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978-0-521-86244-8 - From Roosevelt to Truman: Potsdam, Hiroshima, and the Cold War

Wilson D. Miscamble

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## From Roosevelt to Truman

### *Potsdam, Hiroshima, and the Cold War*

On April 12, 1945, Franklin Roosevelt died and Harry Truman took his place in the White House. Historians have been arguing ever since about the implications of this transition for American foreign policy in general and relations with the Soviet Union in particular. Was there essential continuity in policy, or did Truman's arrival in the Oval Office prompt a sharp reversal away from the approach of his illustrious predecessor? This study explores this controversial issue and in the process casts important light on the outbreak of the Cold War. *From Roosevelt to Truman* investigates Truman's foreign policy background and examines the legacy that FDR bequeathed to him. After Potsdam and the American use of the atomic bomb, both occurring during Truman's presidency, the United States floundered between collaboration and confrontation with the Soviets. The resolution of this debate represents a turning point in the transformation of American foreign policy. This work reveals that the real departure in American policy came only after the Truman administration had exhausted the legitimate possibilities of the Rooseveltian approach of collaboration with the Soviet Union.

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# From Roosevelt to Truman

## *Potsdam, Hiroshima, and the Cold War*

WILSON D. MISCAMBLE, C.S.C.

*University of Notre Dame*



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*To*

*my sister and brother*

*Jenny & Phillip ofm*

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## Preface

On April 12, 1945, the United States Senate recessed around five o'clock, and its presiding officer, Vice President Harry S. Truman, walked leisurely to the office of House Speaker Sam Rayburn for end-of-day drinks and conversation. As soon as he arrived, Rayburn told Truman to call presidential press secretary Steve Early, who immediately summoned him to the White House. Expecting to see President Franklin Roosevelt, he was ushered instead into the study of Eleanor Roosevelt. "Harry," she informed him, "the President is dead." Momentarily stunned, Truman eventually spoke and asked with genuine concern, "Is there anything I can do for you?" Mrs. Roosevelt replied insightfully: "Is there anything we can do for you for you are the one in trouble now."<sup>1</sup> Within two hours, Truman recited the oath of office, becoming the thirty-third president of the United States. Immediately after his swearing-in ceremony, the new president addressed the hastily convened cabinet. "It was my intention," Truman recalled saying, "to continue both the foreign and domestic policies of the Roosevelt Administration."<sup>2</sup> How effectively he fulfilled this promise has been the subject of intense discussion ever since.<sup>3</sup>

Over the last four decades, historians of various stripes waged a serious debate over how well – if at all – Truman fulfilled his commitment to continue Roosevelt's foreign policy, particularly his policy toward the Soviet Union. Some historians framed the question rather pejoratively as in the case of Thomas G. Paterson who asked, "How much of a difference did it make that a parochial, ill-informed, impatient man like Harry S. Truman replaced a cosmopolitan, knowledgeable Roosevelt just when the international system was undergoing

<sup>1</sup> This account is taken mainly from Truman's memoir. See Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, *Year of Decisions* (New York, 1955), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Truman, *Year of Decisions*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Among some of the early critics of Truman for failing to follow FDR's lead were Roosevelt's one-time advisers, Joseph E. Davies and Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Roosevelt's son Elliott who made his charges in his 1946 memoir *As He Saw It*. See the discussion of these in Thomas G. Paterson, *Meeting the Communist Threat: Truman to Reagan* (New York, 1988), p. 100.

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tremendous change?”<sup>4</sup> However slanted this particular formulation may be, the key issue remains clear. What difference did the transition in American leadership from FDR to Harry Truman exert on U.S. foreign policy in general and on relations with the Soviets in particular?

Beginning especially in the 1960s, some historians discerned a sharp break between the policies of the two presidents such that they assigned a large measure of responsibility for the onset of the Cold War to Truman and his supposedly hard-line advisers.<sup>5</sup> In this view, Truman reversed a relatively successful policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union and, in so doing, provoked the dissolution of the Grand Alliance. In effect, the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt brought on the Cold War. Historians of both orthodox and revisionist persuasions vigorously disputed this thesis.<sup>6</sup> Most orthodox historians denied a reversal in policy, although disagreements existed within the group over the nature of the policy that Roosevelt left Truman to continue. Herbert Feis, the undisputed dean of the orthodox school, argued that Truman pursued FDR's firm but conciliatory policy, while Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., argued that the basis for continuity rested in Roosevelt's prior conversion to a relatively tough policy toward the Soviets.<sup>7</sup> On the revisionist side, historians like Gabriel Kolko, who emphasized the causal force of America's expansionist, capitalist political-economic system, largely dismissed the role of personalities and downplayed the impact of Truman's accession to power on American policy toward the Soviet Union.<sup>8</sup> These various (and rather contradictory) responses failed to stem the tide of arguments that portrayed Truman's arrival in the Oval Office as a crucial way-station on the road to the Cold War.

