J. Shevchenko would come to Princeton for one year while Dr. Henry Hill would spend a like period of time at the Institute of Physics in Moscow. Your letter also raises certain questions concerning this Government's current exchange policy with the U.S.S.R. which I will discuss before proceeding to the specific case of Mr. Shevchenko.

In principle the Department of State would like to see Soviet scholars in the United States enjoy the academic freedom and possibilities for unrestricted travel that are available to American scholars as well as to visiting scholars from other countries. We are no less interested in seeing that American scholars in the Soviet Union receive reasonably reciprocal opportunities. We realize, of course, that it would be unrealistic to expect American scholars in the Soviet Union to experience the same full measure of academic freedom and ability to travel as exists in this country but an exchange program would be meaningless if the restrictions on our scholars should be so great that the Americans were unable to carry out their studies.

I regret to say that our experience with Soviet treatment of long term academic exchanges thus far has cast serious doubts on the ability of our scholars to obtain even that minimum freedom from restriction which is needed for their time there to be well spent. We have learned, however, that our ability to develop adequate opportunities for our scholars is considerably improved if we are able to contract or expand restrictions on Soviet scholars here. We believe that it is preferably to continue the exchanges of scholars with the U.S.S.R. and strive to improve the conditions under which our scholars work in the Soviet Union rather than to give up exchanges altogether because of the limitations which the Soviets impose on our people.

A good

Dr. Robert F. Goheen,
President,
Princeton University,
Princeton, New Jersey.

A good example of these Soviet limitations can be found in the student exchange. The American universities which participated in the first year of this project found that, in contrast to the free access to libraries and research materials and the relative freedom to travel which the Soviet students enjoyed in the United States, the American students were seriously limited in these respects. Only one American student was finally permitted access to relevant archival material, and this only near the end of his stay. American students were also unable to travel into closed areas and were often prevented from traveling to open areas.

The Department has made exceptions to closed area restrictions for Soviet students on a far greater scale than was done for the American students in the Soviet Union, this because the Department wishes to interpret the travel restriction rules as liberally as possible without undermining our basis for securing better treatment of our own students. Accordingly, the Soviet students were permitted to travel freely within an area of 25 miles of their universities, irrespective of whether the area was normally closed to travel by Soviet citizens. This exception has not been granted to American students in the U.S.S.R. The Department has also granted numerous additional travel exceptions to Soviet students such as the permission recently given to Mr. Derevenskov to travel from Princeton to New York on weekends without waiting for a reply from the Department to his notification of travel.

Mr. David C. Munford, Executive Secretary of the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants, which administers the American side of the student exchange, has strongly recommended to the Department that it attempt to secure, before an exchange is embarked upon, top-level Soviet agreement to grant the American students access to archives and other requirements for meaningful study such as the Soviets enjoy in the United States. Mr. Munford feels that continuation of the student exchange must depend on improved Soviet performance and on establishment of satisfactory ground rules for carrying out the exchange on a basis that is fair to both sides. Accordingly, the Department has proposed and the Soviets appear to have accepted a number of provisions in the new exchange agreement that commit both sides to certain conditions that were granted to the Soviet students in 1958-59 but not to the American students. If the Soviets do agree to the inclusion of these provisions in the new agreement, it will still remain to be seen whether they carry them out faithfully in practice, of course.

Mr. Munford's experience with the student exchange has been borne out by two other Americans who have gone to the Soviet Union for extended periods to do research: Professor Albert Guy of Purdue and Dr. Hubert Lechevalier of Rutgers. The Department cannot in good conscience ignore the recommendations of these scholars who have been personally involved in long-term exchanges with the U.S.S.R. that such exchanges are a waste of the American's time and hence a loss to the United States if satisfactory detailed rules for the exchange are not agreed to in advance by the Soviets.

In the

In the case of the Hill-Shevchenko exchange, the Department believes it must concern itself with the arrangements under which the exchange would take place both for Dr. Hill's sake and for the sake of the larger issues involved. The Soviet side has already stipulated that Dr. Hill will be restricted in his work to the field of low and medium-energy nuclear physics. In view of what you say about the unwillingness of Princeton to restrict in any way the access of Mr. Shevchenko to university activities at the Forrestal Research Center, except where classified projects are involved, it would appear that the Department could hardly defend the exchange as being in our interest unless the Soviet side were to give assurance that Dr. Hill would have free access to Soviet work, e.g. the controlled thermonuclear reaction project at the Moscow Atomic Energy Institute, comparable to that which Mr. Shevchenko would see at Forrestal. Chairman McCone of the Atomic Energy Commission and Professor Spitzer of Princeton recently visited the Moscow Atomic Energy Institute, so the work presumably is unclassified.

Lastly, it should be emphasized that the Department's concern for reciprocity is of importance also to Dr. Hill himself. His stay in the U.S.S.R. will undoubtedly be beset by many difficulties in any case, but it is not likely that he will be able to make the best use of his stay unless Soviet agreement is given in advance to such conditions as the right to visit unclassified laboratories other than the one in which the Soviets will allow him to work. This probably can be obtained because of Soviet interest in securing access to the comparable facilities in the United States. I suggest that possibly you may wish to write to Mr. Nesmeyanov, the Chairman of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, to seek his agreement that the conditions of Dr. Hill's visit will be similar to those you anticipate according Mr. Shevchenko.

I want you to know that I fully understand the nature of your concern that the American position in affecting these exchanges is consonant with the great American tradition of academic freedom. As I tried to explain, the factors limiting our position are those of a practical nature and in our opinion, compelling ones.

Again, I am most eager for you to know that the Department of State and I in particular am exceedingly grateful to you and to Princeton for the extremely important and unique contribution you have made to the success of the exchange program.

Since my old friend, George Kennan, wrote to me about this matter, I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of this letter in my answer to him.

Faithfully yours,

William S. B. Lacy

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

November 13, 1959

Dear Bill:

I have your letter of November 10 and am grateful for the pains you took to answer President Goheen's inquiry and my own letter.

I have read your reply to President Goheen with much interest. I find it all reasonable and persuasive, provided its premises are sound. But it is precisely about the premises that I have my doubts.

I cannot escape the impression, as I read what you have written, that our government is proceeding on something like the following thesis: that since any information we can obtain about Russia is a gain to us, any information Moscow obtains about this country is by the same token a loss; that our security therefore lies in concealing things about ourselves while learning things about them; that cultural exchanges are only part of a game in which both sides attempt to learn the maximum and reveal the minimum; and that therefore we must be very careful to see that no Soviet student in this country is permitted to see more or learn more than his American counterpart in Russia.

So far as classified materials and activities are concerned, I can understand the argument for this, though even here I suspect that people greatly exaggerate the extent to which our security depends on concealing things. But beyond this point, and with particular regard to cultural and academic exchanges, the thesis I have just outlined seems to me to be quite misconceived. What is involved here, surely, is not just, or even primarily, a game of hide-and-seek to see who can gain the most intelligence and reveal the least. What is involved here is the effect of experience in moulding the attitudes of human beings. We are sending back to Russia, in the persons of exchange scholars who complete their period of study in this country, not just vehicles of information, not just walking copybooks, that is, who can inform their masters that the Forrestal Research Project is situated on Route No. 1, but human beings destined later to take their place among the actors in this whole international drama, whose consciousness and personality and pattern of reaction will all be affected by what happens to them here. This is of course the government's decision; but if I had to choose which is the most important to us: that the man should go back to tell his superiors

that he

The Honorable
William S. B. Lacy,
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State,
Washington 25, D. C.

that he was never admitted to certain premises and has no first hand observations of what went on there, or that the man should go back feeling (regardless of what he reports to his superiors) that he had been treated in this country as he had never been treated in Russia -- with tact, with sympathy, with confidence, as a human being in his own right rather than merely with a view to his official status or citizenship -- I should unhesitatingly say the latter.

I can understand that there are people in various echelons of our government who, looking at it from the standpoint of their particular competence, feel that if we only make sure that Soviet exchange scholars return to Russia devoid of certain categories of knowledge and information about this country, the national security will have been protected and no damage will have been done. But is this really true? Our task vis-à-vis visitors from behind the Iron Curtain is not, I would think, to confirm them in all that the Party may have told them about the hostility of the capitalist world, the ruthless finality of the cold war, and the inevitability of triumph of one system or the other. Our task, as I see it, should rather be to show them that there is a world where, in contrast to their own, the preoccupation with political conflict, espionage, and subversion is not the dominant factor in life, where other values take precedence, where things are looked at in a different way, where life can therefore be richer and more worth living; and to demonstrate to them that the savage and misanthropic outlook of their own Party mentors has no foundation, so far as the U.S. is concerned, in objective reality -- that the cold war represents an internal necessity of the Soviet system, not something imposed upon Russia (as they like to pretend) by the inalterable suspicion and hostility of the capitalist world.

This is why, much as I respect the logic of your letter, I cannot be happy about its apparent premises. And if our motivation in the handling of these matters is to be what I suspect it is, then I am really inclined to question whether we should go in for any exchanges at all in the academic field. Things are involved in the cultivation and transmission of knowledge, to which a university is dedicated, which are too important to be used merely as instruments in the competition between intelligence services and security agents. The important struggle here is the struggle for men's minds. If we make a real intellectual and personal impact on the Soviet scholar in this country, we will have done something much more important than denying him access to certain rooms and corridors. If we fail to make that impact, consequences of this failure will hardly be redeemed by any success we may have in bringing pressure to bear on his superiors in Moscow through such restrictions as we have placed on his activities here.

Please believe that this letter is written in greatest friendliness and with deepest respect for the dilemmas with which you have to deal and the restrictions which rest on your own freedom of action.

Sincerely yours,

George Kennan

GFK:dmh

Fac Kennan

11/3/60

Professor Kennan called. He is just back from three hectic days, and plans to spend the afternoon raking leaves. We can call him at home, should you for any reason need to, and he will be available tomorrow.

1. His time with the Russians at Dartmouth was very interesting. He has asked one, (Kornechuk?) to come down here next week, and if he does, would like to have you lunch with them. K. is a playright, a member of the central committee. did not come.

2. He is being paid regularly for his lectures at Yale this term. Apparently he did not expect this. It will amount to some $5000. He wonders whether he should volunteer to give up an equal amount of his Inst. salary. Naturally does not want to, but naturally would wish to if it is proper.

RO said OK on 2.

Copies made + sent to Trustees 2/17/61

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

February 15, 1961

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer:

Permit me to express my deep appreciation for the generous action of the Board of Trustees of the Institute in granting me leave of absence, as stated in your letter of February 14.

It will be a great comfort and source of strength to me during this forthcoming tour of duty in government to know that when it is over I can return to what I have now come to regard as my proper and permanent calling.

I hope you will find it possible to transmit to the Trustees, on some appropriate occasion, the expression of my appreciation.

Very sincerely yours,

George Kennan

George Kennan

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer,
Director, The Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, New Jersey.

Fac. Kennan

17 May 1961

Dear Mr. Kennan:

I told Dorothy that I would send you some reviews of the book, as she thought that they might not otherwise reach you very promptly. Wilder's review (Newsweek) was the first to come out, and he told me that he had heard that its appearance had caused a big run in the Washington bookstores.

We all miss you, and think of you often, with hope.

Best regards, to your family, to Dorothy, and to you,

Ambassador George F. Kennan
Embassy of the United States
Belgrade
Yugoslavia

Fac. - Kennan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

April 21, 1961

Verna,

I thought you might like to have for your records one of the memoranda giving all the various addresses where Mr. Kennan can be reached. I think the APO is much slower, but would certainly do for reprints, etc.

Dorothy

MAIL TO BELGRADE.

