Introduction

The theologian Reinhold Niebuhr was among the few members of what Paul Tillich called the "theological circle" to make a significant impact on the secular world. Within this world, Niebuhr's influence was most pronounced among those associated with historical studies and politics. This book presents Niebuhr's dialogues and interactions with seven influential individuals from fields as diverse as theology, philosophy, political theory, diplomacy, and jurisprudence – men whose careers took them to the pinnacles of their professions.

Paul Tillich was the dominant philosophical theologian in mid-twentieth-century America. John Dewey, a staunch defender of democracy and icon of social liberalism, was America's leading educator and successor to William James as the preeminent exponent of American pragmatism. Norman Thomas established a reputation as the most influential voice of socialism in the United States. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. was a brilliant and prolific historian, as well as a political activist and presidential adviser. Hans Morgenthau, after his arrival in America, quickly became the leading authority in international political theory and a forceful advocate of political realism. George Kennan, an expert on Soviet affairs and author of the United States' post–World War II "containment theory," was one of America's most able diplomats. Felix Frankfurter was a giant on the Supreme Court and was considered by many to possess a brilliance matched by very few in the history of that august body.

Three factors were involved in choosing these individuals for detailed examination: the degree of interaction each had with Niebuhr; the availability of source material, including abundant correspondence, connecting each to Niebuhr; and the impact each made on American life and thought.

The sequence of the chapters is based on both chronological and developmental factors. The chronological factor relates to the time during which Niebuhr's interaction with each person came into focus. The developmental factor relates to the changes in Niebuhr's thought over the course of his career. The relationship between Niebuhr and Tillich began in 1933, arising out of the situation in Nazi Germany when Niebuhr played an instrumental role in helping Tillich establish himself at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. Paul

Tillich, Norman Thomas, and John Dewey were ardent socialists at the time Niebuhr first gained public notice with the publication of *Moral Man and Immoral Society* in 1932. Niebuhr and Dewey worked together in the arena of progressive politics from the time Niebuhr arrived at Union, although their relationship became increasingly adversarial after Niebuhr held him up to criticism in *Moral Man and Immoral Society*. Niebuhr and Norman Thomas shared a socialist history that spanned the period between Thomas's first run for the presidency in 1928 and Niebuhr's resignation from the Socialist Party in 1940. The beginning of Niebuhr's relationship with Schlesinger occurred at a transitional period when Niebuhr was moving away from his socialist-radical period. Schlesinger, a generation younger, became aware of Niebuhr at the beginning of the 1940s, and their relationship reached its zenith during their support of Adlai Stevenson during his presidential campaigns of 1952 and 1956. Niebuhr met Hans Morgenthau at the University of Chicago in 1944, and together they helped shape the emerging political realism that spanned the 1940s and 1950s. Although George Kennan and Niebuhr had little face-to-face contact, Kennan, referring to the political realists, once called Niebuhr "the father of us all" and conscripted Niebuhr to serve as one of the outsiders on the State Department's policy planning committee in 1949. The book concludes with Felix Frankfurter, whose relationship with Niebuhr spanned the quarter-century prior to Frankfurter's death in 1965 and was the most intimate of all Niebuhr's associations among these seven individuals.

The underlying thread that connects Niebuhr's relationships with all of these luminaries is the political and social history that gave shape and substance to life in the United States in the period between the 1930s and the time of Niebuhr's death in 1971. The world in which they interacted and were so very influential covered the decades between the Great Depression of 1929 and the peak of the Cold War in the 1960s. Niebuhr came to Union Seminary in 1928 as the era of the old GOP – with the pro-business conservatism of Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover – was about to implode. This was the America into which Niebuhr, John Dewey, and Norman Thomas launched their attacks on laissez-faire capitalism, advocating socialism as a sensible option for America's future. During the late 1920s and early 1930s, the three worked together on numerous causes, served together on various committees, and published articles in socialist-leaning journals such as *The World Tomorrow*. Norman Thomas, running on the Socialist Party ticket, was the presidential candidate of choice in 1928 for both Niebuhr and Dewey.

Niebuhr, Dewey, and Thomas were strong advocates and defenders of democracy. By the mid-1930s, they became more convinced than ever that democracy itself could survive only if some form of socialism replaced a capitalist order that they saw drifting inexorably toward fascism. Niebuhr was in his most radical phase at this time, propelled in large measure by the rapid success of fascist movements in Europe. During these years, while aligning himself with the socialist causes and the presidential ambitions of Norman Thomas, Niebuhr's controversy with Dewey continued to grow and occupy space in journals such as

The World Tomorrow, *The New Republic*, and, in Niebuhr's case, scattered throughout his publications.