In substantiating their thesis of a reversal in policy toward the Soviet Union, its proponents focused especially upon Truman's meeting with Soviet Foreign

<sup>4</sup> Thomas G. Paterson quoted in Mark J. White, "Harry Truman, the Polish Question, and the Significance of FDR's Death for American Diplomacy," *Maryland Historian*, 23 (Fall/Winter 1992), p. 29. Paterson concedes that "postwar conflict would have been present no matter which man was present," but he argues that "Roosevelt was more patient with the Russians, more willing to settle issues at the conference table, more tame and less abusive in his language, less abrupt in his decisions, and more solicitous of Soviet opinion and fears than was Truman." Noting the significance of these differences in "tactics and the mechanics of policymaking," he declares them as contributing to the onset of the Cold War. See Thomas G. Paterson, *On Every Front: The Making of the Cold War* (New York, 1992), p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> For early versions of this interpretation, see Denna F. Fleming, *The Cold War and Its Origins, 1917-1960*, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY, 1961), I, pp. 265-89; Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* (New York, 1965); and Diane Shaver Clemens, *Yalta* (New York, 1970), pp. 267-91.

<sup>6</sup> For a good survey of the early literature on the Cold War that clarifies the various schools of interpretation, see J. Samuel Walker, "Historians and Cold War Origins: The New Consensus," in Gerald K. Haines and J. Samuel Walker, eds., *American Foreign Relations: A Historiographical Review* (Westport, CT, 1981), pp. 207-36.

<sup>7</sup> Herbert Feis, *Churchill Roosevelt Stalin: The War They Waged and the Peace They Sought*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ, 1967), pp. 596-600; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "Origins of the Cold War," *Foreign Affairs*, 46 (October 1967), p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Gabriel Kolko, *The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1943-1945* (New York, 1968), pp. 381-82.

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Minister Molotov on April 23, a meeting at which, according to columnist Drew Pearson's colorful description, Molotov "heard Missouri mule driver's language."<sup>9</sup> At this celebrated clash, Truman reprimanded Molotov for the Soviet failure to carry out the Yalta accord on Poland, sharply curtailed the Soviet minister's attempt at an explanation, and stated bluntly "that he desired the friendship of the Soviet government but that it could only be on the basis of mutual observation of agreements and not on the basis of a one way street."<sup>10</sup> Although Charles Bohlen's official minutes do not record the incident, Truman claimed that in an acrimonious final exchange Molotov exclaimed that "I have never been talked to like that in my life," to which he retorted: "Carry out your agreements and you won't get talked to like that."<sup>11</sup>

The April 23 meeting with Molotov and the discussions Truman had with his advisers prior to it served as the keystone of arguments for a reversal of policy. Daniel Yergin in his influential *Shattered Peace*, published in 1977, argued that what was said at the meeting "signified a major shift in American attitudes towards the Russians" and that the exchange "symbolized the beginning of the postwar divergence that led to confrontation."<sup>12</sup> This essential position has been argued more recently by historians like Warren Kimball and Diane S. Clemens. The former argued that "there was a sharp reversal in presidential policy once Harry S. Truman took over that office" and that "it seems that Roosevelt's death provided an opportunity for what came to be called Cold War ideology to set the broad strategy for American diplomacy."<sup>13</sup> The latter contended that "beginning in March and culminating in late April 1945, a political battle was fought in the highest echelons of the government of the United States, the objective of which was to overturn the wartime policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union. As long as Franklin D. Roosevelt remained president, the attempt failed; but in the aftermath of his death, it was successful."<sup>14</sup> More notably, this reversal thesis has trickled down, so to speak, into influential textbooks and found an eager expression in more popular histories of the Cold War and is now widely held.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Drew Pearson quoted in Fleming, *The Cold War and Its Origins*, I, p. 268.

<sup>10</sup> Memorandum of conversation by Charles E. Bohlen, April 23, 1945, *FRUS*, 1945, V, pp. 256–58.