AIRMAIL from Washington, D C., usually reaches the Embassy in 3 to 6 days; first class surface mail is received in 20 to 25 days. The address for air and first class surface mail is:

Name Belgrade-Title Department of State Washington 25, D. C.	or	Name American Embassy Belgrade Yugoslavia

International air (15¢ a half ounce) or surface rates (8¢ for first ounce, 5¢ each additional ounce) must be used for mail sent to either of the above addresses.

PARCELS may be sent to the Embassy by State Department Sea Pouch or by APO. Department regulations limit the size and content of packages sent by sea pouch and the international postal rate applies; therefore, it is preferable to use the APO with its more liberal regulations and domestic rates:

The address for APO mail is

Name
Postal Officer at Belgrade
APO 293
New York, New York

The address for Sea Pouch mail is:

Name
Belgrade-Title
Department of State
Washington 25, D. C.

APO mail is received twice a month dependent upon the weather. Four to six weeks pass from mailing in the United States to delivery in Belgrade.

Kennan
c/R HS School
for appts (?)

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY,
Princeton, New Jersey.

February 1, 1961

My dear colleagues:

In order to give you time to ponder such views as I am able to put forward on the subject to which our meeting of February 7 is to be devoted, I am taking this means of submitting them to you in advance. This should help to free the time of the meeting for discussion.

I am departing, in this discussion, from the assumption that we will wish to make at this time one further appointment in the field of ancient or mediaeval history and that in addition to this it would be desirable for us to make two appointments in the field of modern history: one with emphasis on American history, the other with emphasis on modern European history. The Director has repeatedly called attention to the fact that such a constellation of appointments would be consistent with the policy decisions arrived at in 1956. Actually, if two retirements and my own prospective absence are taken into account, we will be scarcely holding our own, even with such a program. What follows relates only to the problem of the two appointments in the field of modern history.

The question of an appointment in American history is one which we have all of us had in mind for some time. I have done what I could, in the past year, to get a closer acquaintance with people working in this field in this country. This was one of the reasons that led me to accept the part-time appointments at Yale and Harvard in recent months.

To date, I have found no one working in this country in the field of American history who seems to me both clearly suitable and available for

appointment here. Even some of those who might be qualified from the standpoint of competence in their own special fields tend to lack -- as Panofsky has correctly observed -- the broader range of historical and cultural interests which we would like to see in anyone coming to us in this capacity.

There are, however, two British historians for whom American history has been a major preoccupation, both of whom seem to me, not just for this particular reason but for others as well, worthy of consideration for appointment. These are Max Beloff, Fellow of All Souls and Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration at Oxford; and Frank Thistlethwaite, Fellow of St John's College and University Lecturer in Economic History at Cambridge. I shall return shortly to the reasons that lead me to feel that they would be suitable candidates.

Turning to the other side of the question -- that of an appointment in modern European history -- our problem seems to be simpler. I have recently talked twice with Gordon Craig. While neither of us could be very explicit in these discussions, Craig hinted strongly that once a decent interval had elapsed after his assumption of his new position at Leland Stanford, he would be receptive to an invitation to come to the Institute. I could not, of course, discuss this with him in any detailed way, and therefore no specific period of time could be mentioned. I should think that he would regard one or two years there as a reasonable time in which to meet his present commitment.

If I am correct in this impression, it means that we could, within two or three years, make what I believe would be an excellent and suitable appointment in modern European history. You will appreciate that once Craig leaves

Princeton at the end of this term, there will no longer be any formal impediment to our inviting him.

This combination of circumstances leads me to suggest a solution of our problem which would consist of appointing a European primarily for his background in American history, and an American primarily for his background in European history. I think this solution, while outwardly unusual, has considerable merit, not only in the specific circumstances at hand, but perhaps even in principle.

Let me now say a little more about Beloff and Thistlethwaite. While both have been here at the Institute as temporary members and are known to some of us personally, it will be useful to review their careers.

Beloff is now about 48 years old. He took his B.A. at Oxford in 1935 and a B.Litt. in 1937. From 1937-39 he had a Junior Research Fellowship at Corpus Christi College, at the end of which time he took his M.A. at Oxford. From 1939-46 he was an Assistant Lecturer in History at the University of Manchester. In 1946 he returned to Oxford as a Reader in Comparative Study of Institutions. In 1954, he spent a term here at the Institute. In 1957 he assumed his present position as Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration. He is married and has two boys who are, I believe, now away at school or college.

Whatever criticism might be levied against Beloff, it could not be on the point of narrowness of interest. On the contrary, he has spread himself widely -- some might think too much so. Since 1938 he has written, or collaborated in the authorship of, fifteen books. These have been divided among modern European history, early American history (1750-1830), and the

history of Soviet foreign policy. I have the impression, in fact, that Beloff, torn by a wide variety of interests, is one of those people the use of whose time has tended to be controlled more by pressures and suggestions coming to them from outside than by any systematic program of their own. If this predicament reflects weakness of character, I must leave the criticism of it to those who have been more consistently successful in resisting it than I myself have been.

Despite this dispersion of interests, what Beloff has written has been, in general, of a high order of competence. It is not for nothing that he has achieved the chair he now holds at Oxford. Among his various works, the best, in my estimation, have been the two-volume history of Soviet foreign policy in the 1930's (a restrained, objective, and careful study), and the things he has written on American history. These last have not been voluminous. They consist of (1) a book on Thomas Jefferson and American Democracy [Hodder and Stoughton Ltd. for The English Universities Press, London, 1948], (2) a long introduction to a documentary collection entitled The Debate on the American Revolution 1761-1783 [Nicholas Kaye, London, 1949], and (3) a set of lectures on The American Federal Government [Oxford University Press, New York & London, 1959]. (For some reason the published volume makes no mention of the origin of the book; but I have the impression that this book was made up of lectures delivered at Johns Hopkins University and that the work on it was done largely here at the Institute.)

Of the volume on Jefferson, the Times Literary Supplement reviewer wrote:

> We are in Mr. Beloff's debt for this first serious study of Jefferson to appear in England. Mr. Beloff is familiar with the vast Jeffersonian literature and he used it intelligently. Thomas

> Jefferson and American Democracy is, in effect, a history of the United States from the American Revolution in the 1770's up to the writing of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. Englishmen can ask for no better introduction to this important period.

The introduction to the volume entitled The Debate on the American Revolution, forty pages in length, seems to me to be a minor classic: an excellent review of the ideological background of the revolution, on both the British and American sides. It was considered of sufficient importance in England to be made the point of departure for a lead article in the Literary Supplement. The same was true of Beloff's inaugural lecture at Oxford, on "The Tasks of Government" -- a lecture in which he took issue with the teaching of political science in any way other than as a part of history.

The volume on The American Federal Government, discussing in historical perspective the various institutions of the American political system, seems to me to be of no lesser excellence than the others.

Beloff is an interpretative historian, not a factual one. His bent is for the history of ideas and institutions; and this is a field in which he moves with great firmness. His books are written with vigor, clarity, and grace of style. They reflect exhaustive study and thought.

Isaiah Berlin said of Beloff, when the latter applied in 1953 for membership at the Institute:

> ... I have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Beloff has made his mark both as a lecturer, a teacher and a general administrator more rapidly and more securely than almost anyone else of his time and generation. He has been a prolific, industrious, accurate and illuminating and often original writer on all the topics on which he deals. His volumes on Soviet foreign policy are authoritative in this field. His articles, reviews, broadcasts, etc., dealing with such various topics as modern French

> history, modern and mediaeval history, pre-war diplomatic documents, various aspects of Russian pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary developments and so forth are models of lucidity, concision and accuracy. ...

Beloff is not, outwardly, a warm person. Some, I think, have thought him gruff. I can recall an occasion, at an international conference in Milan, when he got up and demolished some of the speakers from the "under-developed areas" with a ruthlessness and forthrightness which I thought was intellectually deserved but which took us all aback and which certainly won him no friends at the moment in the Afro-Asian camp. On the other hand, no one in Oxford showed more real kindness to me when I was there. He took upon himself the burden of mediating between my unprecedented innocence and the various mysteries of University procedure: arranged my lectures, set up my seminars, etc. I would know of no reason, other than goodness of heart, which might have impelled him to do this. My own impression is that he, like many English people, is shy, and that the uncharitable competitiveness of English academic life has given him a somewhat harder protective shell than might otherwise have been the case.

An appointment of Beloff would have, as I see it, several advantages worth particular mention. First, he likes this country and is interested in it. He would, I feel sure, welcome the thought of spending a large portion of his time here. Secondly, his present occupation involves no direct teaching -- only lecturing; and no other institution would be seriously inconvenienced by his departure. Finally, and more important, his presence here would serve to continue -- at a time when it might otherwise tend to die out -- the tradition of work at this Institute in the field of recent diplomatic history which Earle, Woodward, Feis and others have developed

with much distinction and to which I have tried to add my bit. In this way, a continuity would be preserved which I consider to be valuable.

For these reasons, Beloff would be my first choice, among the English scholars in question. This is not, however, to say that Thistlethwaite stands far below him in ability and promise.

Thistlethwaite, who is two years younger, took his B.A. at Cambridge in 1938 (with a major in American History) and his M.A. at the same place in 1941. After service during the war in the R.A.F., the Ministry of Production, and Offices of the War Cabinet, he became a Fellow of St John's College in Cambridge, where he functioned first as tutor and then as University Lecturer in Economic History in the Faculty of Economics and Politics. He was at the Institute for Advanced Study in the first term of 1954-55. In the fall term of 1956 he lectured at the University of Pennsylvania, as the first Visiting Professor of American Civilization. Aside from a number of articles (almost exclusively on American subjects) his scholarly output has been small but excellent in quality. In 1955 he published The Great Experiment: An Introduction to the History of the American People [Cambridge University Press]. This is primarily a work of social and economic history, although it also deals with the development of political ideas. What it does not deal with is the federal government: the presidents and the evolution of national policy "at the highest level." Being myself inclined to find social history -- particularly the social history of this country -- intolerably dull, I must say that Thistlethwaite's work is an agreeable exception. I can read it with pleasure and admiration, and others have had the same reaction. It reflects an insatiable curiosity about the finer texture of American life in earlier

times, and brings to the analysis of this life the refreshing detachment and originality of one who did not have orthodox American history inflicted upon him on the school bench.

In 1959 Thistlethwaite published, under the title The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century [University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia], the lectures he had delivered in 1956 at the University of Pennsylvania. They, too, constitute social, economic, and intellectual history. They stand as a useful corrective to the general trend of American historiography, which has surely been to underplay the British influence on American society in the period following the revolution. This book, too, is in all respects admirable. Arthur Link, incidentally, has a very high opinion of it, as he has of the earlier one.

Thistlethwaite, in other words, in addition to having the deepest sort of intellectual interest in American history, has proved himself a highly competent social, economic, and cultural historian. He has not yet written anything which would make it possible to judge his abilities as a political historian; nor is there evidence that political history has particularly attracted him.

I may add that Woodward, whom I recently consulted, has a high opinion of both of these men. I hope I do not misquote his views when I give it as my impression that he would find the appointment of either of them quite in order. His first preference, however, would be for W. N. Medlicott; and I think, for this reason, that this name should also be examined.

Medlicott is Stevenson Professor of International History at London University. He was here at the Institute for the first term of 1957-58.

He has published, as part of the history of the Second World War put out by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, two ponderous volumes on the British economic blockade of the wartime period. He has also written several books on European diplomatic history of the past century. The Congress of Berlin and After [Methuen & Co., London, 1938] and its chronological continuation Bismarck, Gladstone, and the Concert of Europe [The Athlone Press, University of London, 1956] represent his most important works in this field. These books are of highest scholarly quality: painstaking, comprehensive, workmanlike. In addition to this, he has written a summary history of British Foreign Policy since Versailles [Methuen & Co., London, 1940] which is careful and competent.

