

## THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

### Historical Studies - Social Science Library

ITEMS REMOVED : GEORGE KENNAN - PUBLICITY

1) George Kennan : A Critical Voice, Transcript, PBS West German Television, 1982. (Booklet).

2) "Princeton and the Bomb," Princeton Alumni Weekly, September 25, 1985.

3) "George Kennan Calls on the West to End Sanctions Against Soviets," New York Times, October 11, 1982.

4) "George Kennan: A Critical Voice," 58-minute film profile produced and directed by Michael Blackwood. (3 p.)

5) "An Appeal for Thought," New York Times Magazine, May 7, 1978.

6) "A Quiet Voice," New York Times, February 11, 1977.

7) "Kennan Appointed to Princeton U Faculty," The Trentonian, November 14, 1963.

8) "Plea to Save Tito Facing Hostile Stare," Philadelphia Inquirer, July 29, 1963.

9) "Kennan Quits Belgrade Post, Denies Discord," The Washington Post, May 18, 1963.

10) "Retirement Is Set for July By Kennan," New York Times, May 18, 1983.

11) "Kennan to Resign as Ambassador to Yugoslavia," New York Times, April 24, 1963.

12) "Belgrade Is Impressed by Kennan, But Calls him a Tough Envoy," New York Times, January 5, 1962.

13) "Kennan Is Appointed to Institute Faculty," date and publication not specified.

## THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

### Historical Studies - Social Science Library

ITEMS REMOVED : GEORGE KENNAN - PUBLICITY (CONT.)

14) "Kennan Joins Institute Faculty," New York Herald Tribune,  
December 16, 1955.

15) "Kennan Hits U.S. Policy 'Fumbling,'" New York Herald Tribune,  
December 30, 1955.

16) "Kennan Scores Political Fights That Interfere With Diplomacy,"  
New York Times, December 30, 1955.

17) "Princetonians Head Stevenson Committee," The Princeton Packet,  
March 1, 1956.

18) "Kennan Calls Talk With Soviet Futile," New York Times,  
November 18, 1957.

19) "'Style' in Foreign Policy," New York Times, May 7, 1956.

20) "Some Aid Is Bad, Kennan Cautions," New York Times, December  
9, 1957.

21) "Kennan Opposes Tactical A-Weapons for NATO," The Washington  
Post, December 2, 1957.

22) "Kennan Asks Restudy Of German Unification," The Washington  
Post And Times Herald, November 25, 1957.

23) "Democrats," Time Magazine, June 4, 1956. (Offprint.)

24) "Kennan Bids West Quit Depending on Mid-East," New York Herald  
Tribune, December 9, 1957.

25) "A Diplomat's Function," New Outlook, April 1956.

26) "Democrats Seen Divided on Foreign Policy Aims," New York  
Herald Tribune, May 9, 1956.

27) "Old Pros Heading Stevenson Staff," New York Times, May 2,  
1956.

## THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone 609-734-8000

### SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

#### ITEMS REMOVED : GEORGE KENNAN - PUBLICITY (CONT.)

28) "From the Academy," National Review, December 8, 1956.

29) "Kennan and Kennanism," The New Republic, November 5, 1956. (Offprint.)

30) "Letters to the Times: from George F. Kennan," New York Times, October 28, 1956.

31) "What Should We Do About Russia?" U.S. News and World Report, June 29, 1956.

32) "Kennan, in Russia Study, Treats Role of Individual Diplomat," The Princeton Herald, August 15, 1956.

33) "Books: review of Russia Leaves the War by George F. Kennan," Newsweek Magazine, August 27, 1956. (2 copies; original and photocopy.)

34) "When Russia's Revolution Was Young," New York Times Book Review, August 26, 1956.

35) "The Soviet Will Never Recover," The Saturday Evening Post, November 24, 1956. (Offprint.)

36) "Feet For World Record," The Washington Post, date not specified.

37) "Kennan, Morris, Wilbur Honored," date and publication not specified.

38) "Krushchev on U.S. T.V. Says Reds Want Peace," New York Herald Tribune, date not specified.

39) "2 Honored for Historical Writing," New York Times, April 24, 1957.

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SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

ITEMS REMOVED : GEORGE KENNAN - PUBLICITY (CONT.)

40) "Personalities," Town Topics, May 12-18, 1987.

41) "Democrats: Acheson vs. Kennan," Newsweek Magazine,  
January 20, 1958. (Offprint.)

42) "A Princeton Haven Where The Mind Is All That Matters,"  
Philadelphia Inquirer, June 22, 1980.

43) Television Guide from New York Times, January 3, 1983.  
(Advertisement for program with George Kennan discussing the  
necessity of nuclear disarmament.)

44) "In 'George Kennan: A Critical Voice,'" New York Daily  
News, January 3, 1983.

45) "Kennan, of Institute, Gets Einstein Prize," The Princeton  
Packet, May 27, 1981.

46) "Notes on People: Kennan Wins Peace Prize," New York  
Times, March 17, 1981. (2 copies; original and photocopy.)

47) "Kennan Says Europe Brought Disunity on Itself,"  
New York Times, date not specified.

48) "Kennan Criticizes JFK for Silence at Summit," The  
Washington Post, August 31, 1970.

49) "Ex-Official Says JFK Tongue-Tied With Kruschchev,"  
Alberquerque, N.M. Journal, September 1, 1970.

50) "JFK Tongue-Tied At Vienna Parley," Charleston W. VA. News,  
August 31, 1970.

51) "Krushchev Misled by JFK's Silence," Milwaukee Journal,  
August 31, 1970.

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SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

ITEMS REMOVED : GEORGE KENNAN - PUBLICITY (CONT.)

52) "Did Soviet Premier Talk Down Kennedy?" The Louisville Times, August 31, 1970.