<sup>11</sup> Truman, *Year of Decisions*, p. 82.

<sup>12</sup> Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State* (Boston, 1977), pp. 73, 83.

<sup>13</sup> See Warren F. Kimball, *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman* (Princeton, NJ, 1991), p. 180.

<sup>14</sup> Diane S. Clemens, "Averell Harriman, John Deane, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the 'Reversal of Co-operation' with the Soviet Union in April of 1945," *International History Review*, 14 (May 1992), p. 277.

<sup>15</sup> On textbooks, see for example Paul S. Boyer, *Promises to Keep: The United States Since World War II* (Lexington, MA, 1995), pp. 42–43; and William Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1995), pp. 56–57. On popular histories, see Martin Walker, *The Cold War and the Making of the Modern World* (London, 1993), p. 19, which presents April 23 as the moment "when the balance in American policy began to shift, away from Roosevelt's wartime trust, to Truman's post-war suspicion."



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The lively plot line of the new president sharply reversing his predecessor's conciliatory policy and violently berating the foreign minister of an Allied nation possesses a certain dramatic quality. It surely satisfies those who like their stories of the past served up simplistically and in the stark colors of black and white. But for those who seek a fuller understanding of the past, a more nuanced and careful approach is required – one that sets the Truman–Molotov meeting in its proper context and appreciates that it was but a single episode in a sustained series of actions during Truman's early months in office. One must resist the temptation to use a single incident as emblematic of his whole approach to the Soviets. More exploration is needed to understand how successfully – if at all – Harry Truman fulfilled his commitment to continue his vaunted predecessor's policies. This study undertakes such an exploration and seeks to resolve the matter as to whether Roosevelt's death should be portrayed as representing “a turning-point in American foreign policy.”<sup>16</sup>

This study unashamedly is Washington-centered and, to a significant extent, White House-centered, although it records the influences upon and the constraints applied to American policy by other powers and their representatives. In this regard, it avoids a tendency in some American studies to present the emergence of the Cold War as a drama with only two principals, the United States and the Soviet Union.<sup>17</sup> Here the British role is not ignored, and the significant contributions of the British policy makers Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden, Clement Attlee, and Ernest Bevin are duly noted. It rests upon a firm conviction that the existing and substantial literature on the Truman administration's foreign policy neither has discerned correctly the full meaning of the presidential transition from Franklin Roosevelt nor has understood adequately and explained the development of the policies his successor pursued after April 12, 1945.<sup>18</sup>

Although a quite separate study, this work's conceptual approach builds upon and borrows from my earlier effort to understand the development of policies in the State Department during a later period of Truman's presidency.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The issue is framed this way in Mark J. White, “Harry Truman, the Polish Question, and the Significance of FDR's Death for American Diplomacy,” p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> This tendency is evident in Melvyn P. Leffler's *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration and the Cold War* (Stanford, CA, 1992).

<sup>18</sup> Some recent studies have addressed related aspects of this book's subject. See Michael Beschloss's *The Conquerors: Roosevelt, Truman and the Destruction of Hitler's Germany, 1941–1945* (New York, 2002), which focused on policy toward Germany, and J. Robert Moskin, *Mr. Truman's War: The Final Victories of World War II and the Birth of the Postwar World* (New York, 1996), which mainly discussed the military defeats of Germany and Japan. The best study of American policy making during the period considered by this book remains John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947* (New York, 1972). Also insightful are Randall B. Woods and Howard Jones, *Dawning of the Cold War: The United States' Quest for Order* (Athens, GA, 1991), and Robert James Maddox, *From War to Cold War: The Education of Harry S. Truman* (Boulder, CO, 1988).

<sup>19</sup> Wilson D. Miscamble, *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947–1950* (Princeton, NJ, 1992).

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The present study likewise adopts what Barry Rubin has termed “a middle ground between two extremes: the dry diplomatic history that presents decisions as clear-cut and inevitable by omitting the clash and blend of motives, personalities, abilities, and even accidents that occur in the policy process, and the journalistic account focusing on gossip and personalities to the exclusion of fundamental issues and options.”<sup>20</sup> It seeks to capture something of the world of the policy makers, especially Truman, with its inevitable compromises, ultimate objectives only dimly perceived, and constantly competing pressures that confused and obscured policy vision.<sup>21</sup> It accepts the complexity, the uncertainty, the sheer messiness of policy making and tries to convey the tense atmosphere in which policy makers usually worked, the heavy pressures they endured, and the complex of influences that weighed upon them.