Were it only a question of finding someone in the field of modern European history, and were there no chance of getting Craig, I would think we might well give consideration to Medlicott. However, the need to which I am addressing myself at this point is for someone who would lend strength in the field of American history. Beloff and Thistlethwaite meet this need; Medlicott does not.

To this discussion of British historians, I should perhaps add a fourth name: not, I think, as one which would come seriously into question at this moment but as one we might wish to bear in mind for the future. This is a much younger scholar (only 38 years of age): Mr. Marcus Cunliffe. What he is now doing, I do not know. I know only that he took his M.A. at Oxford in 1947 and his B.Litt. there in 1948. He has produced, in addition to one book on American literature, a volume entitled The Nation Takes Shape 1789-1837 [University of Chicago Press in the "Chicago History of American Civilization

Series," 1959] which is a positive delight to read, and which has won admiration in a number of quarters. Some think him the most promising man anywhere coming along in this field; and such perusal as I have been able to give to his book does nothing to weaken such a belief. Neither the stage he has reached in his academic career nor the volume of his output would warrant us, I think, in considering him for an appointment at this time; but he is certainly a man to keep an eye on.

So much for the British. I have not thought it necessary to say much about Craig, for you all know him or know of him. There is, I think, not an institution of higher learning in the country that would not be delighted to add him to their faculty. His field is, of course, recent German history and diplomatic history. His presence here, like that of Beloff, would go far to reinforce the tradition of diplomatic history which Earle and Woodward have established. I have no hesitation in recommending that he be added to our group as soon as this can tactfully be arranged.

* * *

In the light of the above, my own best judgment is that we should move at this time to offer an appointment to Max Beloff, it being understood that if he accepts, we would expect to supplement the move within a reasonable time by a similar invitation to Gordon Craig. Should this approach be adopted, I think it might be well to find some discreet means of letting Craig know (without commitment, of course, on either part) that he was likely to receive such an invitation within the next two or three years, for this would help him to avoid what might prove to be conflicting commitments; but this should be done only after Beloff's disposition has been ascertained. Should Beloff

not accept (I think this unlikely), the entire matter ought probably to be re-examined. We might then wish to invite Medlicott in preference to Thistlethwaite; but in this case we would have to reconsider Craig's appointment, since their fields of interest are very similar. It might be better, in such a case, to comb over the American field once more, with a view to finding someone who could give representation to the field of American history, which I think deserves some place in the spectrum of our interests.

The books mentioned above will be available for examination, until the morning of February 7, in Miss Horton's office. On the morning of the 7th, they will be available in the Director's office, before the meeting.

Very sincerely,

George Kennan
George Kennan

Copies to: Dr. Oppenheimer ✓
Professor Alföldi
Cherniss
Kantorowicz
Meiss
Meritt
Panofsky
Thompson
Miss Horton

GFK:dmh

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

copies in Historical Studies School minutes and in Medlicott's own file in Institute Miscellaneous

from Professor Kennan

March 13, 1961

Dear Robert:

Since the meeting on Thursday, I have been reflecting further on the nomination of Medlicott. The decision taken in the School was, as you know, a hard one from my standpoint, with pros and cons. I felt, at the time of the School meeting, that the pros somewhat overweighed the cons, and that to appoint Medlicott would be better than to make no appointment at all. Now, after further consideration, and after taking into account the reaction of some of our other faculty colleagues at the Thursday meeting, I am inclined to feel that the balance is somewhat the other way, and that it would be better for us to refrain from going ahead with an appointment in this field until we have someone whose person and qualifications would engender a greater sense of enthusiasm and conviction in our midst.

I come to this view sadly, in view of my own feelings about modern history; but other considerations seem to me, in their entirety, more important.

Since I cannot be at Monday's meeting, I hope you will find some means to bring the substance of this letter to the attention of my colleagues.

This represents a belated change of mind, and I can only offer my amends for whatever inconvenience this may have caused to my colleagues. To change one's mind seems to me reprehensible only if it is done too often. When it comes to faculty appointments it is, in any case, better than being wrong.

Sincerely yours,

Fac Kennan

18 October 1961

Dear Mrs. Beauchamp:

The e in Kennan is short, as in ken.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. Wilder Hobson)
Secretary to the Director

Mrs. W. T. Beauchamp
7 Briarcliff
Saint Louis 24
Missouri

7 Beaucliff
Saint Louis 24, Mo.
October 14, 1961

Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Sir:-

The address for Mr. George Frost Kennan is given in Who's Who as the Institute for Advanced Study. Mr. Kennan's latest book is now received at the St. Louis Public Library and the reviewer named like the same of the pronunciation by the name Kennan. Still, as I believe

I have read – Keenan, or, as one would suppose, with the short e?

I should greatly appreciate a reply.

Sincerely,

Janise J. Beauchamp
(Mrs W. T.)

Kennan

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.
THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

To meet

The Honorable George F. Kennan
United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia

THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

requests the pleasure of your presence

at an off-the-record meeting at

The Harold Pratt House
58 East Sixty-eighth Street

Tuesday afternoon, January sixteenth

at five-fifteen o'clock

Mr. Hamilton Fish Armstrong

Chairman

Subject of Discussion:
RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN
YUGOSLAV FOREIGN POLICY

Please mail the enclosed
card if you plan to attend

C O P Y C O P Y

American Embassy, Belgrade
September 22, 1961

Dear Robert:

In mid-July, I received from Arthur Link a letter enclosing a copy of his letter to you of June 27, concerning the place of diplomatic history at the Institute. With the opening of the new term, I am sure you will be having this problem on your mind. Whether the following thoughts, coming from one now so remote geographically and so little in touch, will be useful, I cannot know. I offer them on the chance.

There are, of course, three questions involved here, intimately connected but not identical. One is that of modern European history generally; another -- diplomatic history; a third -- American history. I would like to see an interest and competency in all three fields reflected in the composition of the Institute's faculty and in the work done there by temporary members.

Modern European history, in this sense, could mean anything from the beginning of the Renaissance down to World War II; and if the scope is to be broad enough to serve our purposes, it must embrace diplomatic history as well as that of domestic affairs. In the case of the history of European countries over these centuries it would be a narrow interest indeed, and one too highly specialized -- surely -- for our purposes, which did not include the external relations of these countries as well as phases of internal development.

The same applies to American history. Surely no American historian whose interests did not include the external relations of our country would be suitable for inclusion on the Institute faculty.

We could assume, therefore, that if appointments were made in either of these fields, strength would be added to the resources available for the pursuit of diplomatic history at the Institute.

And this, it seems to me, is the proper way for such strength to come. Diplomatic history is not a discipline in itself, nor is it separable from political history generally. Anything of any value written about the diplomacy of a country assumes an adequate knowledge of all those factors of internal life out of which impulses of diplomatic action emerge. Our problem comes back, therefore, to the one which caused us so much difficulty during this past term: the possibility of appointments in these fields of modern European history and American history.

I have respect for what I understand to be the opinion of some of my colleagues: that we should look for distinguished scholars where we can find them, taking their fields of interest as they come, and should not be concerned for the encouragement of one or another field of scholarship as such at the Institute. To the extent that this means we should not take people for the sake of encouraging work in a given field whose qualifications we would not otherwise consider adequate, I am thoroughly in agreement. However, I can see no reason why it should not be a source of concern to us that fields of knowledge which lend

themselves to inquiry at the Institute, and in relation to which valuable work has been accomplished there in the past, should continue to have their place among the objects of study within our walls. It seems to me that just as the existence of a strong collection of books in a given field always represents a commitment on library procurement policies, so the existence of strength in a given field at such an institution as ours, with the undefinable advantages of tradition and precedent it brings with it, represents in itself something worth cherishing and preserving and, if possible, continuing. I have no shame, therefore, in my feeling that we ought to be concerned for the continuation of modern history as a subject of study at the Institute and that for this reason we ought to be unhappy at the absence of modern historians on our faculty and anxious to correct the deficiency if we can properly do so within the limits of our own standards.

Even these standards, however, muct be taken with relation to the subject itself. They cannot be borrowed from other disciplines. I am inclined to doubt that you will ever find in the field of modern history the grand elder statesmen, revered and detached, who exist in other fields of inquiry and some of whom we have been privileged to have among our colleagues. Modern history is too close to the dust and sweat of the present. Its devotees are too apt to be carried off, as I myself have sometimes been, into the activities and the contradictions of the present day. There are exceptions, of course, but for some reason or other it seems to be a field that offers its attractions mostly to younger men. All these circumstances seem to me to constitute only reasons why we must ask ourselves whether the standards to be applied should be considered identical to those which we apply in other fields. I am not suggesting they should be more lax; I am only suggesting that their severity should be of a different nature.

. . .

Link's letter, of course, is directed specifically to diplomatic history. This is a problem which goes beyond the question of professorships, and includes memberships as well. Here again, I am inclined to think there will have to be somewhat greater flexibility than we have had in the past if the sort of thing that Link has in mind is ever to be realized. What we need is to be able to bring together a number of scholars of different ages and stages of development, and for varying times, depending on their work and their situation. I think, too, that we do need something in the way of regular contact between them and mutual criticism and discussion -- something akin to, perhaps, but certainly not identical with, the physics seminar. There is no one who is more skeptical than I about any form of collective work in the field of history, and this is not what I am suggesting. But the loneliness in which my own work was performed at the Institute in these recent years was extreme and in my view excessive. Aside from your own kind interest, (and I should also mention Eka's invaluable help in reviewing the manuscript of my first volume) Feis and Woodward were my only mainstays. Neither of them was always available, and neither will presumably be very much available in future. I think it would have been better for me had there been more people with whom I could have talked over what I was doing, and more people in whose work I had taken an interest, even if this delayed the accomplishment of my own. I agree with Link that Princeton is an admirable center (I would know of none better, anywhere in the world) for the pursuit of modern and recent diplomatic history. The Institute can offer unique facilities for this sort of work; and in my opinion the Institute will be impoverishing not only itself but the Princeton community if it fails, for reasons of mere administrative inelasticity, to do what it can along these lines.

I think this is all I can say that will be useful at this time. You know that I came away from Princeton last spring with a real feeling of concern for the future at the Institute of those fields of scholarship in which I could personally play only a tiny part but which I strongly feel ought not to lose their place in the activities of the Institute.

With warmest personal greetings to my colleagues on the Faculty,

Very sincerely,

/s/ George K.

George F. Kennan

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer
Director, The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

P.S. This has been, of necessity, hastily dictated, at the end of a long day and a long week, and only by kindness of Dorothy, who has faithfully stayed long after hours. Do forgive the obvious evidences of these circumstances.

June 13, 1962

Ambassador George F. Kennan
American Embassy
Belgrade
Yugoslavia

Dear Mr. Kennan:

Dr. Oppenheimer has asked me to write you about your pension arrangements. At the meeting of the Board of Trustees held in Princeton on April 6 and 7, the Board voted to increase faculty salaries to $25,000 and increase the minimum guaranteed pension through TIAA-CREF to $15,000.

The standard 5% contribution by the professor matched by a 5% contribution by the Institute for the balance of your tenure as an active professor will not produce the minimum guarantee, and the Institute is therefore adding $480.95 to the monthly payments in your behalf to TIAA-CREF. Previous additional payments on your policy were $134.76 per month.

You should know also that the Major Medical contract with TIAA has been modified to reduce the deductible after Blue Cross from $200 to $100.

Cordially yours,

Minot C. Morgan, Jr.
General Manager

MCM:lw

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

This is indeed a little quieter -

R.O.

Yes. Much more satisfactory.

ELW.

Fac Kennan

17 September 1958

Memorandum to Mr. Morgan:

On September 16th Professor and Mrs. Kennan gave a small dinner for the Vice Chancellor of Oxford. The expenses they incurred in connection with this dinner are a proper charge against the Entertainment Fund of the Institute. Professor Kennan will bill you when he has the figures.