53) "JFK 'Tongue-Tied' at Krushchev Meet," Port Arthur, TX News, August 31, 1970.

54) "Was JFK 'Tongue-Tied'?" The Houston Post, August 31, 1970.

55) "Kennedy Said 'Tongue-Tied,'" Pirayune, New Orleans Times, August 31, 1970.

56) "Cuban Crisis Blamed On JFK Going Mum," Wichita Beacon, August 31, 1970.

57) "JFK Reportedly Mum With Nikita," The Plain Dealer, September 1, 1970.

58) "JFK Was Tongue-Tied In Nikita's Presence," The Miami News, August 31, 1970.

59) "Nikita Misled By JFK, Says Ex-Ambassador," Morning Advocate, August 31, 1970.

60) "JFK Reticence Linked to Soviet's Cuba Move," Youngston Ohio Indicator, August 31, 1970.

61) "Kennan Says Kennedy Was Tongue-Tied With Krushchev," The Christian Science Monitor, September 1, 1970.

62) "'Tongue-Tied JFK Recalled By Diplomat," Knoxville Tenn. Journal, August 31, 1970.

63) "JFK 'Tongue-Tied' At Krushchev Meeting, Kennan Says," Rochester Times-Union, August 31, 1970.

64) "ABM Will Hurt Weapons Talks, Ex-Envoy Warns," Philadelphia Inquirer, February 7, 1970.

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### SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

#### ITEMS REMOVED : GEORGE KENNAN - PUBLICITY (CONT.)

- 65) "ABM Said Threat to Arms Talks," The Denver Post,  
February 7, 1970.
- 66) "JFK 'Tongue-Tied,'" Akron Beacon Journal, August 31, 1970.
- 67) "Arms Talks Threatened By ABMS?" The Detroit Free Press,  
February 7, 1970.
- 68) "Kennan Tells Perils of New Weapons Race," Chicago Tribune,  
February 7, 1970.
- 69) "Plea for Arms Restraint," Trenton Evening News, February  
10, 1970.
- 70) "Ex-Envoy Assails U.S. ABM Plan," The San Diego Union,  
February 7, 1970.
- 71) "Tumult and Shouting," The San Francisco Examiner-Chronicle,  
March 29, 1970.
- 72) "Antipollution World Unit Is Urged," Richmond Times Dispatch,  
March 20, 1970.
- 73) "Kennan Urges World Fight On Pollution, " The Blade, March  
20, 1970.
- 74) "Worldwide Agency Is Proposed To Fight Environment  
Pollution," Augusta, Ga. Chronicle, March 20, 1970.
- 75) "Weapons Development Said To Hamper Talks," The Hartford  
Courant, February 7, 1970.
- 76) "Kennan Proposes Creation of World Antipollution Unit,"  
Montgomery Advertiser, March 20, 1970.
- 77) "Kennan Urges World Environment Unit Alone National  
Interest," New York Times, March 20, 1970. (2 copies:  
original and photocopy.)

ITEMS REMOVED : GEORGE KENNAN - PUBLICITY (CONT.)

78) "World Agency on Pollution is Proposed," The Indianapolis Star, March 20, 1970.

79) "World Pollution Patrol Urged," Trenton Evening Times, March 20, 1970.

80) "World Environment Council Urged," The Boston Globe, March 20, 1970.

November 16, 1982

Mr. John Haggerty  
Production Manager  
WNET/13  
356 West 58th Street  
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Haggerty,

As per instructions from Mr. George Labalme, enclosed is our check in the amount of \$51.50 made out to Video Dubbs, Inc. This is payment for a tape of the October 13, 1982 program, George F. Kennan's documentary film entitled "George Kennan: A Critical Voice."

For your information, the tape will be ~~used~~ used with a Quasar VCR model no. VH5310TW so we would, of course, appreciate if you would make sure the tape you send will be compatible with our machine.

We would appreciate if you would forward the tape to the following address at your earliest convenience, and thank you for your kind attention to this matter:

Mrs. Helen Laesker  
Director's Office  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
Olden Lane  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Sincerely yours,

Helen J. Laesker  
Director's Office

Nov. 16, 1982

Video Dubbs, Inc.

Mr. John Haggerty, Production Manager, WNET/13, 356 W. 58th St., NY, NY 10019

51.50

890-02-0-51-0001-01

Video tape of Professor Kennan's documentary film "George Kennan: A  
Critical Voice" shown on Channel 13.

11-15-82

Ref: Ordering tape of George F. Kennan program shown  
on Channel 13

George F. Kennan

Send check to John Haggerty Production Manager  
WNET/13  
356 West 58th Street  
New York, NY 10019

212-560-4942

Made out to:  
Video Dubbs Inc.

\$51.50

(no tax, collect shipment - probably by UPS)

Explanatory letter enclosed:

Tape of George F. Kennan (date viewed) and include  
type of machine we have.

Information from George Labalme

Taken over phone by H. Laesker

YH5310TW  
Quasar VCR

Jan. 28, 1983

Blackwood Productions

251 W. 57th St., NYC 10019

7.00

730-06-0-51-0001-01

One copy of transcript for "George Kennan: A Critical Voice"

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

January 25, 1983

Blackwood Productions  
251 West 57th Street  
New York, NY 10019

Dear Sir or Madam:

Will you kindly send us one copy of the transcript for  
"George Kennan: A Critical Voice".

Our check for payment in the amount of \$7.00 is enclosed.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Helen J. Laesker  
Director's Office

/hjl  
Enclosure

## THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

FOR RELEASE: Monday, January 3, 1983

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

Harry Woolf, Director  
(609) 734-8200

GEORGE KENNAN: A CRITICAL VOICE, a television program filmed partially at the Institute for Advanced Study and dealing with Nuclear disarmament, will be shown on Channel 13 at 10:00 p.m. this evening.

DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

# Public Information Advertising/Video Promotion Memo

Editor: Judy Braune

Public Broadcasting Service • 475 HEnfant Plaza, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20024 • (202) 488-5000

January 10, 1983

IN PRINT -- PTV figured prominently in several year-end retrospectives on 1982 TV highlights, with "Brideshead Revisited" singled out again and again:

● People Magazine (12/27) called "Brideshead" "the television event of '82."

● In the New York Times' (12/26) piece, "The Year's Best Television," John O'Connor wrote, "One production this year towered over the rest," referring to "Brideshead." He went on to call the series "an almost irresistible artistic document." O'Connor also cited several other PTV programs, including MASTERPIECE THEATRE, LIFE ON EARTH, NATURE, AMERICAN PLAYHOUSE, and THE MAGIC OF DANCE.

● UPI's Kenneth Clark said that PTV "never before had had such a season..."

● Tom Shales of The Washington Post (12/26) wrote, "There was memorable TV in 1982; this was the year of "Brideshead Revisited," MIDDLETOWN, CREATIVITY WITH BILL MOYERS, LIFE ON EARTH, NATURE and "To Serve Them All My Days" -- all on PBS."

● USA Today (12/29) listed "Brideshead," MIDDLETOWN and CREATIVITY WITH BILL MOYERS among 1982's 10 best TV programs.

● "Brideshead," LIFE ON EARTH and "Roses in December" were on Time magazine's (1/3) top 10 programs list for 1982.

● Newsweek (12/27) mentioned "Brideshead" in its "Portrait of '82."

● Twelve of Howard Rosenberg's top 20 programs for 1982 (Los Angeles Times 1/2) were from PTV.

● PTV's second season was touted in the recent U.S. News and World Report (1/10) piece: "The Public Broadcasting Service is launching an all-out drive to secure its reputation as a major source of high-quality TV programs...beginning in January, noncommercial PBS will unveil...some of the most ambitious shows in its nine-year history."

● The Los Angeles Times (12/30) hailed the winter season's programs, saying, "...public television will be introducing a slew of new series in January -- including major efforts in drama, documentaries and opera."

SPC 9 PROMOTION PLANS -- Please make the following correction in the SPC-9 Second Season Promotion Plans (sent from Susan Ferguson 12/17): the contact for "Mark Russell Comedy Specials" should be changed from Greg Borland to Nina Sedita.

AWARDS -- Women in Communications has just announced the 1983 Clarion Awards, honoring excellence in all areas of communications. Categories include public relations and local/national documentaries. Deadline: February 15. For entry forms and details, contact WICI National Headquarters, P.O. Box 9561, Austin, TX 78766, (512) 345-8922.

TRANSCRIPTS -- for "George Kennan: A Critical Voice" from Blackwood Productions, 251 West 57th St., NY, NY 10019, for \$7.00....for "The Brazilian Connection" from Document Associates, 211 East 43rd St., NY, NY 10017, for \$3.00....for THE CONSTITUTION: THAT DELICATE BALANCE from Media & Society Seminars, 204 Journalism, Columbia University, NY, NY 10027, for \$3.00.

REQUESTS -- KAWB Bemidji, Minn., is planning to launch a campaign to attract viewers in outlying areas by motivating them to adjust their antennas and improve reception of the station's signal. Please share any suggestions, ideas or past successes in developing and implementing such a campaign with Karen MaGaurin, KAWB, Box 9, Bemidji State University, Bemidji, MN 56601, (218) 751-3407....Wilma Hill, WGBH, 609 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10017, requests clips for "Tom Rush at Symphony Hall: A New Year" (1/5/83).

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## THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

FOR RELEASE: Friday, October 8, 1982

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

Harry Woolf, Director  
(609) 734-8200

A film made this past spring and summer on Professor George Kennan, produced by Michael Blackwood, will be shown on Channel 13 at 11:00 P.M. this coming Wednesday, October 13th.

Large portions of the hour-long documentary film entitled George Kennan: A Critical Voice were filmed at the Institute for Advanced Study where Professor Kennan has been a faculty member of the School of Historical Studies since 1956. Professor Kennan is a former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union and a Pulitzer Prize winning historian. A collection of his articles on Soviet-American relations is scheduled to be published later this month by Pantheon Books under the title: The Nuclear Delusion.

Thirteen

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*pc*

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

TWO SPECIAL PRESENTATIONS ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

TO AIR <sup>Wednesday</sup> FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13 BEGINNING AT 10 P.M. ON THIRTEEN

NUCLEAR WAR: THE INCURABLE DISEASE - 10 p.m. -- A panel discussion by three American and three Russian physicians about the effects of a nuclear holocaust on world populations.

GEORGE KENNAN: A CRITICAL VOICE - 11 p.m. -- A profile of George Kennan, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, long-time East-West relations observer and negotiator who speaks out about the necessity for nuclear disarmament.

Global and personal perspectives on nuclear disarmament will be presented in two hour-long programs airing back to back on October 13 on THIRTEEN beginning at 10 p.m.

The first program, NUCLEAR WAR: THE INCURABLE DISEASE begins with the premise that nuclear war, as a possibility, is the number one public health problem in the world. Airing at 10 p.m. on October 13 and hosted by Hodding Carter, Jr. as part of the INSIDE STORY series, the program was taped in Moscow during June, 1982 and was shown on Soviet television two days after the taping. Six physicians, three Russian and three American, appear in the panel discussion. Panel members include: Dr. James Muller and Dr. Bernard Loun of Harvard Medical School and Dr. John Pastore of Tufts Medical School. All the doctors on the panel are members of the 30,000 strong International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

(more)

Among the discussion points raised during the program:

-- The immediate effects of a massive nuclear bombing on populations will include the deaths of an estimated 70 percent of the physicians and medical workers in each country and the destruction of most of our medical facilities and hospitals.