Amid the rising tide of fascism in Hitler's Germany, Paul Tillich's long-standing advocacy of democratic socialism there, his intellectual openness, and his defense of his students from Nazi harassment led to his dismissal from the teaching position he held in Frankfurt. Tillich came to America in 1933 under the auspices of Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University. Niebuhr aided in arranging the move by introducing Tillich to various intellectual circles, and, with his wife, assisting the Tillichs in their adjustment to life in America. The friendship between Niebuhr and Tillich easily survived what became a highly public theological dispute in the 1940s and 1950s.

Niebuhr's relationships with Schlesinger, Morgenthau, Kennan, and Frankfurter date from the early to mid-1940s. The historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. was drawn to Niebuhr at the time Niebuhr broke with the Socialist Party in 1940, on the eve of America's entry into World War II. Niebuhr voted for Roosevelt that year after gaining increasing appreciation for Rooseveltian pragmatism and its New Deal reforms. Niebuhr was also so convinced that the country must enter the war against Hitler that, in 1941, he launched his own journal, *Christianity and Crisis*. While chiding Niebuhr for his failure to appreciate Roosevelt's pragmatic approach earlier, Schlesinger came to highly value Niebuhr's realistic assessment of human nature and his running commentary on world events. Both Schlesinger and Niebuhr were active in the ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) and worked diligently in support of Adlai Stevenson's failed efforts to capture the presidency in 1952 and 1956.

Hans Morgenthau, entering the American scene in the mid-1940s, met Niebuhr at the University of Chicago in 1944. They quickly became friends and allies based on their mutual commitment to realism in politics. Morgenthau emerged as the major authority on international political theory with the publication of his *Politics Among Nations* in 1948. He, together with Niebuhr and George Kennan, fought the radical swing in America between isolationism, on the one hand, and zealous interventionism, on the other. All three sought to redirect international political thinking in America away from the overly idealistic pathways that, they were convinced, would lead only to disaster in global politics. The urgency of their writings reflected the realities of the time – the Cold War and the nuclear age when the post–World War II rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union threatened again and again to bring the world to the brink of atomic war.

Niebuhr's relationship with Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter was at its core a personal friendship, as the trove of correspondence left by Frankfurter reveals. Frankfurter first encountered Niebuhr when the latter was preaching in Heath, Massachusetts, where both resided during the summers. Frankfurter's tenure on the Supreme Court began in 1939. In 1941, he was called upon to intervene on Niebuhr's behalf in a case wherein Niebuhr's loyalty was being questioned by the FBI. They became friends and over the decades repeatedly found themselves in each other's intellectual debt. Frankfurter read Niebuhr's

books and articles, often sharing views and even consulting him on theological matters. Niebuhr, in turn, both consulted and engaged Frankfurter on a variety of judicial matters. The many issues over which they exchanged views covered the entire range of events that shaped the period between World War II and the mid-1960s.

It was clearly a credit to Niebuhr that there were those individuals among this august group who not only held him in high regard but also turned to him for advice and friendship. Although having varying reactions to Niebuhr's religious convictions, they all recognized and responded to the religious basis on which his insights and analyses were grounded. In the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, Niebuhr shared the religious views of Social Gospel liberals, although he soon became a major critic of the Social Gospel and what he came to view as the simplistic idealism and moralism of American liberalism in both its religious and secular forms. This is the Niebuhr who engages and is engaged by both John Dewey and Norman Thomas. Later on, in the 1940s and 1950s, Niebuhr had discovered and appropriated the insights of the Protestant Reformers Luther and Calvin, and, most especially, those of St. Augustine. This gradually led to what has been called "Christian realism," and it is this Niebuhr who is predominant in his relationships with Schlesinger, Morgenthau, Kennan, and Frankfurter.

Niebuhr had a rather distinctive standing among theologians. In the wake of his memorable statement "I cannot and do not claim to be a theologian,"[1] Niebuhr carefully honed his disclaimer by admitting that he was interested neither in the "fine points of pure theology" nor in being a "theologian" in the sense that his European critics might have expected from him. Niebuhr found himself quite comfortable with Alexis de Tocqueville's observation that, "in comparison with European Christianity," American Christianity bore a "strong pragmatic interest." He declared that his own competence in "Christian social ethics" and "in the ancillary field of 'apologetics'" had "prompted an interest in the defense and justification of the Christian faith in a secular age, particularly among what Schleiermacher called Christianity's 'intellectual despisers.'"[2]

Niebuhr's overriding interest was to distill insights about human nature from both biblical faith and subsequent theological resources and apply them to the full range of social and political life. He struggled constantly with the problem of how to relate Christian love (*agape*) and political justice, and how that relationship could be applied to social communities. From the beginning Niebuhr was

[1] R. Niebuhr, "Intellectual Autobiography" in C. W. Kegley, *Reinhold Niebuhr: His Religious, Social and Political Thought* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1984), p. 3. The first edition, edited by C. W. Kegley and R. W. Bretall, was published by Macmillan in 1956.