Robert Oppenheimer

Copy to Professor Kennan

Fac Kennan

5 December 1957

Dear Professor Poland:

Responding to your enquiry of December 3rd, this note is to inform you that Professor Kennan expects to remain in England for the entire academic year.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. Wilder Hobson)
Secretary to the Director

Professor Burdette C. Poland
Department of History
The University of Nebraska
Lincoln 8, Nebraska

Kennan

3 June 1957

Dear Professor Kennan:

As you know, the Trustees of the Institute for Advanced Study have been considering the adequacy of retirement and pension arrangements, both for the Faculty and for others who are in the employ of the Institute. Their deliberations have led to some changes in policy, all of which should be favorable for the employee, and some of which affect you.

1. The mandatory age for retirement for members of the Faculty has been advanced to the June 30th following their 70th birthday.

2. For those who have come to the Institute before the age of 55, the T.I.A.A. contracts will provide a minimum annual pension after retirement at 70 which, when supplemented by Social Security benefits, will come to $10,000.

3. The Institute will ask that members of the Faculty continue to contribute five per cent of their salary to T.I.A.A. The Institute will match this contribution as it has in the past, and will also make such additional payment as may be required under the T.I.A.A. contract. In your case the increase in annual payments made by the Institute will be slightly in excess of $2,500.

4. In estimating your pension at $10,000, Social Security benefits of about $1,300 per year have been included. If, after retirement, you should in any calendar year earn more than $1,200, you would waive part of Social Security payments. This does not apply to supplementary unearned income. These provisions are in accord with present Federal legislation and administrative rulings, which may, of course, be changed.

5. The Institute will allocate the maximum that it may, which is fifty per cent of the total annual contribution that you and the Institute make toward your retirement, to College Retirement Equities Fund. This fund has been established in order that beneficiaries may be provided with a hedge against inflation, through investment in equities whose value and whose income have increased with the years in the past, and are expected to increase in the future. The Trustees are aware of the fact that benefits from C.R.E.F. vary as provided in C.R.E.F. contracts, and are not guaranteed as those accruing under T.I.A.A.; but they believe that, under the C.R.E.F.-T.I.A.A. arrangement, your total retirement benefits are more likely to exceed $10,000 than to fall below this sum.

Within the next months you will receive a new contract from T.I.A.A. describing the provisions under which your retirement benefits will be paid. Should you have any questions about that contract or this letter, or the matters touched upon in it, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Very sincerely,

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor G. Kennan
Institute for Advanced Study

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
LINCOLN 8, NEBRASKA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

December 3, 1957

The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

Gentlemen:

A committee of the University of Nebraska is currently giving consideration to a list of possible candidates for a speaker for an Honors Convocation scheduled for mid-April of 1958. Among those persons being considered is Professor George Kennan.

In discussing the possibilities of his coming, it has come to our attention that Professor Kennan is at the present time lecturing in Great Britain. I should be very grateful if you could tell me whether Professor Kennan is expected to remain in England for the entire academic year, or whether he is expected to return to this country by early spring. If the latter is the case, I should also appreciate having his English address, if this is available.

Inasmuch as our committee has not yet made a final decision on the individual it desires for this address, I should appreciate it if you would regard this inquiry as confidential.

Sincerely yours,

Burdette C. Poland

Burdette C. Poland
Assistant Professor

Kennan

7, Merton Street,
Oxford.
Tel. 47404.

10 March, 1958

Dear Robert,

It was a very wise and understanding letter which you wrote me on the 28th and I am grateful for it. I recognize the force of what you say, and will not attempt to make decisions about the future at this time. The pressures of the coming academic year, and even the one after it, are already beginning to come upon me, and I fear they will increase in volume from here on out. I am rejecting them all with the statement that I do not expect to make plans at this time for the period following my return.

We are going away to Portugal for a short holiday at the end of this month, but will be back here about April 15 and will remain here until June 7 when we are leaving Oxford for good, going first to Norway and then home. I have kept the latter half of May reasonably unburdened, thus far, and I am sure we can arrange to meet at that time.

I do not feel that you were at all foolish to try to dissuade Grace from her wedding plans. It was a disappointment to us both that she felt it necessary to have this sort of a wedding, but it may have represented some sort of a need for her, and perhaps it was all to the good. Personally, I think American wedding customs are wasteful, self-defeating and barbaric.

I have now completed all the regular academic lecturing I am going to do this year. I gave 18 lectures in all, and think that it is generally recognized in the Oxford community (one has to sense these things here: no-one ever tells you) that this represented about all that I could do within the limits of my strength and in the face of other demands on my time. I am still holding regular seminars and am now addressing a number of the student associations whose invitations I was unable to accept earlier in the year. When I return from Portugal I have a guest lecture at Cambridge and a few other similar engagements outside of Oxford.

With love to Kitty,

George ~~Kennan~~

Mr. Robert Oppenheimer,
The Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, New Jersey.

Fac Kennan

28 February 1958

Dear George:

Thank you for your good letter. It has just come, but I am impelled to answer it without delay. I think I know something of the pressure, the adulation, and the criticism with which you have had to live. From Miss Hessman I have learned a little of your health, and fear that it is not too good. It is a time when one wishes for friendship more than human powers.

Thus I wish that I could write at once to put your mind at rest, both in your analysis of the quandary in which you find yourself, of the alternatives that are before you, and in your choice of alternatives. Perhaps when I have had your letter some time, and thought more of it, I shall be able to do that; but on all three counts I find myself assailed with doubts and question. Some of these may disappear as I think further; others may disappear when we have occasion to talk; a few, I think, will not easily be dissipated.

What I am most clear about is that you should not attempt to make so grave a set of decisions at the present time, or under the present circumstances. The pressure of interest in which you live is itself toxic, and your ill health and fatigue, and the inevitable emotions of these months' adventure, must almost disqualify you from thinking of the years ahead with serenity or any true clarity. I know that it is a comfort to believe oneself assured in decisions for the future; but if the Institute is to mean what it can to you, it must surely mean that you are free to return here with no clear notion of what you will do next, and with the confidence that here you will find, in terms of the years that you have spent here, and perhaps with some help from us, a gradual settling of the issues. In any case, I beg you not to rush for a conclusion when everything about you makes the reaching of it more difficult and more treacherous.

It will not be long before we plan to be in Europe. We should get to Paris by the 20th of April. I would gladly come to see you, either in Oxford or in London, and even more gladly welcome you in Paris. I would want to do that even if we did not have such grave

problems as those you review in your letter. We do not have a certain Paris address, though my office will be at the Ecole Normale. When we do, I shall send it along. In any case, we have yours, and I will be in touch with you.

Some weeks ago we had an evening with Grace and her young man, who by tomorrow will be her husband. We liked him very, very much. I was foolish enough to try to talk Grace out of having so ceremonial a wedding in your absence, but that was not to be done. Kitty and I thought that you would both be very happy with your son-in-law.

I have now read most of the Decision to Intervene. I do not know whether, as you said, it is far better than Vol. I; but I thought it was, and enjoyed it even more. We miss you very much, no less for the length of your absence. We had many talks with Feis and Bohr and Niebuhr which would, I think, have pleased you in their tone and drift, and were, we felt, not wholly removed from the deep questions which have been the origin of so much of the turmoil that your words evoked.

We have had the foulest weather too, with more snow and cold than one can remember. I can wish you nothing better than an English spring, which has a quality of healing and of hope unlike any other that I know. May it come soon.

Our love to Annelise and to you,

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor George Kennan
8 B Merton Street
Oxford
England

8 B MERTON STREET
OXFORD

February 21, 1958.

Dear Robert:

This letter is just to bring greetings to you and Kitty and to tell you of the direction my mind is moving in with regard to my own work after return to the Institute next summer.

I have been really jolted by the situation in which I find myself here at Oxford. Not one person in a hundred who approaches me is in any way interested in my work as an historian; they want, for the most part, to talk only of contemporary affairs. At least four-fifths of my time, I should imagine, has gone either to staving off, or attempting to satisfy, these demands. The fifteen lectures that I have been able to deliver, in the Schools, on historical subjects, have all had to be prepared in ~~time~~ odds and ends of time, snatched with great difficulty and usually at the cost of ~~some~~ indignation somewhere along the line, from the endless series of letters, phone-calls, visits and appointments connected with contemporary affairs. In these circumstances I don't feel that I have been able to give anything resembling adequate attention to the work I came here for; I shall probably not be able to complete the scheduled lecture series at all; and I have the feeling, for the first time, of being completely and hopelessly over my depth.

Reason tells me that things are not apt to be greatly better when I get back to the Institute. This problem is not going to be solved by my change of scene.

I cannot see myself going on this way: gingerly poking a finger from time to time into the whirlpool of the discussion of public affairs, only to spend the next six months trying to get it out again; and I have been thinking very hard about the

possible routes of exit from this curious involvement. There seem to me to be three:

(1) To withdraw rigidly and completely from every form of participation in the discussion of contemporary events, public and private, and hold to that position until people forget about me and I cease to be news.

This is superficially tempting; but I am afraid things are not as simple as this. I have to recognize that I am now the custodian, deservedly or not, of a voice which is listened to by millions of people with interest and respect, and not as an institutional voice but as an individual one. There are not so many voices of this sort in our western world today. The custodianship of one has possibilities for good as well as for evil; and the former ought not to be lightly sacrificed for reasons of mere personal convenience. It is gradually dawning on me that there are a great many people who have confidence in me and who look to me to react, from time to time, to things that are happening. I don't think that it would be right toward these people just to disappear and to leave them guessing about what has happened to me.

(2) To yield to the pressure completely and to join people like Paul Nitze or Chet Bowles in constituting a sort of Greek chorus, presiding over the march of current events. I say this without meaning to disparage in any way this sort of a life, from the standpoint of these other people. I think they perform a very useful service. But I don't think it is my dish. It has very little to do with scholarships; ~~and I~~ it would inevitably draw me into

political activity. I should not feel comfortable about remaining at the Institute, if I were to lead this life. But the moment I abandon the habit and obligation of scholarship, I lose the very detachment and disinterestedness which now give me whatever strength I have as a voice in public affairs. If I had to earn my living as a commentator, I would have to give up precisely the thing for which many people now look to me with confidence.

(3) The last alternative, and the only one that commends itself even partially to me, would be to return to the Institute and to endeavor to carry on as a scholar but to shift the focus of my work from diplomatic history to what is now called Sovietology — Soviet studies.

This would have the unquestionable advantage of resolving the conflict between what I am actually studying and what people expect me to be studying. It would enable me to receive and talk with a great many people without having the feeling that I am encroaching on what I ought really to be doing. It would make it possible for me to accept ~~an~~ speaking engagements with the ~~the~~ feeling that I would be talking about things I know something about, instead of studying one thing and then being provoked into speaking about others. It would give me what is certainly one of the best of platforms for the discussion of current events generally; ~~for~~ and this is a subject which, as I think you will agree, should never be approached except obliquely, from the terra firma of some real discipline. Finally, it would make it possible for me to give the occasional assistance to friends in government which I have been asked to give anyway in recent years, without

this seeming to be a digression and a detraction from my regular work.

This also has its disadvantages. Princeton is not really a very good place for Soviet studies. No one else there does this sort of thing. Library facilities are not what they are at Harvard or Columbia (although they are no worse than at Oxford). Also, I have enjoyed writing history, felt it a fair challenge to the mind and the imagination and the power of the written word — a clean, proper task, thoroughly honorable and dignified, and endless in its possibilities. I feel that I am only now beginning to learn something about it; with another two or three years, I would be surer and stronger in it. I am sorry to leave it at this point. But I don't think these considerations are compelling.