-- The lack of medical help for survivors, who will require intensive treatment of burns, radiation sickness and epidemics, will therefore be unavoidable.

-- The inadequacies of civil defense programs will also seriously impede attempts to evacuate large populations.

-- The threat exists that simple technical miscalculations will trigger a nuclear exchange. Other accidental causes could include computer errors, and human aberrations (drug and alcohol abuse and psychoses).

NUCLEAR WAR: THE INCURABLE DISEASE is a production of the Press and Public Project, Inc. Executive producer: Ned Schnurman  
Senior producer: Joe Russin.

Kennan Speaks Out Against Nuclear Arms Race

"I have the deepest feelings of sympathy for the mass demonstrations of the peace movement which have been taking place in the last couple of years. I recognize in these demonstrations a very sound, healthy reaction and the instinctive refusal of many, many millions of people to find their lives and their civilization put into such jeopardy as it is now being placed in by the development of nuclear weaponry," states George Kennan during the opening sequence of GEORGE KENNAN: A CRITICAL VOICE.

George Kennan is a Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and a former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union. In GEORGE KENNAN: A CRITICAL VOICE, airing at 11 p.m. on October 13, his life is profiled and his critical views on the nuclear arms race are presented.

He asserts that a number of initiatives will have to occur if a global nuclear confrontation is to be avoided:

-- An across-the-board reduction by 50 percent in all nuclear weapons in the American and Soviet arsenals.

(more)

-- The U.S. must move away from its current collision course with the Soviet Union by toning down its emphasis on military preparedness in our diplomatic statements and positions.

-- Nations must cease feeling dependent on nuclear weapons if they are to face the challenge of abolishing them.

A THIRTEEN presentation, GEORGE KENNAN: A CRITICAL VOICE is produced and directed by Michael Blackwood of Blackwood Productions, Inc.

# # # #

October 8, 1982

For further information please contact:

Liz Emmett  
(212) 560-3017

Thirteen

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NUCLEAR WAR: THE INCURABLE DISEASE is a production of the Press and Public Project, Inc. Executive producer: Ned Schnurman  
Senior producer: Joe Russin.

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-- Nations must cease feeling dependent on nuclear weapons if they are to face the challenge of abolishing them.

A THIRTEEN presentation, GEORGE KENNAN: A CRITICAL VOICE is produced and directed by Michael Blackwood of Blackwood Productions, Inc.

# # # #

October 8, 1982

For further information please contact:

Liz Emmett  
(212) 560-3017

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FOR RELEASE: Friday, October 8, 1982

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

Harry Woolf, Director  
(609) 734-8200

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THE KALMUS CORPORATION / PUBLIC RELATIONS  
445 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 HA 1-1122  
CABLE: KALPUBRELA

March 27, 1964

Public Relations Director  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing a release on the appearance of George Kennan on  
"The Twentieth Century" Sunday, April 5.

Perhaps you might see that the information is relayed to the  
University newspapers and any other publications in the community  
you think would be interested.

Please let me know if you'd like any additional information.

Best wishes,

Faith Adams

FA:nl

encl.

# THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Prudential Insurance Company of America  
CBS-TV, Sunday, 6:00-6:30 P. M. (EST)

March 27, 1964

SPECIAL TO PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

AMBASSADOR KENNAN OF THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

TO APPEAR ON 'THE TWENTIETH CENTURY' THIS SUNDAY

George Kennan of The Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, and former U. S. ambassador to Yugoslavia, will speak out about U. S. aid to Yugoslavia and the U. S. trade agreement with that country on CBS-TV's "The Twentieth Century," this Sunday (April 5.)

Ambassador Kennan will make a filmed appearance on "Yugoslavia: Bridge or Tightrope?" 6-6:30 p.m., EST. He is introduced on the program by reporter Walter Cronkite.

Sen. Frank Lausche (D., Ohio), member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and David Binder, correspondent of The New York Times in Yugoslavia, also appear on the broadcast.

"The Twentieth Century" episode focuses on two basic questions about Yugoslavia. Is it really a "middle force," as that country itself contends, between the Eastern and Western blocs? Or is it a nation skillfully manipulated by Marshal Tito, its president-for-life, to function within the Communist orbit and serve the Kremlin cause?

- 2 -

The effort made by Yugoslavia to blend Western concepts of living into its Communist-type national existence is examined on the program. Film is shown of Belgrade and Zagreb, two major Yugoslav cities, soldiers in the Yugoslav army, a Yugoslav farm, an industrial meeting in progress, a chemical plant, a city supermarket, the American embassy in Belgrade, and a brief scene from the Yugoslavian version of Edward Albee's "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?"

Also shown on the program are scenes of the rebuilding of the earthquake-torn city of Skoplje.

"The Twentieth Century," now in its seventh year under the sponsorship of The Prudential Insurance Company of America, has won numerous awards citing it for excellence of production and editorial content.

Burton Benjamin is executive producer of the series, which is a production of the public affairs department of CBS News. Isaac Kleinerman is producer. "Yugoslavia: Bridge or Tightrope?" was written by CBS News Correspondent Alexander Kendrick, who reports directly from that country.

#####

FROM: Faith Adams  
The Kalmus Corp.  
445 Park Avenue  
New York 22, New York  
HA 1-1122

Release: Wednesday, November 13, 1963

From: Department of Public Information  
Princeton University  
(Telephone: WALnut 1-6600  
Extensions 717, 718, 719)

*to be changed*

George F. Kennan, former United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union and to Yugoslavia, and a Professor at the Institute for Advanced Study on permanent tenure, has accepted a concurrent appointment to the Faculty of Princeton University. President Robert F. Goheen announced today.