My approach is much influenced by the insight of the British historian C. V. Wedgwood that “history is lived forward but it is written in retrospect. We know the end before we consider the beginning and we can never wholly recapture what it was like to know the beginning only.”<sup>22</sup> This study attempts to avoid simply reading history backwards and writing of Truman’s foreign policy in light of subsequent Cold War events. My effort has been to provide some sense of the evolution and development of policy from the perspective of Truman as a maker of it and to avoid the unrealistic and rather mechanical quality that characterizes many studies of American diplomatic history. I accept the premise that individuals can and do make a difference in foreign policy as one can appreciate readily by imagining the course of events if Henry Wallace had won the vice-presidential nomination in 1944 rather than Truman. Events then might easily have turned out quite differently, to state the obvious.

In pursuing this study of the development of the Truman administration’s foreign policy, a genuine effort has been made to treat the president as more than a one-dimensional figure. Truman has often been misunderstood by both his defenders and his critics and presented in an overly simplistic manner as a plain-spoken, straightforward, decisive figure best captured by the motto proudly displayed on his desk – “the buck stops here.”<sup>23</sup> In reality, he was a more complex man blessed with certain strengths and beset with notable limitations who was occasionally given to uncertainty and indecision on matters of foreign policy. Understanding this more complicated figure allows for a deeper appreciation of his foreign policy as I trust this study well clarifies. It is indebted to Truman’s recent biographers, especially to Robert H. Ferrell for clarifying so

<sup>20</sup> Barry Rubin, *Secrets of State: The State Department and the Struggle Over U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York, 1985), p. xi.

<sup>21</sup> This relies on Lisle Rose’s discussion of the gulf between “the writing of history and the effective making of it” in his “The Trenches and the Towers: Differing Perspectives on the Writing and Making of American Diplomatic History,” *Pacific Historical Review*, 55 (February 1986), p. 99.

<sup>22</sup> C. V. Wedgwood, *William the Silent* (New York, 1967), p. 35.

<sup>23</sup> This point is well made in Alonzo L. Hamby, “An American Democrat: A Reevaluation of the Personality of Harry S. Truman,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 106 (Spring 1991), p. 35–37.

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well Truman's talents and toughness as a politician and to Alonzo Hamby for revealing the more complex Truman personality in such compelling fashion.<sup>24</sup>

The overly simplified view of Truman usually portrays him as a veritable blank sheet with regard to foreign policy when he became president. This view neglects his range of involvements and experiences in the foreign policy domain prior to taking office and the deep convictions he brought to it. This study initially investigates Truman's foreign policy background because an appreciation of it is essential to understanding his early actions as president. Any assessment of these actions depends upon a clear grasp of the legacy that FDR bequeathed to Truman. Clarifying Roosevelt's hopes and plans for the postwar world is an obvious prerequisite for determining if Truman continued or reversed his policies. Had the Teheran and Yalta conferences settled divisive issues within the Grand Alliance such that a steady and cooperative course had been charted? Are there grounds for conjecture about what Herbert Mitgang has termed "the great might-have-been," which resides in "whether post-war Soviet-American relations would have been different had Roosevelt lived."<sup>25</sup> Was the postwar peace lost because of FDR's death? Or is such conjecture mere wishful thinking? Was President Roosevelt in reality in the process of reversing his own policy of cooperation by April 1945 and already moving along the road to becoming the "Cold Warrior" that Truman later became?<sup>26</sup>

Upon locating Truman in the Oval Office, this work looks in detail at his first challenging days in office culminating with his controversial meeting with Molotov on April 23. It identifies the pressures and influences upon him and indicates those advisers – including a notable foreigner – who guided his actions. It then proceeds to track Truman's policy making in the months prior to the Potsdam Conference. The effort is to discern not only what Truman did but also *why* he did it. In doing so, I seek to borrow from the biographer's approach of

<sup>24</sup> Ferrell presents Truman as a political professional who possessed "extraordinary talents." See Robert H. Ferrell, *Harry S. Truman: A Life* (Columbia, MO, 1994), p. 92. For Hamby's effort to "demythologize [Truman] but not to debunk him," see his *Man of the People: A Life of Harry S. Truman* (New York, 1995), p. 641. His work has been especially important for this study. I also have benefited from David McCullough's eminently readable *Truman* (New York, 1992), which, while presenting an overly "heroic" Truman, captures something of the drama and importance of the events in which Truman was involved. Let me also note the influence upon me of a brilliant (and highly favorable) essay on Truman by Max Lerner – "Harry S Truman: The Plutarchian President," in Max Lerner, *Wounded Titans: American Presidents and the Perils of Power*, ed. Robert Schmuhl (New York, 1996), pp. 187–217.