If I were to make this change, I should not cease to follow work in the field of modern history, as distinct from writing it. I would hope to do at least a small part of what Ed Earle used to do in keeping in touch with this field; and I hope that the contribution I would be able to make to the work of the faculty at the Institute would not be diminished.

What would you think of this? There are fields of Soviet life, particularly literature and historical science, which are relatively little studied and analyzed in our country; and for this sort of thing, in particular, I feel that I am well qualified. It is practically a full-time job to read the Soviet literary and historical journals and the bound literature of this sort — not for intelligence purposes,

which would be the only reason why they were being scanned in Washington today, but as a straight intellectual-critical exercize, designed to illuminate one very intimate and significant side of the development of Soviet society. One might really broaden the area of focus to embrace cultural life, generally, leaving the economic and the military and the political to other people.

Do you think this would be a proper interest for a professor at the Institute? I feel that I could give it as much, in integrity and detachment of approach, as I can give to diplomatic history. And it would ease greatly the no longer tolerable tension between private scholarly interest and public expectation.

~~[illegible]~~ So much for the professional problem. We are having a hard time, this winter. All families have them, from time to time; but I think Oxford has a way of accentuating them. It is just the usual round of illness, servants, baby-sitters, etc. Christopher has such ear trouble, what with one infection and another, that his hearing is now in some jeopardy; he has been in school only one week since early December; and since there is no real outdoors for him at this time of the year, he hangs about the flat, week after week, dependent on his children's books, or the well-worn toys which he is rapidly outgrowing, and such fragments of time as I am able to give him. We know from our younger years of marriage that these times come and go; and this, too, will eventually yield to the spring and to the love of life which all

of us still have. We will be glad when it does.

Until mid-March I have a fairly intensive schedule of lectures and seminars. I may then take the family to Portugal, ~~until mid-P~~ for a two or three week holiday.

With affectionate regards to all of the Oppenheimers

As ever

George.

P.S. Had lunch yesterday with Weisskopf. He is enjoying his year at Geneva.

Kennan

copy to Mr. Morgan

5 April 1957

Dear Professor Kennan:

At their meeting on April 4, 1957, the Trustees of the Institute for Advanced Study voted to approve your request for leave of absence without pay for the academic year 1957-1958, during the period of your Eastman Professorship at Oxford.

Very sincerely,

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor George Kennan
Institute for Advanced Study

attach to the minutes of 3/28

Kennan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

March 22, 1957

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer:

I am very sorry to have to be absent from the Faculty meeting on the 28th.

I was grateful for the frankness and explicitness with which the pros and cons of André Weil's proposed appointment were set forth at the last meeting, and have given careful thought to the questions involved.

I am of course unable to undertake any independent assessment of the scientific contribution that Weil might be expected to make here, as a professor; and I cannot, therefore, weigh this accurately against the risks that would seem to be involved. This being the case, I would not wish my vote to stand against the final consensus of feeling in the mathematics group, and will ask that it be added to whatever that consensus is.

I would like to say, however, that I have misgivings about this appointment, and would be happier if we did not have to proceed with it at this time. Weil is, as I understand it, slated to come here anyway as a member within one or two years. If, after association with him in that capacity over the course of some months, we felt reassured about his personal qualifications for a position on the Faculty, then there would be no obstacle to the appointment.

I am much impressed, just on the basis of my own brief acquaintance with the work of the Faculty, with the vital importance of preserving collegial relations marked at all times by forebearance, tolerance, and restraint, and with the realization of how much harm a single discordant personality could do in this respect. This is why I feel we should seek maximum assurance on these counts, before we add to our number.

Sincerely yours,

George Kennan
George Kennan

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer,
Director,
The Institute for Advanced Study.

Copy to Dr. Oppenheimer

Kennan

Feb. 13, 1957.

Dear Dana:

With reference to the conversation we had on Monday, I thought it might be useful if I were to try to sum up on paper my reaction to the suggestion you were good enough to make. It is this:

a) I have not yet made any definite plans for the academic year 1958-59, and will have to give careful thought to this in the near future. Anything I can say about it at this time is therefore only tentative.

b) I do not intend, when I return, to resume writing immediately; and I would like, in principle, to make a contribution to the work of the University. This contribution could not be full time, or anything like it; but it could, conceivably, be regular in nature.

c) I would wish to be sure that whatever I undertook to do represented the most useful contribution I could make -- that all possibilities, in other words, had been examined and weighed comparatively. I recognize that the University would be the best judge of this.

Thank you again for the luncheon.

Sincerely,

/s/ GEORGE KENNAN

Copy:dmh

Copy for Mrs Hansen
Kennan

From: Henry Allen Moe, Treasurer
Association of American Rhodes Scholars
551 Fifth Avenue, New York City 17

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY MORNING, JANUARY 31, 1957:

The University of Oxford announced today the appointment of George Frost Kennan, Professor in the School of Historical Studies at The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, as George Eastman Visiting Professor in the University of Oxford for the academic year 1957-58. Professor Kennan will take up his duties at Oxford in October 1957.

The Eastman Professorship was established in 1930 by the late George Eastman, founder of the Eastman Kodak Company. The list of previous incumbents of the Chair include two Nobel Prize winners, Dr. Arthur H. Compton of Washington University, St. Louis, and Dr. Linus Pauling of the California Institute of Technology; Justice Felix Frankfurter of the United States Supreme Court; the late Professor Wesley Mitchell of Columbia; Professor Benjamin D. Meritt of the Institute for Advanced Study; Professor Willard V. Quine of Harvard; and Professor Wallace Notestein of Yale.

The funds of the Eastman Professorship are held in trust by The Chase Manhattan Bank of New York for the Association of American Rhodes Scholars. The Board of Electors to the Eastman Professorship consists of two members selected by the Association of American Rhodes Scholars and two selected by the Hebdomadal Council of the University of Oxford, with the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford as Chairman.

Mr. Kennan was United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1952. He is the author of several books, including "American Diplomacy, 1900-1950", which won the 1951 Freedom House Award; "Realities of American Foreign Policy"; and "Russia Leaves the War", the first of three volumes on Soviet-American relations 1917-1920.

Kennan

YALE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
333 CEDAR STREET · NEW HAVEN 11 · CONNECTICUT

Department of the History of Medicine
Historical Library

31 December 1955

Dr. Robert Oppenheimer
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

My dear Robert:

By now you will have seen the notice of George Kennan's address as given in the New York Times. I heard it more or less by accident as Kennan at a distance looks like our President, Lynn Thorndike. It was really a most magnificent speech and more than a thousand professional historians in attendance gave him a rousing, standing ovation after he had finished. Individual historians hold him in the highest regard and they feel that the Institute should be congratulated on his appointment there. A critical fellow like I. Bernard Cohen went out of his way to tell me this — also Harry Rudin.

Very sincerely yours,

John

John F. Fulton, M.D.

Copy to Mr. Wilmarth S. Lewis

attach to minis Nov 15 mtg

Kennan

Release: Friday, December 16, 1955

PRESS RELEASE

The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey

The Institute for Advanced Study announces three new appointments to its Faculty--two in the School of Historical Studies and one in the School of Mathematics. The two new professors in the School of Historical Studies are Andrew Alföldi, authority in the study of Pagan and Christian Rome and Byzantium; and George Kennan, for many years a foreign service officer, Counsellor of the Department of State, Ambassador to Moscow, now engaged in studies of diplomatic history. Dr. Chen Ning Yang, mathematical physicist noted for his work in fundamental physics and subatomic theory, has been elected Professor in the School of Mathematics.

The Institute further announces that Professor Alexandre Koyré, historian of science and philosophy, of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, has accepted an appointment as member at the Institute during the next five years. The Institute further announces the return for the coming semester of five distinguished members--Mr. Jean Gottmann, geographer, of Paris; Dr. Kunihiko Kodaira, mathematician, of Princeton; Dr. Otto Neugebauer, historian of mathematics, of Providence; Dr. Wolfgang Pauli, physicist, of Zurich; and Miss Veronica Wedgwood, historian, of London.

-30-

Fac Kennan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

December 1 1955

Dear Oppenheimer

Thank you very much for your letter. It is most kind of you to agree with my proposals and to send them to the Chairman and Treasurer.

The enclosed - which I have cut out of The Observer today - is curiously relevant to our recent Faculty discussions. It isn't often that I find myself agreeing both with Toynbee and Butterfield - and I don't agree with everything in his news-cs.

Toynbee's diagnosis of "self-complacency" in his colleagues applies, in my
-and to Butterfield!-
opinion, more aptly to himself - but the marked passages
in the review might well serve us - Trustees and Faculty -
as a text for answering any criticism of our action - if
indeed we had need rather to answer anybody.

Yours sincerely

E L Woodward.

Fac Kennan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

November 30, 1955

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer:

I have your letter of November 28, offering me an appointment as Professor in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study.

This appointment is a source of deep gratification to me, and I accept it happily.

I am conscious of the unusual confidence the Faculty and Trustees of the Institute have shown me by this appointment in a field of endeavor I entered so late in life, and earnestly hope that I may be useful, in this new position, to the purposes the Institute is concerned to promote.

Very sincerely yours,

George F. Kennan

George F. Kennan

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer,
Director, The Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, New Jersey.

copy to Mr. Morgan

28 November 1955

Dear Mr. Kennan:

It is with great pleasure that I write to offer you a Professorship in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study. I do this on the recommendation of the Faculty and with the concurrence of the Trustees of the Institute. This appointment could start with the New Year, January 1st, 1956.

You know the Institute well enough so that I can usefully mention to you only those respects in which a Professorship differs from your present position as a Member. You may retire at any time after your 65th birthday, and according to our present rules must retire on the June 30th after your 68th birthday. Your salary has been set at $18,000 a year. We shall make available to you $1,000 a year to cover the expenses of travel for professional purposes, and this fund is cumulative up to a total of $3,000. We should be glad to contribute 5% of your salary each year toward provision for your retirement, provided you do the same. You are entitled to have a professional research assistant should you desire one, or to contribute the fund so budgeted as a grant for a member in whose work you are interested.

As a Professor, you will share with your colleagues and me the responsibility for the academic policies of the School of Historical Studies and for important academic policies involving the Faculty as a whole. Occasionally there may be administrative matters which are either important or interesting to the Faculty. For the rest, it would be our hope that the new and fruitful work and the companionship which have characterized your past years here would continue and grow.

Very sincerely,

Robert Oppenheimer

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

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

9 November 1955

To the Trustees of the Institute for Advanced Study:

At a meeting of the Faculty of the Institute on March 8, 1955, the School of Historical Studies reported its unanimous nomination of George F. Kennan for a professorship in that School. As is our custom, this nomination lay over to enable members of the Faculty to consider its wisdom. On March 22nd the Faculty voted to defer its decision to a meeting to be held not later than the end of November, 1955.

This appointment clearly differs in important ways from any recently made to the Institute's Faculty; and it has proved to be controversial. Some elements of the controversy are suggested in the enclosed letters. The controversy was resolved at a meeting on November 8, 1955, at which the Faculty approved the appointment by a vote of 13 to 5, all members voting. I shall be prepared to report fully the substance of the diverging views at our forthcoming meeting.

Robert Oppenheimer

enclosures

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Princeton, New Jersey

School of Mathematics

November 7, 1955

Dear Colleagues:

Having carefully considered and discussed the proposal raised by the School of Historical Studies that the faculty recommend the appointment of Mr. Kennan to a professorship at the Institute, we have found such important arguments against this proposal that we must strongly advise against it and shall vote accordingly at the eventual decision. Our view in this matter can be summarized in the following two principal points:

1. The Institute for Advanced Study is a center for serious scholarly research and a prerequisite for any professorship there should be scholarly merits and achievements of outstanding quality. Non-scholarly merits, to the extent they are present, should only be taken into account to distinguish between two or more men who meet the requirement of outstanding scholarship to an equal degree. We consider any departure from these fundamental principles as a grave step which might endanger the Institute's future and undermine its position in the academic community.