He will continue his primary responsibilities in the Institute, while offering instruction both in the University's Department of History and in its Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

As Professor of History and International Affairs, he will lecture next term on Russian history during the reign of Czar Nicholas II, and will conduct a preceptorial for specially qualified students. He will also offer a graduate seminar on recent diplomatic history.

These will be under the auspices of the Woodrow Wilson School, open not only to those enrolled in the School, but to students majoring in history and others seriously interested in Russian history, politics and literature.

Eventually the Department of History, as well as the Woodrow Wilson School, will offer courses given by Professor Kennan.

A member of the Princeton Class of 1925, Professor Kennan entered the Foreign Service School of the State Department after graduation and subsequently served in diplomatic posts in Germany and eastern Europe. While abroad he studied Russian for five years and when diplomatic relations were re-established between the United States and the Soviet Union he accompanied Ambassador William C. Bullitt to Moscow in 1933.

-more-

## 2 - Kennan Appointment

First Secretary of the American Legation in Berlin at the outbreak of World War II and later Counsellor to the American Delegation to the European Advisory Commission in London, he served as Minister-Counsellor to Ambassador W. Averill Harriman in Moscow in 1945-46 and for a short period in the same capacity to General W. Bedell Smith.

Upon his return to the United States, he was appointed Deputy for Foreign Affairs to the National War College and was later named by Secretary of State George C. Marshall as Chief of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff.

Professor Kennan became a member of the Institute for Advanced Study in 1950. Two years later, he was named U.S. Ambassador to Russia, a position he held until 1953 when he returned to the Institute. In 1956 he was appointed a professor at the Institute in the School of Historical Studies. In 1961 he was appointed Ambassador to Yugoslavia, a post from which he retired earlier this year.

In 1951, he was elected to a four-year term as an alumni trustee-at-large of Princeton. In 1954 he gave the Stafford Little lectures at Princeton, and in 1957-58 he served as George Eastman Visiting Professor at Oxford University.

He was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1957 and the National Book Award for his work, Russia Leaves the War, the first volume in a chronicle of Soviet-American relations from 1917 to 1920. Among his other books are The Decision to Intervene, second volume in the series, Russia, the Atom, and the West, and Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin.

Fac Kennan

10/12/60

Prof. Kennan called. He is planning to come out in favor of Kennedy's stand on the U2 and Quemoy-Matsu questions; would have shown you his statement had you been here today; since this is an expression of opinion, and quite different from, for instance, a candidacy, he sees no harm in going ahead, and will do so.

He said he felt an obligation, since he had urged Kennedy to take a hard line on both these matters, and does not think that he should be silent when Kennedy is being attacked for doing so.

- - -

after Mike called, I called Dorothy and told her that you would be here, probably about 4:45, in case Prof. Kennan did want to check with you.

*Fac Kennan*

For release:  
10:00 A.M.  
Thurs., May 26, 1960

STATEMENT BY

THE HONORABLE GEORGE F. KENNAN

Professor, Institute for Advanced Studies,  
Princeton, N. J.  
Formerly Director, Policy Planning Staff,  
Department of State, and United States  
Ambassador to the Soviet Union

Before the

SUBCOMMITTEE ON NATIONAL POLICY MACHINERY

Senator Henry M. Jackson, Chairman

May 26, 1960

I appreciate your courtesy in inquiring my views on the subjects which you have under examination, and am happy to contribute what I can. I have, I believe, particular reason to welcome the effort this Subcommittee has undertaken to reexamine the effectiveness of our present governmental machinery. For many years I have felt that organizational deficiencies had a much greater relative importance in hampering our performance as a world power than has commonly been realized in this country. Even if we had the most excellent conceptual foundation for an American foreign policy, and the greatest mastery of diplomatic method in our external relations, I feel we would still find ourselves seriously hampered, as things stand today, by the cumbersomeness of our governmental machinery and by the inappropriateness of much of it to the purposes it is supposed to serve. The appalling growth in numbers of personnel and the seemingly endless proliferation of competing agencies and committees has appeared to me to be only in minor part a response to real needs and in major part the result of some unhealthy internal compulsions, the source of which no one has as yet fully identified and the cure for which has certainly not yet been found. These are the reasons why I feel that the work this subcommittee is performing is of exceptional importance; and I should like, if I may, as a private citizen, to express my high respect for the insights that brought the members of the subcommittee to this work and my appreciation for the determined effort you have put forward to get to the bottom of these baffling but important problems.

You, Mr. Chairman, were kind enough to suggest, in the letter inviting me to appear here today, certain of the questions on which you and your colleagues would welcome my testimony; and I thought it might save time if I were to summarize at the outset my views on some of these points.

1. The role of the Secretary of State in the initiation and development of national security policy.

It is my view that there should be some one senior official in the Executive Branch of the government who could act as the President's principal executive agent for all matters affecting the national security and, indeed, our relations with the outside world generally. This would include military as well as other matters. There are of course a number of alternative solutions of this problem. All of these have both advantages and disadvantages. To my mind, the most desirable of these alternatives would be that the office of the Secretary of State should be recognized as enjoying a certain primacy in all matters of external relations, including the national security. Such primacy ought properly to be assigned, it seems to me, to the office which has primary responsibility, anyway, for the conduct of the nation's foreign relations on the political level. There is, as I understand it, a certain historical justification for such a distinction both

-2-

in the title "Secretary of State" itself, which suggests that the office is not one limited merely to the conduct of foreign affairs, and in the fact that the Secretary of State was designated as the keeper of the Great Seal of the United States.

In expressing this view, I recognize that the Secretary of State, even under such an arrangement, would remain essentially an assistant of the President. He could not absolve or relieve the President. He could not absolve or relieve the President of any of his present constitutional responsibility in this field. He should, however, if given such position and authority, be able to relieve the President of a good deal of the executive burden now connected with this responsibility, and to assure a better coordination of military policy with national policy generally than we have had in recent years.