[2] Ibid. By his own admission, Niebuhr was not doing what theologians characteristically do; namely, either write dogmatic theology, as Karl Barth did for the church, or construct a systematic theology aimed at covering the full range of Christian belief, as was the case with Paul Tillich. Indeed, one of Tillich's mistakes (made in his 1941 review of the first volume of Niebuhr's *The Nature and Destiny of Man*) was expressing the expectation that "we shall have a theological system" when the second volume appeared. See P. Tillich, review of *The Nature and Destiny of Man* in *Christianity and Society* (Spring, 1941), 34.

involved in a variety of political activities that, in turn, fed into his teaching of social ethics. Roger Shinn pointed out that, as Niebuhr became actively involved in the world of politics and public affairs on both national and international levels, he developed "what might be called a bilingual ethics. That is, he was resolutely Christian" with an "immersion in Scripture, the Augustinian heritage, the theology of the Reformation, and in the social gospel. At the same time he was showing the relevance of those insights to audiences that thought themselves indifferent or hostile to them."[3] Although he denied being a "theologian" in any systematic manner, George Lindbeck is correct in pointing out that Niebuhr was "perhaps the last American theologian who in practice (and in some extent in theory) made extended and effective attempts to redescribe aspects of the contemporary scene in distinctively Christian terms."[4]

Niebuhr's appeal to individuals in the secular world also was owed to the fact that his theological apologetics was rooted in, and reflected, the pragmatic tradition of James and Dewey. His connection to and appropriation of American pragmatism is evident from the earliest days and continued throughout his changing views, albeit in somewhat different ways. Niebuhr was consistently pragmatic in the obvious sense that his thought was consistently related to what Dewey called the "problems of men." On a deeper level, however, his very conception of both theology and the theological enterprise came to bear the mark of pragmatism. Roger Shinn is certainly correct in pointing out that Niebuhr's highly touted pragmatism was definitely "a pragmatism in a theological context."[5] It is also the case that Niebuhr was doing theology in a pragmatic context. In sharing Dewey's distrust of the metaphysical and epistemological certainties associated with Western intellectual tradition, Niebuhr engaged in what Richard Rorty labeled an "edifying" activity. He ably performed the role which Rorty so valued in our society; namely, "that of the informed dilettante, the polypragmatic, Socratic intermediary between various discourses" in whose "salon, so to speak, hermetic thinkers are charmed out of their self-enclosed practices" and where "disengagements between disciplines and discourses are compromised or transcended in the course of conversation."[6] Niebuhr knew he was drawing upon a theological tradition that had been ignored, rejected, or

[3] R. L. Shinn, "Reinhold Niebuhr as teacher, colleague, and friend" in D. F. Rice (ed.), *Reinhold Niebuhr Revisited: Engagements with an American Original* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), p. 8. In choosing to function from within the theological tradition in the role of a theological apologist, Niebuhr's manner was often polemical. Because his criticisms were aimed primarily at the overly optimistic rationalism that was predominant in America's secular and religious circles, he was frequently vilified by members of both communities. From many within his own religious tradition, his polemics often received rejection and expressions of wounded pride. From secular quarters, he was often accused of misrepresenting the persons or positions he criticized, or was simply dismissed as being a supernatural "irrationalist."

[4] G. A. Lindbeck, *The Nature of Doctrine: Religion and Theology in a Post-Liberal Age* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), p. 124.

[5] R. L. Shinn, "Realism, radicalism, and eschatology," *Journal of Religion* (October, 1974), 415.

[6] R. Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 317.

simply marginalized by many who nonetheless found compelling what he had to say. To use Rorty's term, Niebuhr functioned as a "peripheral" theologian whose theological discourse was used to engage the secular culture in an attempt to keep conversational spaces open against unwarranted closures. That he did so with some measure of success is witnessed to by the caliber of influential individuals touched by both his life and his thought. A brief sketch of the seven men dealt with in this volume follows.