2. Mr. Kennan's published books are directed to the general public and are largely propagandistic. The historical analyses contained in them are of questionable value as is borne out by letters from leading historians. His first attempt at serious scholarly research is a manuscript on the Russian-American relations during the period 1917-1920. Its chief virtue, as far as can be judged now, seems to consist in making a coherent and clearly written narrative out of the used sources. Whether all important facts have been accounted for, whether the sources have been well chosen and impartially used is still open to doubt and can be decided only by specialists in the field. Such a decision could hardly be expected until the book has been published and a number of years have elapsed. It should also be recalled that the manuscript now in existence has not even progressed to the most important phases of Russian-American relations during this period, since it covers only the time from the fall of 1917 to the spring of 1918. Under these circumstances we consider a recommendation by the faculty for an appointment of Mr. Kennan at the present stage of his scholarly career as at least grossly premature and without precedent.

Inadequate scholarly qualifications would be especially harmful in the present case because Mr. Kennan is a well known political figure.

A. Beurling
K. Gödel
D. Montgomery
A. Selberg

cc: A. Alföldi
A. Beurling
H. F. Cherniss
F. J. Dyson
K. Gödel
E. Kantorowicz
B. D. Meritt
D. Montgomery
M. Morse
R. Oppenheimer ✓
A. Pais
E. Panofsky
A. Selberg
H. A. Thompson
J. von Neumann
H. Whitney
L. Woodward
C. N. Yang

November 4, 1955

Dear Robert:

Thank you for your letter of November 3. I am much obliged to you for arranging for a general distribution of my letter. This is certainly a better process than circulating it.

I am also very appreciative of your readiness to present in the meeting, if this should be desired, the points that I am making.

You refer to a sentence in my letter, "On this, the professional opinion, as far as it is available, does not seem to be entirely favorable," and you point out that it is obscure. What I had in mind is the third paragraph in Craig's letter to Woodward of October 16. He discusses there what he considers to be the nominee's limitations as a historian, and states that his criticisms under this heading apply to the unpublished book, also.

Faithfully,

John

John von Neumann

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, Director
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

3 November 1955

Dear John:

Thank you for your letter of November 1st. The arguments which led you to send a copy to Montgomery and Kantorowicz seem to me to apply to everyone on the Faculty; I am accordingly having your letter reproduced and transmitted.

For most of what you write I have, I think, an adequate understanding; and I should be able, if called on, to make some comments which you would probably recognize as a reasonable statement of your case. There is one exception; and although the point would not seem to play an essential part in your argument, I will raise it, because I simply do not know what you mean. Writing of the nominee, you say: "Of his works, the unpublished book alone is suited for consideration in connection with the proposed appointment." This sentence I understand. You go on: "On this, the professional opinion, as far as it is available, does not seem to be entirely favorable." This is the sentence I do not understand; what is it all about?

Faithfully,

Robert Oppenheimer

Dr. John von Neumann
Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D. C.

November 1, 1955

Dear Robert:

I have your circular letter to the faculty, dated October 24, 1955, stating that a faculty meeting will be held at 10:30 a.m., on November 8, and that the first item on its agenda will be the consideration of a nomination by the School of Historical Studies for a professorship. The first enclosure, entitled "Supplementary Statement of the School of Historical Studies" nominates George Kennan.

To my regret, I cannot be in Princeton on November 8. I am, therefore, writing to you to state my views and my vote. I would be obliged to you if you would communicate these to my colleagues at the meeting. Since this letter in full may be too long for the faculty meeting, I am sending copies, for their preliminary orientation and information, to Ernst Kantorowitz and Deane Montgomery.

I have read the "Supplementary Statement," as well as the additional attachments, the letters from I. Berlin, G. Craig (two letters), H. Dodds, T. Mommsen, P. Mosely, O. Vossler, R. Billington (two letters), and J. Strayer.

In addition to these, I discussed, before the end of last year, the Kennan proposal with Woodward, Cherniss, Kantorowitz, and I have read his Chicago lectures and his Frankfurt lectures. I had no occasion to read the manuscript of his latest, unpublished, book, but with regard to this I am relying on Craig's evaluation.

After a thorough reconsideration of all that has been said and done in this matter, I find that the nomination is open to the same decisive objections as before.

Kennan is a distinguished public figure but not, so far, an historian. Of his works, the unpublished book alone is suited for consideration in connection with the proposed appointment. On this, the professional opinion, as far as it is available, does not seem to be entirely favorable. Clearly, an appointment to a professorship at the Institute should be based on more than a single publication, particularly if this is one that has not yet stood the test of a general review and discussion by the professional fraternity, and when there is no evidence of its exceptional character.

The Eastman Professorship in Oxford is a one-year appointment. All possible inferences from this have already been allowed for by the Institute in the past, by giving Kennan a five-year membership.

I cannot avoid the conclusion that the only qualifications that can be adduced in favor of this appointment are non-academic ones. I have a great respect and admiration for many of the non-academic virtues and accomplishments. However, I feel strongly that in considering a man for a major academic position we should leave these out of consideration until we have satisfied ourselves that the proposed appointment can be justified on strictly academic grounds alone.

I greatly regret that I must cast my vote in opposition to the desire of my humanistic colleagues. I would not do this if I were not convinced that we are dealing here with an important matter of principle on which no compromise can be made without compromising the Institute. May I, therefore, ask that, if the matter comes to a vote on November 8, you have me recorded as voting in the negative.

With best regards,

As ever,

John

John von Neumann

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer
Director, The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

cc: Ernst Kantorowitz
Deane Montgomery

Kennan

25 October 1955

Dear Bram:

You will be having an account of the crowded schedule for the one copy of the manuscript which we still and legitemately have. If we can get it to you we shall; the chances are perhaps not too good. I am sure, however, that I can have it available by Monday afternoon before our meeting, and that if you can come down that afternoon or evening you can at least have a good look at it and see what it is like.

Both Harold and I of course feel that your decision as to whether to come or not to come to the meeting is yours alone; but we both share the feeling that if you did come, irrespective of how carefully you had studied the manuscript, it might well turn out to be a good thing.

Robert Oppenheimer

Dr. A. Pais
Apartment 5C
47 Perry Street
New York, New York

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

OXFORD
9 AM
19 SEP
1955
A

To The Director
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton N.J.
U.S.A.

← Second fold here →

Sender's name and address: Sir L Woodward
33 Museum Rd
Oxford.

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

66

To open cut here

33 Museum Road. Oxford. September 19. 1955.

Dear Oppenheimer

I hope you and Mrs Oppenheimer have come back really well after a good holiday in the West Indies, and that you will have a good year without any of the intolerable disturbances of your peace and your work. We arrive on October 4. I have got on surprisingly well with my F.O. mandates, and would have tried to change our passage to a week earlier, but I wanted Marie to see her specialist here once more before leaving - and he went away while we were in Switzerland and doesn't get back until Sept 25. M. has had a very poor time this summer & we were very much worried in June and early July about her, but the experts here have found out what was wrong, and she is already better, though not yet right, and she has to keep to the most monotonous diet which will, I think, drive me straight to drink!

I have been thinking a lot about the Kennan question which we fixed to settle before Christmas. I have from my friend William Strang (formerly of the F.O.) that K. is going for a short time to London in October to look up material for his book. I wonder if it would be possible for him to have a copy of the MS - I expect he has two copies - for us to read. I'm fairly sure that, having read it, we shall find it much easier to meet the arguments put to us last term, and the sooner we can get the matter settled, the better, from all points of view. As for another modern historian, I am no further on - I have talked about American historians to people here, but they aren't of course the

expected to know more than what I always call the Picture cards in the Pack, and, alas, the Picture cards are all elderly gents like myself! Craig's book is out, and I will renew hope! I haven't seen it yet –

Hunt – the keeper of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian whom we thought of inviting to the Institute next year, has told me that unfortunately he can't get away. It is, I think, ~~Known~~, possible that ~~Bodley~~ the Librarian of the Bodleian might likely like to come. Anyway I can talk to you about this, and about the anthropologist Audrey Richards – now at Makerere College, Uganda, whom I mentioned to you, and another possible candidate for an invitation.

I'm doing a long broadcast on Sunday – BBC have been very good about giving me ½ hour at the best time of the week – 9.15 pm on Sunday. I'm putting a number of questions which I can't answer, and I would much like – if you have time – to see what your answers would be.

Yours sincerely
EL Woodward

First fold here

23 March 1955

Dear Pan:

Herewith Kay's notes on the opening phase of yesterday's meeting. They are in part stenographic; in part they are reconstructions that I tried to make of the places she missed. They are not accurate: some sentences have been lost, and some sentences I am sure I have reconstructed incorrectly. When you are through, I would propose that you destroy them; they are only for your convenience in refreshing your memory, and deciding what points should be in the minutes. This is the only copy.

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor Panofsky
Institute for Advanced Study

enclosure

16 October

Dear Woodward:

I was sorry that I didn't have more time to talk to you on Friday about George Kennan's book, but I guess cocktail parties are not the best occasions for that kind of discussion anyway.

Herb Bailey sent the manuscript to me for my opinion as to whether the University Press should publish it or not. I had no hesitation about replying that they should certainly do so. I am not, of course, an "expert" on Russian history - or American, for that matter - but, as far as I could judge, the scholarship was sound, and I was impressed by the tremendous amount of work which George had done in basic source materials before sitting down to write. The story of the confusion in American circles in Petersburg is excellently done and, as a study of the difficulties which can arise from the proliferation of quasi-diplomatic agencies without clear definition of function and competence, the book is fascinating. In addition, of course, it is beautifully written and a joy to read. I should judge that this is a book which will receive considerable attention - and deserved attention - when it appears.

Even so, as I said on Friday, the doubts which I expressed in my earlier letter to you about the possibility of appointing George as professor of history at the Institute have not been removed. He has a long way to go before he will be a historian in the sense that you and Kantorowicz are historians. Even in the present manuscript, he is apt on occasion to stop being the objective historian and to slip into the role of the polemicist, arguing the case

of 1950 from the circumstances of 1917. In addition, I still feel that, if the Institute is going to appoint a historian, it should be a man who is recognized by the historical profession as a distinguished historian. If you asked ten historians what they thought of George I am sure they would all speak highly of his work. But if you asked them to draw up a list of distinguished American historians, I doubt whether they would include him.

I could, of course, be wrong about this. In any case I thought that I should tell you what I thought of his book.

Sincerely,

G. A. Craig

Supplementary Statement of the School of Historical Studies

At a meeting of the Faculty held on March 8, 1955, the School of Historical Studies reported that it had voted unanimously to propose the election of Mr. George F. Kennan to a professorship in the Institute, and in support of this proposal laid before the Faculty at that time a statement concerning Mr. Kennan's career, character, and achievements. The Faculty having decided to defer a decision on this proposal to a meeting to be held during the present term and there having been in the interim the opportunity for further inquiry, thought, and discussion concerning the merits of the proposal, the School wishes now to make a statement by way of supplement to its earlier document of nomination.

We recognize that consideration of the proposal involves answers to two questions: first, whether the Institute should continue to support the study of recent political history, and second, if it should support such study, whether Mr. Kennan is not merely a suitable candidate for a professorship in this field of study but an eminent one and the best available.

With regard to the first question we call the attention of the Faculty to the facts that immediately after the death of Professor Earle the Director expressed the hope that the pursuit of studies in Modern History would be maintained and extended and that this expression was recorded in the minutes of the Faculty Meeting of September 30, 1954, which were unanimously approved. We have no doubts about the rightness of this decision. Indeed we regard it as a matter of public importance that in the present critical state of the world an Institute such as ours should set an example in the application of critical methods to the analysis of recent and contemporary political phenomena, and

particularly, the analysis of the relations between independent sovereign states--the gravest danger-point in our contemporary society. We are agreed then to continue our academic interest in this field.