If this expedient were to be adopted, one might well wish at some stage to supplement the office of Secretary of State with that of a Secretary for Foreign Affairs, as suggested by Mr. Robert Lovett in his recent testimony before this subcommittee. But this expedient should not be hastily adopted, and the arrangement should first be given a trial without it. Among the organizational evils to which our government has been vulnerable in recent years has been a tendency to the inflation of titles: giving more and more lofty names to positions which are really much more subordinate than the title would imply. I suspect that we have already been too prodigal in the dispensing of cabinet status; and we should certainly not add another official of cabinet rank unless we find this to be absolutely necessary. A basic principle of organization which has often been ignored in our government is that there are narrow limits to the number of people who can be expected to report personally to any single superior officer, be it the President or a cabinet secretary. To create a cabinet larger than the President can effectively use as an intimate agency of his authority is merely to impair the value of the cabinet as an institution. These are the reasons why, as it seems to me, we should be very circumspect about adding further cabinet offices.

2. What is the best way of providing for the policy planning process in the State Department?

I believe that the policy planning process as established by Secretary of State George C. Marshall in 1947, and as maintained until the end of 1949, was essentially sound. Prior to the establishment of the Policy Planning Staff, only two officials in the Department of State were competent to take into account, in their advice to the Secretary, the entire range of the problems of our foreign relations. These were the Under Secretary of State and the Counselor. Neither of these officials had both the time

-3-

and the facilities to give careful and exhaustive study to long-range problems of policy or to problems of exceptional intricacy, involving the orderly assembling of information from a wide variety of sources. All other officials of the Department were able to advise the Secretary only from the perspective of a limited geographical or functional competence.

This presented a serious problem for the Secretary of State. If he asked the various geographic and functional offices to reconcile their views by the process of compromise before advising him on a given problem, the issues were apt to be obscured before they ever reached his attention. If they presented their conflicting views to him without prior reconciliation of them, the task of identifying the elements of conflict and determining to what extent they represented disparities of information, to what extent parochial concerns of the respective office, and to what extent important questions of principle, was a task for which he himself lacked the leisure and for which he required an independent staff. It was this gap which the Policy Planning Staff endeavored to fill during the period of my incumbency as its director. While under no illusions that our work could not have been improved, I felt (and Secretary Marshall subsequently expressed himself as being of this opinion) that the Staff was useful in meeting this need. Its greatest usefulness, as I saw it, was that it provided the Secretary of State with a continuous series of advisory opinions, representing the expression of a consistent and disciplined point of view, based on the obligation to consider all aspects of national policy, and applied to a variety and succession of international problems.

Obviously, the usefulness of such a staff would be greatly affected by any decisions taken with respect to the office of the Secretary of State itself. If the Secretary should be given a position of primacy in external relations and matters of national security, then it is particularly fitting that the policy planning work be done by a unit directly advisory to him.

Let me stress that the sort of staff I have in mind cannot be effectively replaced by a group of officials having other competencies and responsibilities and meeting only occasionally in an ex officio capacity. To be effective in the manner in which it was conceived by General Marshall, such a staff would have to be composed of individuals devoid of any other institutional loyalty or disciplinary relationship within the government, serving only the official to whom their advisory capacity relates, and able to give their opinions with the most rigorous frankness and independence, uninhibited by any ulterior obligations or interests.

3. What are the problems and possibilities in the use of experts and consultants in policy planning in State and Defense?

There is, of course, real need from time to time for the consultation of outside experts in the work of policy planning. Where this need exists

no opportunity should be neglected to enlist this sort of assistance. The services of such people should be utilized in such a manner as to make most economical use of their time and that of the government official involved. In particular, care should be taken not to take up the time of consultants and of staff members by personal meetings until all available written evidences of a consultant's views have been carefully studied and taken into account.

However, it is important to bear in mind that the function of such consultants is to help make the responsible governmental judgment an informed one, not to substitute for it. The consultant must not be formally relied upon to tell what the answer is; he must be asked to give information and opinion which facilitate decision on the part of those who bear the governmental responsibility.

4. In what way might our foreign service be better prepared and recruited, especially in the light of the need for understanding by career officials of political-military-scientific factors?

I respond to this question with some hesitation; for it is now some years since I left government, and I am not fully informed about present procedures.

I have had misgivings from the start about the soundness of certain features of the reform conducted some years ago in the recruitment and organization of the Foreign Service, and about our subsequent practices in this respect.

First of all, I have the impression that the Service is overstaffed and that we take in too many people.

Secondly, I think the Service should not include people who, while they may be technical experts in some specific field, lack the broader background of education and character necessary for foreign service work, generally.

entrance

Thirdly, I question the adequacy of an/examination which, as I understand it, includes no question of prose composition and thus fails to test adequately the candidate's ability to express himself clearly and effectively in his own language (which is also a test of his ability to think clearly).

Fourthly, I have the impression that we go too far in emphasis on broad geographic distribution. While I would like to see the Service as representative as possible of all geographic regions and professional sections of our society, I do not feel that the standards of admission, either

-5-

educational or in point of character and personality, should be in any way sacrificed to the achievement of this goal. The concern of those who control admissions to the Foreign Service should be to see that we find the people best qualified for the performance of the functions of the Service; and this effort should not be impaired by making a fetish of geographic distribution. In particular, it should not be held against candidates that they have attended specific institutions or come from specific parts of the country. This last is a form of negative discrimination no less invidious than would be a discrimination on behalf of these people.