PAUL TILLICH (1886–1965)

The one theologian with whom Niebuhr had a significant and lasting relationship was his friend and colleague Paul Tillich. Born the son of a Lutheran minister in Germany in 1886, Tillich came to America in 1933 at age forty-seven after losing his teaching position during the Nazi regime. With Niebuhr's assistance, he began teaching at both Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University in New York City. After developing his existentialist-based philosophical theology, Tillich became one of the twentieth century's most influential Protestant theologians. His monumental three-volume *Systematic Theology* was published between 1951 and 1963. Among his more popular works are *The Shaking of the Foundations* (1948), *The Courage to Be* (1952), and *Dynamics of Faith* (1957). Tillich remained Niebuhr's colleague at Union until 1955, when he went to Harvard University. In 1962, Tillich took a position at the University of Chicago, where he remained until his death three years later.

Together, Niebuhr and Tillich occupied center stage among Protestant theologians in America in the decades surrounding the mid-twentieth century. The tradition of nineteenth-century Protestant liberalism – the tradition of Adolf von Harnack, Albrecht Ritschl, and Friedrich Schleiermacher – had come under devastating attack in Europe in the 1920s by the Swiss Reformed theologians Karl Barth and Emil Brunner. A decade later Niebuhr launched his own scathing attack on the vapidity of the liberal tradition – both religious and secular – in his 1934 book *Moral Man and Immoral Society*. Niebuhr's attack, combined with Tillich's role in bringing European developments in theology to the United States, resulted in their being identified as the leading exponents of what was labeled "Neo-orthodoxy" in America. To a large extent the label was misapplied. Whereas Niebuhr and Tillich drew upon similar theological resources in criticizing Protestant liberalism, they were sharply critical of Barth for his narrow view of the relation between theology and culture with its lack of appreciation for broader theological and philosophical traditions.

Soon after coming to Union Theological Seminary, Niebuhr voiced appreciation for the liberating role Tillich's interpretation of religious symbols had for the churches in America. Tillich had been active in social and political struggles in Germany, and he joined with Niebuhr in the Fellowship of Socialist Christians during their early years together in America. Gradually, however, Tillich's and Niebuhr's intellectual worlds diverged. Niebuhr's focus was on politics, history,

and social ethics, while Tillich's interests were in philosophy, psychology, and the arts. Tillich and Niebuhr eventually engaged in a decade-long dispute over the role of ontological analysis in theological discourse.

From the time between Tillich's arrival in America and the post–World War II decade of the mid-1940s, Niebuhr and Tillich made occasional trips to Europe and wrote extensively on the Nazi situation that engulfed Germany. The first part of Chapter 1 deals with their mutual involvement with events in Germany and elsewhere in Europe before, during, and after the rise of Nazism. The second part focuses on theological issues and the controversy in which they became involved after they had gained prominence in the American theological scene.

JOHN DEWEY (1859–1952)

Chapter 2 focuses on John Dewey, who was born in Vermont in 1859. Dewey became the dominant intellectual figure in America during the first half of the twentieth century. His reputation as an innovator in educational theory was established early in his career both at the University of Chicago and at Columbia University. Dewey's impact on democratic thought in the United States was unexcelled, and he became the most articulate defender of democratic requirements in the context of industrial America. A few of his major books relating to politics include *Democracy and Education* (1916), *The Public and Its Problems* (1927), and *Liberalism and Social Action* (1935). As America's ranking philosopher, Dewey viewed philosophy as relating first and foremost to "the problems of men." He was the major successor to Charles Sanders Peirce and William James in furthering the tradition of American pragmatism, although he chose to label his version "instrumentalism." In the years since his death, his name has again come to the fore in the resurgent reevaluation of pragmatism and its role in contemporary philosophical trends.

Niebuhr's and Dewey's lives overlapped only briefly between Niebuhr's arrival at Union Theological Seminary in New York City in 1928 at age thirty-five and Dewey's official retirement from Columbia University in 1930 at age seventy-one. The only occasions in which Niebuhr and Dewey had personal contact were when they served together in various social and political organizations. Niebuhr, who was a generation younger than Dewey, launched an attack on Dewey beginning in 1932 when, in his book *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, he singled out Dewey as the quintessential embodiment of the naïve, utopian, and excessively rationalistic views of American liberalism. Beyond their disputes over the merits and weaknesses of American liberalism, Niebuhr and Dewey also differed in their approaches to religion, naturalistic philosophy, human nature, and democracy.