After considering possible candidates from this country and elsewhere the School of Historical Studies is more than ever convinced that Mr. Kennan has to an outstanding degree the qualifications for a professorial appointment at the Institute in the field of twentieth-century international relations.

Our judgment in this matter has been questioned on the grounds that Mr. Kennan is not a "professional" scholar; that the greater part of his career has been directed to practical affairs, and that it is too late for him to acquire the "background" necessary for historical work.

Apart from the fact that a great deal of Mr. Kennan's official work has been concerned with the critical examination and evaluation of the foreign policy of States, and that in this work he has acquired much of the technical training which the professional historian learns in other ways, we regard Mr. Kennan's experience as in itself of the greatest value. This practical knowledge of affairs--in which many academic historians are notably deficient--is of special value in dealing with all historical material concerned with the relations between governments. We may point out that many of the greatest political historians in the field of recent or contemporary history have been men who have turned to historical writing after gaining practical experience of affairs. It would be embarrassing to Mr. Kennan to quote the examples of Thucydides or Clarendon or Guizot, but--to take a modern English parallel--we might cite John Morley.

In our view, therefore, the question is not whether Mr. Kennan's previous career is in itself a disadvantage--we regard it as an advantage. What we have had to ask ourselves is whether Mr. Kennan possesses the positive abilities, critical judgment, patience, capacity for handling large masses of material, skill in writing, and above all detachment, which are necessary for a historian in any field, and not least in the field of the political relations between sovereign states. Since our last Faculty meeting we have had the opportunity of reading the first volume of Mr. Kennan's projected work on the political relations between the United States and the USSR. Our opinion of this work is extremely favorable. We regard it as conclusive evidence that Mr. Kennan does possess and can exercise all the abilities we have named, and that, in addition, his practical experience gives his historical work a firmness of outline and a distinction which put it in the first rank. We give to the volume the highest praise open to the historian when we say that the work will not have to be done again.

It has been suggested that the scholarly reputation of the Institute will suffer if we elect to a professorship anyone without the usual academic qualifications. We should not incline to give much thought to outside criticism of this kind. In fact, however, we think that the reasons determining our judgment in the matter will be understood and approved, not only in this country, but in other countries--notably Great Britain and Germany--where Mr. Kennan's work is already widely known and appreciated. Incidentally, we would call attention to the fact that Mr. Kennan has been invited to hold the Eastman visiting professorship at Oxford, and that, to our knowledge, this invitation was given for the very reasons which have convinced us that we should do well to invite him to hold a professorship at the Institute.

Finally, we should like to repeat our previous statement that we do not regard Mr. Kennan's appointment as a substitute for the appointment of a leading historian interested in some other field of Modern History. We have continued our search for a suitable candidate; hitherto we have not found anyone upon whose election we should be generally agreed. We may be able to make a recommendation in the near future, or we may be compelled to wait, possibly for a year or two, but this matter is not in itself related to Mr. Kennan's candidature. If we had a candidate in some other field of Modern History, we should nonetheless also put forward Mr. Kennan's name for election to a professorship.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

PRINCETON NEW JERSEY

Department of History

March 18, 1955

Professor E.L. Woodward
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Woodward:

I think that it would be an excellent idea to give a professorship in the Institute to George Kennan. He is a man of great breadth of intelligence and understanding, and one from whom I learn a great deal every time I talk with him. He is clearly of the calibre that the country has come to expect of men at the Institute.

On the other hand, I would have the gravest of misgivings about any proposition to make Kennan a professor of history, or to call him a professor of history. He is not a historian, although he has taken to writing history, and his thinking is not the thinking of a professional historian. I am always struck in reading his work by the fact that he is so preoccupied with problems of the present that he at times distorts the events of the past in talking of them. Another characteristic of his historical work is his playing around with the historical optative; that is, he is always arguing that if such and such a thing had only been true then everything would have been richer and better. I do not say that there are no historians who suffer from these failings, but I would insist that we do not describe such historians as distinguished historians. If the Institute is going to appoint a man as a historian, I think the country has the right to expect that he will be a distinguished historian. One of my colleagues said to me the other day that when he read Kennan's book, he just did not think of it as history. This is the way I feel myself. The historical essays in his first book I do not regard as sound, and my opinion is shared by those of my colleagues who work in American diplomatic history.

Thus, while I would be enthusiastic about seeing Kennan made a professor at the Institute, I would be distinctly unhappy, if I may be permitted to say so, if his appointment should prevent the Institute from going ahead and hiring a distinguished historian, for, as an outsider who has nevertheless had close relations with the Institute, I feel the need of someone like Ed Earle, who not only did good historical work

March 18, 1955

but also maintained relations with the historical profession and brought good men to Princeton. I do not think it is impossible to find such a man. Offhand I would mention two: Richard Hofstadter of Columbia and Franklin L. Baumer of Yale. It is, of course, none of my business to be recommending people to you. Nevertheless, if you are interested in any suggestions from the History Department I shall see that you get them.

Yours very sincerely,

Gordon A. Craig

Gordon A. Craig

GAC:ED

March 7, 1955

Confidential

Dear Craig:

There is a proposal here that we should invite George Kennan to hold a professorship in our School of Historical Studies. We are therefore asking, as we always do in such cases, for some outside opinions on the suitability of the proposal. My colleagues and I would therefore be most grateful to you if you would tell us what you would think about it.

Yours sincerely,

E. L. Woodward
Executive Officer

Professor Gordon A. Craig
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

PRINCETON NEW JERSEY

PRESIDENT'S ROOM

March 28, 1955

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer:

I have your note of March 16, and shall of course treat the whole matter as private until instructed to the contrary.

Part of our California trip was a day at Berkeley when I made the speech at the Charter Day Exercises. The Linforths were at the luncheon preceding the event and they especially instructed me to convey to you their most sincere good wishes and pledge of personal support.

Faithfully yours,

Harold Dodds

Dr. Robert Oppenheimer
The Institute For Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

fb

16 March 1955

Dear Dr. Dodds:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 9th, which I appreciated greatly. It is possible, and perhaps even probable, that the travels of our Faculty, and the rituals which encumber such matters, will make it impossible for us to settle the question of which I wrote until autumn. I shall certainly let you know when it is settled, and I will be grateful if you will treat it as private until that time.

With every good wish,

Robert Oppenheimer

Dr. Harold W. Dodds
The Inn
Rancho Santa Fe
California

sent to Princeton U.

THE INN - RANCHO SANTA FE, CALIFORNIA

March 9, 1955

Dear Oppenheimer:

In reply to yours of March 7, I am not qualified to speak on Kennan as a professional scholar. My colleagues respect him greatly - while reserving, as they always do, the right to differ and criticize. However, I can assure you that they and I will be delighted to have him as a permanent resident of our community. Your appointment (which I hope he will accept - doubtless he has done so in advance) is an excellent solution of his problem and the University will cheer it, you can be sure. Yours faithfully,

Hardin Craig

(over)

P.S. I appreciate your consideration in writing me about Gorga.

Hans

P.P.S. I shall also appreciate it if you will tell me when I can write him my satisfaction and good wishes.

Hans

7 March 1955

Dear President Dodds:

The Faculty of the School of Historical Studies at the Institute has just voted in favor of the election of George Kennan to a chair in that School. We shall now present the matter to the Faculty of the Institute as a whole, and to the Trustees of the Institute.

In following this course, we would value an expression of opinion as to the appropriateness of this election from scholars who know something of Kennan's work, and of Kennan himself. I have the hope that you will welcome this step on our part, because I think you have a high regard for George Kennan, and will be pleased by any action which will tend to keep him in this community. I would not otherwise disturb you in your absence from Princeton, but it would be very helpful to us to know your views within the next week or so. I would like to be free to present them to the Faculty and Trustees of the Institute, but if you would prefer to write me in confidence I shall be glad to respect that limitation.

With every warm good wish,

Robert Oppenheimer

President Harold Dodds
The Inn
Rancho Santa Fe
California

March 17, 1955

THEODOR E. MOMMSEN
700 STEWART AVENUE
ITHACA, N. Y.

Dear Eka ;

Thank you for your letter of March 13, in which you told me that the School of Historical Studies has voted unanimously to propose to the Faculty of the Institute the appointment of George Kennan as Professor in the School of Historical Studies. I want to say at the very start that I was greatly pleased by this news.

Let me try to explain my reaction. It is only partially based on my evaluation of Kennan's books. I have read both of them and found them very informative and stimulating, especially the second book. Not being an expert myself in diplomatic history, I suppose that there exist other works which deal with American foreign policy in a technically more comprehensive fashion. But I also note that Kennan's next book will be a diplomatic history in the most specific sense of the word, based on archival research, as well as on his personal experiences in Russia. If I had to propose a man for a professorship in American diplomatic history at one of the major universities, I would certainly recommend Kennan wholeheartedly because I am convinced that he measures up to every possible standard in this respect.

But in regard to the question of Kennan's appointment to a permanent membership in the Institute, I am not thinking primarily of his undeniable qualities as an expert in the field of international policy and diplomatic relations. There are many good scholars and distinguished ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ diplomats and men of affairs. Kennan's actual achievements in the past and the promises which he gives for the future, put him at the top of this class of people. But what really impressed me most deeply on the few occasions at which I met him socially, and what I sensed when I listened to his Princeton lectures and read his books and occasional articles, was the personality of the man himself. There are, in my opinion, not many people in this world of ours, who are as profoundly humane or, if you will allow me the use of the word, as truly "humanist", as Kennan is. From his wide knowledge of the facts and ~~xxxxxxx~~ thoughts of the past, as well as from his practical experiences in the present, he has developed a deep sense of moral and civic responsibility. This has enabled him to fulfill a most important function in our society. In the last decade or so, public opinion in this country has

THEODOR E. MOMMSEN
700 STEWART AVENUE
ITHACA, N. Y.

become less and less ariculate as far as the discussion of foreign policy is concerned. Kennan has remained articulate, setting forth ideas which command and receive respect both in this country and abroad because they bear witness to a spirit and mind nourished by the best of our western traditions.

I find it most difficult to express myself succinctly. Therefore, take my comments simply as an expression of my immediate reaction to your news. In my estimation Kennan's appointment to the Institute would signify and would, I think, be generally considered a well-deserved recognition of his past merits and his present function in this country. It would also, in my opinion, do credit to the Institute itself.

As ever yours,

Theodor

Theodor E. Mommsen

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

10 November 1955

Dear Robert:

I hope very much to get over to the meeting on Tuesday, November 15th but on the off chance that I may not I send you this line to say that I very heartily approve of Kennan for a professorship at the Institute and think the objections which are made are largely technical. You could call him a Professor of Social Science if you like, just as Panofsky is an authority on the History of Art and Stewart an authority on Economics.

I am a member of the Board of Electors of the Eastman Professorship and we are very proud to have him scheduled to be Eastman Professor year after next.

Incidentally, there is no reason why this should not be spoken of in Faculty meeting but we ought not to say anything zbout his Eastman Professorship in the newspapers. We have an unwritten law

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

that we do not announce these Professorships in this country until the Vice Chancellor has announced them in Oxford, which he does usually in the spring preceding the Professor's assumption of his duties. The Eastman Professors are just for one year and this seems the m ost dignified way to manage the succession.

As I say, I hope to go over to the meeting, but if I feel seedy and am not able to I hope you will feel free to report my views. I am very glad of the democratic way in which you have circulated this material about the matter.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Frank Aydelotte

Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, Director
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, N.J.

New York March 19.

Dear Robert

This is to comment on the proposal which is now before the faculty to nominate Kennan to a professor at the Institute. While I could summarize my position in one line I feel I want to expand a little, as my own view on this appointment was not reached at all in an immediate fashion upon hearing that this problem had come up.