<sup>25</sup> Herbert Mitgang, "Of Three Unlikely Allies and Their Conflicts," *New York Times*, July 23, 1991, p. C16.

<sup>26</sup> On this point, note Robert Dallek's observations regarding FDR that "in the last weeks of his life he was already moving towards an accommodation with the likelihood of a postwar U.S.-Soviet clash," and furthermore that "the inevitable collapse of the wartime friendship would have turned FDR into a tough-minded Cold Warrior as determined to defend America's national interest against Soviet Communism as he had been to protect it from the Nazi-fascist threat." Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932–1945* (New York, 1995), p. 551. These observations are included in an "Afterword" added in 1995.

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“retrieving a set of mental processes” that the new president applied.<sup>27</sup> Which advisers did he find most trustworthy? Did they change during these months, and, if so, why? How did Truman as a neophyte leader deal with the other principal members of the Grand Alliance – the Soviet Union and Great Britain – and their erstwhile leaders Joseph Stalin and Winston Churchill?

As the reader will assuredly note, Truman’s policy making can’t be understood in a static manner. It must be discerned while appreciating the dynamic of constantly changing circumstances. One of the most significant of these was the movement toward the successful testing of the atomic bomb, which raised crucial questions about how the new and powerful weapon should be used both in war and in diplomacy. Did the likely possession of the atomic bomb transform American military calculations as the war came to an end and alter U.S. intentions toward its Soviet ally?<sup>28</sup> Should the bombing of Hiroshima be seen as the opening salvo in the Cold War as Gar Alperovitz suggested so provocatively more than forty years ago?<sup>29</sup> How is the Potsdam conference, Truman’s one and only exercise in Big Three summitry, related to America’s possession of the A-bomb? Would FDR have used the atomic weapons in the manner that Truman authorized? Would his approach have been similar at the concluding summit of the Second World War?

In the aftermath of the Potsdam meeting, Truman entrusted much of the responsibility for the execution of American foreign policy to his new secretary of state, James F. Byrnes, who served in this capacity until George C. Marshall succeeded him at the beginning of 1947. American endeavors during Byrnes’s secretaryship are not susceptible to easy categorization. There are obvious attempts at cooperation and instances of confrontation with the Soviets, and at times the United States edged somewhat to the sidelines as the British clashed more directly with the Soviets. Clarifying the main developments over the period and their causes is the object here. Clearly after 1947, Truman led a major transformation of American foreign policy. The United States assumed sweeping new international obligations motivated in large part by a desire to preserve the security of the noncommunist world from perceived Soviet expansionism. As is well known, for example, the United States worked to secure the political and economic recovery of the European democracies devastated by a brutal war, and it joined them in forging a military alliance committed to the defense of Western Europe. A new conceptual worldview of America’s

<sup>27</sup> This borrows from John Lewis Gaddis’s discussion of the biographer’s task in Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (New York, 2002), p. 114.

<sup>28</sup> Richard B. Frank raises the issue of a transformation of military calculations in the final months of the war in his *Downfall: The End of the Imperial Japanese Empire* (New York, 1999), p. xviii.

<sup>29</sup> Alperovitz first published *Atomic Diplomacy* in 1965 and a revised and expanded edition in 1985. For the revised edition, see Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam – The Use of the Atomic Bomb and the American Confrontation with Soviet Power*, rev. ed. (New York, 1985). See also Alperovitz’s later effort *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth* (New York, 1995).

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international role surely was framed during Truman's tenure as president. When the Missourian consigned his office to Dwight D. Eisenhower on January 20, 1953, the United States stood unmistakably as a global power with global interests committed to playing a central and abiding role in international affairs and locked in a deep and protracted conflict with the Soviet Union. One might ask if such a result could be seen as consistent with the directions that Franklin Roosevelt had consigned to his successor in April 1945.