Fifthly, the system of security controls, as I recall it from my own most recent governmental experience, seems to me to have been poorly conceived, in some respects illogical, overly mechanical, humiliating, and in many instances discouraging to the individual officer. I am unwilling to believe that some better means could not be found to assure the loyalty and reliability of Foreign Service personnel: means which, without in any way weakening the national security, would inspire greater confidence in the people themselves, would involve greater recognition of demonstrated loyalty and devotion to the government's interests, and would place greater weight on the opinions of superior officers who have known a member of the Foreign Service in his daily work, and less on the opinions of security agents whose identity is often unknown to the subject himself and have no intimate acquaintance with either his personality or his substantive work.

I am frank to say that I cannot conceive of an effective Foreign Service otherwise than as a gentleman's service, not in the sense that it would be based on distinctions of birth or social status, but in the sense that extensive reliance would be placed at all times on the honor and the sense of obligation of the individual officer himself, and he would be treated with the confidence and tact and consideration customary in circles where high standards of honor and responsibility are assumed to prevail. You cannot treat people like crooks and expect them to react like enthusiastic, high-minded public servants.

I deplore in particular the compartmentalization which makes certain people responsible for the substantive aspects of a man's work, and others responsible for matters of his loyalty and reliability. I believe that people can be usefully looked at only in their entirety, as whole personalities. I do not believe that the various aspects of character and personality can be separated when it comes to judging a man's usefulness to the government in any respect.

With particular relation to the range of knowledge of Foreign Service officers in political, military, and scientific fields, I consider that all Foreign Service officers ought to pursue, particularly in the first ten or twenty years of their service, the effort to broaden their general educational

background; that it should be the duty of the Department of State to encourage and help them in this respect; and that for this purpose there should be occasional periods of in-service educational training, along the lines of those now provided for a few officers by the National War College and other service academies, but embracing all officers and not just a highly selected minority.

5. To what extent does the committee system as it now operates complicate and impede decision-making in the national security area?

It is my opinion that the committee system as it now operates complicates and impedes very seriously decision-making in the national security area. We are confronted here with what appear to me to be some very basic misunderstandings and malpractices in the use of advisory committees. The greatest of these faults is the setting up of committees in which no one person has the basic responsibility for decision and where each participant has in effect the power of veto over the committee's findings. We will not, I believe, get away from this evil until we adopt a system of rigorous personal responsibility down through the entire machinery of these branches of government. The designation of such responsibility would in many instances have to be arbitrary, but even an arbitrary designation of major responsibility would be better than none at all. Committees could, and should, be formed or invited to assemble only under the chairmanship of an official who has been given primary responsibility for the question or questions under examination. It might be made incumbent on the chairman, when the committee has completed its work, to report dissenting opinions along with his own. But he should bear full responsibility for the recommendation made, and should not be bound in this respect to achieve either unanimity or majority approval of the members of the committee.

The present system leads to endless compromises, both of substance and of language, with the result that these committees, operating on the basis of the negative veto, often come up with compromise recommendations weaker than any of the conflicting points of view originally put forward around the committee table. It would have been better, in many instances, to take the original view of any one of the participants than to attempt to work on the basis of the compromise language finally produced. The reason why this cannot be done under the present system is that there is no one to decide which of these views to take; and if the disagreement is bucked to the next higher level, the result usually is that the same process of compromise is merely repeated there.

One great need which this reform would serve would be to save some of the loss of people's time involved in these committee meetings. A chairman who has the power to decide something can conduct a meeting with despatch, obtain the views of others present, make his decision, and be done with it. Meetings under the present system are endlessly time-consuming.

-7-

It is often argued that the replacement of the present committee system by a system of rigorous personal authority and responsibility would be "undemocratic." In my opinion, this view involves a total misconception of the nature of the Executive Branch of the government, and a misuse of the term "democracy." It is here, on Capitol Hill, where parliamentary principles have their place. The Executive Branch is not supposed to be a political community. Its officials are there to serve the President and to help him in the exercise of his constitutional authority. Whatever results in the fragmentizing and obscuration of that authority, as does the present committee system, is surely not serving in the best possible manner the purposes of the Constitution.

6. Is there a danger that we are now over-organized?

I cannot speak for the Defense Department, but the Department of State and the Foreign Service, as I knew them when I left government, seemed to me to be seriously over-organized. I have heard of nothing to suggest that this condition has been substantially corrected to date.

I can offer only hypotheses as to where the root of the evil lies.

The first of these would be in the committee system I have just described.

A second would be what I might call the contagion of "bigness" in the governmental machinery generally. It is hard, if only for the liaison demands it is called upon to meet, for any governmental unit to remain compact in a general atmosphere of huge and complex governmental machinery. Here, I suspect that the State Department has been in part the victim, indirectly, of the prodigal use of personnel to which, as I see it, the armed services have long been prone.

A third and very important source of this unhealthy condition might be found in the tendency to complete separation of managerial and personnel functions from substantive ones. Closely connected with this would be a conscious attempt to rule out individual judgment, individual responsibility, and the person-to-person relationship as factors in the operation of the personnel control, and to attempt to achieve a degree of impersonality and mechanistic functioning of the whole administrative structure which would make it unnecessary to have talented and experienced people to run it. I am satisfied that a much smaller and more compact group of individuals, bound to each other by personal intimacy and confidence as well as by a long community of experience, could accomplish far more expeditiously and effectively what is now accomplished by a badly bloated apparatus operating, for the most part, without these advantages. The frequent experience that in moments of real urgency it becomes necessary to bypass whole great sections of the regular machinery in order to get something done is simply

a proof that this machinery has achieved a degree of unwieldiness which makes it unsuitable as a vehicle for the formulation and execution of the policies of a great government in a precarious world.