I have a real respect for Kennan, for his integrity, his style and his courage. I have read some of his writings on foreign policy. I have listened to some of the talks he gave at Princeton University (last year I believe). They were thoughtful; also fairly empty to my taste. I have not talked much with him personally, not because I didnt wish to do so, but because I felt I would waste his time asking obvious questions. From the few discussions with him I got the impression of a man who takes his studies at the Institute serious, who works hard and who is out to try to make a real rugged contribution to the questions he is after.

I must confess however that I always considered him as the retired diplomat with a vast knowledge of his field, a knowledge that is not at all confined to the political domain

but one that reaches deep into the cultural settings. Somehow or other it had never occurred to me that here we had a candidate for a professorship.

I was therefore considerably at a loss to make up my mind whether it is the right thing to appoint Kennan. Respect for the personality of a potential colleague is indispensable, but not enough. Whether his knowledge and his plans of work are of the kind we would wish to see permanently represented in the Institute's activities I could not fathom. I just knew too little about the merits of the case.

I have thereupon talked with my good friend Harold Cherniss and I have especially derived great comfort from the respect on academic grounds which he and his and mine colleagues from the Historical Studies have for Kennans work. Frankly, I dont know what else to go by. I do know though that to have Kennan on the faculty will be a good thing. I am sure he would take seriously his duty to develop the School of Historical Studies on the high standards which have always been characteristic for it.

I further understand that a keen need is felt for one, perhaps more, chairs in modern history. I also understand that the School has looked everywhere else without so far being able to propose unanimously an alternative candidate.

Under all these circumstances I vote in favor of an appointment to professor of Kennan.

Yours Brand Pais

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF MATHEMATICS

March 15, 1955

Dear Robert:

This letter repeats the main points in my part of our conversation this morning, in connection with the proposal to recommend George Kennan for a professorship in the Institute. I may not be able to come to the next faculty meeting (which is set for March 22), in which case I would like to ask you to show this letter to my colleagues.

My recommendation is that we do not go ahead with the proposal in the manner that has been suggested. That is, we should not proceed to decide this matter, as far as the faculty is concerned, at great speed--and in particular not at the next faculty meeting. Let me briefly restate my reasons for this.

Kennan's stature and his qualifications in various non-academic fields are obvious. As you know, I have a very high regard for his person and his intellectual interests. In addition to this I appreciate, that his interest is focussed more and more on researches in contemporary history and that he has made considerable progress in his first extensive project in this field. Nevertheless, it would be quite contrary to what the Institute's practice has been up to now, and what, it seems to me, it should continue to be, if we acted on such evidence alone.

I think that our action in recommending the appointment of a professor must be based on achievement and not on promise, and that the achievement must be exceptional and extensive.

I think that non-academic excellence should not influence our action, unless the appointment can also be justified on academic grounds alone. Furthermore, I cannot reconcile myself with the view, that in a particular field purely academic criteria cannot be met, or that they must not be decisive, because of some inherent characteristic of that field. If any field is really such, then, it seems to me it is not suited for the Institute.

All of this seems to me sufficient grounds to wait in Kennan's case, until his scholarly oeuvre develops further. Then the kind of evaulation that is appropriate will become possible.

With best regards,

As ever,

John

John von Neumann

JvNeg

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer
Institute for Advanced Study

Fac. Kennan

Excerpts from Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Institute for Advanced Study:

Vol. 7, No. 4, mtg. Nov. 15, 1955, page 4:

"The Director stated that he had no idea whether Mr. Kennan would accept an appointment to the Faculty. The invitation, if approved, would only be offered if Mr. Kennan expected and planned to make the business of scholarship his life work. This could of course not imply any absolute commitment to refuse high political office."

Vol. 7, No. 5, mtg. Apr. 25, 1956, page 2:

"After the Director had explained to Mr. George Kennan the basic implications of an appointment to a professorship in the School of Historical Studies, Mr. Kennan accepted the appointment."

DR. A. PAIS
47 PERRY ST., APT. 5 C
NEW YORK 14, NEW YORK

Sunday

Dear Robert

As a result of my talks with Harold and even more with the Woodward I am quite clear about the fact that the finished or almost finished piece of work by Kennan is going to be of great and positive influence on the forthcoming discussions. Consequently there seems only two possibilities open

for me to participate in the activities:
(a). If it is possible for me to receive a copy of the MS in sufficient time to read it at least in part, it may be best if I attend
(b) If this is not possible I shall write to you after having received the documents.
My reason is that in this situation I would have to admit before saying anything whatsoever that my absence from the Institute has made it impossible for me to be fully documented. Under these circumstances it would seem more advisable for me to state my view in writing, with reference both to my discussions in the Chemiss and Woodward and my lack of access to the new material.

Yours Braun

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF MATHEMATICS

March 14, 1955

Dear Robert:

Since we feel that any candidate for faculty appointment, regardless of other merits, should have substantial scholarly achievements to his credit, and in our opinion the candidate now before the faculty is lacking in these, we find that if the matter is brought to a vote we shall have to vote against him.

We would much prefer it if the matter would not be brought to a vote but dropped or postponed indefinitely. The search for a strong candidate in history ought of course to be continued.

Yours sincerely,

Deane Montgomery

Deane Montgomery

Atle Selberg

Atle Selberg

Copied from letter to Professor Cherniss from Professor Meritt

American School of Classical Studies
Athens, Greece

February 20, 1955

Dear Harold:

Your good letter of the 13th came yesterday. Earlier in the week Homer came by with Eka's letter about Kennan. I favor this appointment most warmly. In fact, I have been rather kicking myself that I didn't think of it first. At first blush the--shall we say--non-academic aspects of Kennan's career were more or less in mind; but I have become more and more enthusiastic about an invitation to him as I have mulled the whole matter over during the last days of the past week. His qualifications seem to me to be academic par excellence, or, as P. G. Wodehouse would say "in the deeper and truer sense of the word." The Eastman appointment, I believe, shows that this is recognized at Oxford, and I think we should recognize it too....

I am much cheered by the news that Alföldi will join us, and this cheer is now reinforced by the hope that we may have Kennan too. This is good work.

.....

Ever yours,

/s/ Ben

(B. D. Meritt)

Copied from letter to Professor Kantorowicz from Professor Thompson

Agora Excavations
American School of Classical Studies
Athens, Greece

February 13, 1955

Dear Eka:

Many thanks for yours of the 5th. I'm glad to know that Alföldi's appointment is all in order and shall look forward eagerly to making A's acquaintance in the fall.

I would heartily subscribe to the nomination of Kennan. Last autumn, indeed, when we were beginning our search I had proposed his name informally, but was promptly sat upon on the ground that K. was not quite a scholar. He does, however, possess a good many scholarly attributes, and has already proven himself to be a stimulating and congenial member of our community. He would also, as you observe, undoubtedly continue to serve as a link between the ivory tower and the busy world.

I am passing on your letter to Ben who will certainly be writing you on his own. We shall of course talk it over together and I may write further, but I wished to let you know at once that my own reactions are entirely in favor....

With all good wishes,

Yours ever,

/s/ Homer

COMITATO INTERNAZIONALE
DI SCIENZE STORICHE

GIUNTA CENTRALE
PER GLI STUDI STORICI

CONGRESSO INTERNAZIONALE DI SCIENZE STORICHE
ROMA 4 - 11 SETTEMBRE 1955

Forio d'Ischia, Sept.16, 1955.

~~Roma,~~

Dear Robert,

Your vacation, no doubt, belongs to the past, but I do hope that your trip on the Yacht was pleasant for you and Kitty and the children. My vacation will come to an end in 12 days. I was in Greece, mainly on the islands (Hydra, Rhodes), survived the meeting of the historians, including even a papal blessing, and am now recovering in Ischia, but may round out this trip by a short visit of Palermo and western Sicily. Islands and Ivory Towers seem to be in some inner relationship with one another.

I have discussed the problem of the Unknown Soldier in Modern History with indeed very many friends. The result was, on the whole, discouraging. Baethgen, the Director of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica and a very old friend of mine, gave at least some explanation for the lack of modern historians in the middle generation, which may have some truth in Germany. He said that in the Nazi period modern history was "hot" for any historian who did not subscribe to the party line. The younger people twenty years ago therefore preferred to step into mediaeval history which was less "dangerous" because the Nazis did not bother to interfere with that subject. At any rate, he too admitted that modern historians of the vintages we are interested in are rare, whereas there are quite a number of promising younger men. One name he dropped was Leonhard von Muralt, Professor at Zürich. I remember having looked at his book on Machiavelli years ago, and thought it was quite good. He has published other books as well and has done some work also on Bismarck. Perhaps Alföldi would know more about him, and Hermann Weyl might try to make his acquaintance just in order to get an impression, or ask him whether he would not like to come to Princeton for a semester. - Bowra mentioned once more the name of C.R.Boxer of London University. I thumbed through his book on "Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602-1686" (Univ.of London, 1952), but I know too little about the subject to have a judgment. At present he has a book in the press on Japan; he seems to know the Far-Eastern languages quite well - at any rate, I was told it might be good to look into the matter and the man; Isaiah Berlin, whom I met in Rome, knew of him, but was somewhat vague. I came across a book by another man of London University, H.Hale Bellot, "American History and American Historians." I know nothing about him, but others might.- You will be

interested, however, in the fact that I have been asked, time and again, by European historians about George Kennan and what he was doing, whether I knew him, and so forth. At any rate, all historians I met have a very high opinion of him and the phrase of his being an "international figure" has been dropped more than once. On the whole, there is nothing new to us, and I can assure you that his election would not meet with any "astonishment" on the part of the European guild of historians.

This is just a brief information which I shall be glad to supplement after my arrival at home (Sept. 30).

All my best to you and Kitty.

As ever

EKa.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA, George F. Kennan

Born: Milwaukee, Wisconsin, February 16, 1904
Parents: Kossuth Kent and Florence (James) Kennan
Schools & Degrees: St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, Wisconsin
A.B., Princeton University, 1925
Diploma, Berlin Seminary for Oriental Languages, 1930
Honorary LL.D., Yale University, 1950 LL.D., Princeton Univ. 1956
" LL.D., Dartmouth College, 1950
" LL.D., Colgate University, 1951
" LL.D., University of Notre Dame, 1953
" LL.D., Kenyon College, 1954
" LL.D., The New School for Social Research, 1955
[Married Annelise Sorenson, September 13, 1931; Children: Grace, Joan Elisabeth, James Christopher, Wendy Antonia]
Honorary LL.D., U of Mich. 1957

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 Bullitt to Moscow (to re-open American Embassy), 1933;
Consul at Vienna, 1935;
Second Secretary, Moscow, 1935;
Department of State assignment, 1937;
Second Secretary, Praha, 1938;
Consul, Prague, 1939;
Second Secretary, Berlin, 1939; First Secretary, 1940;
(interned at Bad Nauheim, 1941; repatriated in June 1942)
Department of State, 1942;
Counselor, Lisbon, 1942;
Counselor, American Delegation to the European Advisory Commission, London, 1943;
Minister-Counselor, Moscow, 1944;
Deputy for Foreign Affairs, National War College, Washington, 1946;
Director, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State, 1947;
Counselor of the Department of State, 1949;
(on leave-of-absence, at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, 1950)
Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., 1952;
Retired from the Foreign Service, July 29, 1953;
Member, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, since 1953.
Permanent Professor, School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, since January 1956

Books: AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, 1900-1950, University of Chicago press, 1951
REALITIES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, Princeton University Press, 1954
DAS AMERIKANISCH RUSSISCHE VERHÄLTNIS, Deutsche Verlangs-Anstalt, Stuttgart, 1954
Soviet-American Relations 1917-1920, Volume I, Russia Leaves the War, Princeton University Press, 1956.