Perhaps as the foregoing suggests, this work is mainly one of a "splitter" as opposed to a "lumper" (to borrow yet again J. H. Hexter's terminology which John Gaddis has made so familiar to American diplomatic historians). It at least partly resists the lumper's temptation "to systematize complexity [and] to reduce the chaos, disorder and sheer untidiness of history to neat patterns."<sup>30</sup> But this is not to suggest that this work does not have implications for lumpers and splitters alike, and I seek in the concluding chapter to draw these out and to clarify their meaning for the debate over America's participation in the Cold War and its responsibility for it. Now that the Cold War is over, one strain of thinking suggests that there is no longer any need for historians to go on fighting it, as it were.<sup>31</sup> In this time of transition from one discernible era in international relations to another, this sense might be seen as an understandable desire to move beyond the Cold War and to avoid undue celebration of the American triumph in it. Yet the central importance of the Cold War to the twentieth century cannot be disputed. To avoid seeking to understand it more fully is to engage in a most curious scholarly denial. Given the moral and political stakes involved in the Cold War, its enormous impact on the postwar world, and its implications for the present, the historian is obliged to continue the work of comprehending better its origins and course. This study aims to further that endeavor.

<sup>30</sup> John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy* (New York, 1982), pp. vii–viii.

<sup>31</sup> Michael Hogan exhibits something of this in his uncharacteristically vituperative review essay, "The Vice Men of Foreign Policy," *Reviews in American History*, 21 (June 1993), pp. 320–28.

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## Acknowledgments

I can say without fear of any contradiction that this book has been some years in the making. In fact, its origins lie in work I did as a graduate student at the University of Queensland thirty years ago. I renewed my serious engagement with the topic in the early 1990s after completing my book on George F. Kennan and the Policy Planning Staff. However, my appointment in 1994 as chair of the History Department at the University of Notre Dame pushed my research and writing of this book to the “back burner.” My subsequent appointment as Rector of Moreau Seminary at Notre Dame removed it from the metaphorical stove altogether. With the completion of my service as Rector in 2004 and with the benefit of a sabbatical year at Yale University, I finished the research and writing of the book the reader presently holds. I am very glad to have done so because I now have an acceptable answer to the many people who inquired over the past years as to the progress of my “Truman book.” That answer is, of course, that it is now available for purchase!

In the course of completing this study, in rather episodic fashion over this lengthy period, I have acquired debts to both people and institutions. I wish to acknowledge them here, although, of course, the responsibility for the study’s contents belongs solely to me. In identifying those to whom I am grateful, I fear that I might have forgotten someone. If so, let me apologize for that in advance.

My initial work on this topic took form as a M.A. thesis at the University of Queensland under the direction of Joseph M. Siracusa. He introduced me to the study of American diplomatic history and to serious historical research. I value his continued friendship and support. My doctoral mentor at Notre Dame, Vincent P. DeSantis, has been a constant source of encouragement for me to remain committed to my work as a historian, especially when other responsibilities seemed to be leading me down a different path. I am glad that we now do some co-teaching, and I look forward to addressing the subjects raised in this book in his courses in the future.

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George Kennan once pointed out "that the studying and writing of history is a relatively lonely occupation." In retrospect, I might have finished this book sooner if I had experienced more such "loneliness," but, however that may be, I know I could not have finished it without the interest of good friends who encouraged me along the way. I thank my *confreres* in Holy Cross, especially the men of Moreau Seminary, whose brotherhood I treasure. I owe a special debt to John Young, C.S.C., and the Maple Street community in New Haven where I resided during my sabbatical year. I am also grateful to Daniel, Mary Ann, and Alice Rogers for their wonderful generosity in support of my scholarly efforts. My time in New Haven was blessed by the friendship and kindness of Sun-Joo Shin and Henry Smith (thanks for all the meals!); Fr. Dan Sullivan and the people of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Parish in Hamden; and John Gaddis and Toni Dorfman. I went to Yale with the express purpose of completing my book, but, as all true students of history know, things never turn out quite the way one expects. Quite surprisingly, I gained at Yale a renewed commitment to my teaching ministry, which I hope to apply to my students' benefit at Notre Dame in the coming years. This came through observing devoted teachers like Toni Dorfmann, John Gaddis, Paul Kennedy, and Charles Hill in action. I am grateful to the latter three for allowing me to participate in their year-long Grand Strategy seminar and to the excellent students who constituted it.

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*Acknowledgments*

doubted that I would complete it. Neither my sister nor my brother worked their way through much of my book on George Kennan, and I don't really expect them to read much more of this work. Yet, each has been a fount of support for me since our days growing up in Roma, and the dedication here is but a token of my love and gratitude.