The task of reducing this official machinery once more to workable dimensions is obviously a baffling and difficult one. It is a process which could lead to great injustices if it were not performed with much understanding and care. With the greatest of respect for the individuals involved, I find it difficult to believe that the ideas and impulses necessary for such a sanification can come primarily from those now bearing the administrative responsibility in the various echelons of the Department. This is partly because they are themselves among those who are most harried and exhausted by the effort to make the present cumbersome machinery work and they have little time to study these matters with detachment, partly because the inquiry would have to be of so broad a nature as to involve the questioning of many things they would no doubt feel it beyond their competence to question. I am also skeptical of the ability of business efficiency experts to find the proper solutions, for the work of a governmental office differs in many essential respects from that of a business enterprise and cannot be approached on the same principles.

I fear that we have yet to develop a proper theory of administrative practice for use within the Executive Branch of the federal government. The work of developing such a theory is work that could be done only by people who combine long experience in this branch of the government with an interest in, and insight into, the administrative process; and it could be properly accomplished only if such people were to apply themselves consistently to the task over a prolonged period of time, with high executive backing. If they are simply called in as short-term consultants and at once dismissed, the job will not be done. But this work must at some point be undertaken before we can cure the disease of over-organization which is rapidly making the Department of State and, I suspect, other governmental entities as well, into unhealthy and ineffective instruments of the executive authority.

\* \* \* \* \*



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MANAGING DIRECTORS ROOM

IRM/pb

5th April, 1960

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer,

As promised I am sending you a copy of Roy Harrod's biography of Lord Cherwell, which I hope you will enjoy reading.

I have not been successful in getting hold of a copy of the Paris L'Express and am anxious to read Kennan's article. I wonder whether by any chance you might have a copy of his lecture that you could lend me?

I hope to be visiting Princeton just before Easter and will call on you for a few minutes if convenient.

Yours sincerely,

*I.R. Maxwell*  
Secretary

Dr. Robert Oppenheimer,  
Institute for Advanced Studies,  
Princeton University,  
Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.

*rec'd from  
Shelby Harrod  
and sent 4/11/60 to Maxwell.*

Dictated by Captain Maxwell  
and signed in his absence

DIRECTORS

Capt. I. R. MAXWELL, M.C. (CHAIRMAN & MANAGING) · C. T. CLARK · E. J. BUCKLEY

11 November 1955

Memorandum to Mr. Morgan:

This will authorize you to transfer from Historical Studies Faculty Salaries to Historical Studies Special Grants the sum of \$12,500, and pay this as a grant-in-aid to Mr. Kennan for the period September 1, 1955 to June 30, 1956. Mr. Kennan's grant is at the rate of \$15,000 for the fiscal year, but for the months of July and August, 1955 he was still receiving money from the Rockefeller Foundation.

You are also authorized to transfer from Historical Studies Assistant Funds to Historical Studies secretarial salaries the sum of \$4,000, to be paid to Miss Hessman for the period September 1, 1955 to June 30, 1956. Miss Hessman's salary is \$4,800 a year.

Robert Oppenheimer

News Office  
Columbia University  
New York 27, New York  
UNiversity 5-4000, Ext. 886

FOR IMMEDIATE USE

John Hastings, Director

Columbia University's Bancroft Prizes for 1956 were awarded last night (Tuesday) to George F. Kennan for Russia Leaves the War and to Arthur S. Link for Wilson: The New Freedom. Both books were published by the Princeton University Press.

Given annually by Columbia for distinguished studies in American history, diplomacy, and international relations, the awards, each of which carries a \$2000 stipend, were approved earlier this month by the Trustees of the University. The presentations were made last night by Columbia President Grayson Kirk at the Bancroft Prize Dinner, held at the Men's Faculty Club. Principal speaker at the affair, sponsored each year by the Friends of the Columbia Libraries, was Russell Lynes, author and managing editor of Harper's magazine. C. Waller Barrett, chairman of the council of the Friends, was master of ceremonies.

Mr. Kennan's book, first volume of a projected two-volume examination of "Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920," has been described by his fellow Bancroft Prize winner, Arthur S. Link, as a study which "reveals enormous research. Better still" Mr. Link continued, "it is written with great force, clarity, and beauty." A two-time winner, the book by the former Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. last month won non-fiction laurels in the National Book Awards.

Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1904, Mr. Kennan received

## 2 -- Bancroft Prizes

the Bachelor of Arts degree from Princeton University in 1925 and began the following year his long career in the Foreign Service which culminated, in 1952, with the ambassadorship to the Soviet Union. In the top rank of American experts on Russia, Mr. Kennan, who retired from the Foreign Service in 1953, is Permanent Professor in the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. In addition to Russia Leaves the War, he has written American Diplomacy, 1900-1950 (1951), Realities of American Foreign Policy (1954), and Das Amerikanisch Russische Verhaltnis (Stuttgart, 1954). Mr. Kennan will be George Eastman Visiting Professor at Oxford University for the academic year, 1957-58.

Mr. Link, professor of history at Northwestern University, continues with his Bancroft Prize book, Wilson: The New Freedom, the series on the World War I president and his times which he began in 1947 with Wilson: The Road to the White House. A work of careful scholarship presented in vivid fashion, the 1956 volume covers Wilson's life between his election to the presidency in 1912 and the conclusion of the New Freedom phase of his first administration in the autumn of 1914.

Professor Link was born in New Market, Virginia, on August 8, 1920. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree with highest honors from the University of North Carolina in 1941, and his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1945. He was an instructor at North Carolina State College, the University of North Carolina, and at Princeton University; an assistant professor at Princeton, 1948-49, associate professor at Northwestern University, 1949-54, becoming a full professor there in the latter year. He held a Guggenheim fellowship, 1950-51, and was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study, 1954-55.

3 -- Bancroft Prizes

Professor Link's published works include, in addition to three volumes on Wilson, American Epoch, A History of the United States Since the 1890's (1955) and Problems in American History, (co-editor, 1952).

4.23.57

#6834