NORMAN THOMAS (1884–1968)

Chapter 3 traces the interesting and somewhat tumultuous relationship between Niebuhr and Norman Thomas, who succeeded Eugene Debs as the head of the

Socialist Party of America. This chapter focuses primarily on the twenty-year span between Thomas's first and sixth runs for president of the United States. During the 1930s, after Niebuhr had moved to New York City, he was drawn into the orbit of Norman Thomas and became an ardent supporter of socialist causes. Ohio-born and Princeton-educated, Norman Thomas started out as a Presbyterian minister. A product of the emphasis on the Social Gospel gained at Union Theological Seminary, he developed an acute social consciousness that drew him to a ministry in East Harlem. Thomas was a member of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), and his opposition to America's participation in World War I led to his resignation from his pastorate and later to a departure from the Presbyterian Church. His status as a conscientious objector was the deciding factor in his joining the Socialist Party of America in 1918. That same year Thomas became editor of the Fellowship's journal *The World Tomorrow*, and four years later he became codirector of the League for Industrial Democracy.

Running unsuccessfully on the Socialist ticket for a variety of political offices during the 1920s, Thomas became the Socialist Party candidate for president of the United States in 1928. His brand of socialism grew out of a Christian framework and was democratic to the core. Although socialism never gained traction in the United States, Thomas gained a measure of respect and admiration among his fellow Americans. Amid ever-increasing factional disputes within socialist ranks, he would run as the Socialist Party's presidential candidate five more times, finally ending his bid after the 1948 election.

After arriving at Union Theological Seminary in 1928, Niebuhr, eight years younger than Thomas, was drawn to the socialist movement that the older man led. Thomas gave forceful expression to socialist thought during the late 1920s and 1930s, when economic conditions in America were deteriorating. In their reactions to the Great Depression, both Thomas and Niebuhr saw capitalism as being bankrupt and intractably decadent. Thomas and Niebuhr came to believe that American capitalism was doomed and that the nation was rapidly moving toward the kind of fascism that had overtaken much of Europe. Niebuhr became a staunch supporter of Thomas, backing his presidential campaigns in 1928, 1932, and 1936. However, in 1940 an insurmountable break occurred when, after repudiating the pacifism of the Socialist Party and gaining increasing appreciation for the accomplishments of the New Deal, Niebuhr supported Franklin Roosevelt for the presidency. His support for American involvement in World War II was a primary factor in his resignation from the Socialist Party and resulted in his founding of the publication *Christianity and Crisis* in 1941. Thomas unsuccessfully implored Niebuhr to return to the ranks of the Socialist Party. However, he took some solace in the fact that by the 1948 election many of his recommendations and reforms had been taken up by America's mainstream political parties. Although Niebuhr and Thomas would go their separate ways politically, they remained on friendly terms.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER JR. (1917–2007)

One of the most prolific historians in America, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. combined a scholarly yet exciting historical writing with a committed political activism. He not only wrote history but also wrote forceful analyses and interpretations of issues affecting the contemporary body politic. Born in Ohio, Schlesinger was heir to the historical talents of his father. He first came into prominence in 1945 as a historian with the publication of his Pulitzer Prize–winning book *The Age of Jackson*, and he later secured his reputation as one of America's ranking historians with the publication of his three-volume work *The Age of Roosevelt* (1957–60). In addition to writing biographies of both John and Robert Kennedy, many of Schlesinger's later writings combined historical writing with social and political activism, including books such as *The Vital Center* (1949), *The Imperial Presidency* (1973), *The Cycles of American History* (1986), and *The Disuniting of America* (1991).

A generation younger than Niebuhr, Schlesinger's active life ranged from serving in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II, through involvement in Cold War-era politics, to witnessing the dawn of the twenty-first century. Schlesinger's political activities were legend – ranging from his involvement in Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and participation in the two Democratic presidential campaigns of Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson to his service to the Kennedy administration when, on leave from Harvard, he accepted the position of special assistant to the president. After the tragedies affecting the Kennedys, he returned to teaching at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York until retiring in 2004. Schlesinger recorded this journey in two books: *A Life in the Twentieth Century: Innocent Beginnings, 1917–1950* (2000) and *Journals 1952–2000*.

From the time Schlesinger's wife prodded him to listen to Niebuhr preach at Harvard in the early 1940s until Niebuhr's death in 1971, each man exerted significant influence on the other. In terms of political action, they worked together in Democratic politics, particularly in support of the twice-defeated Stevenson. In terms of intellectual influence, Schlesinger was profoundly impacted by Niebuhr's realism, especially in its devastating analysis of the limits of human reason and its indictment of the naïve idealism then so prevalent in American society. While benefiting from Niebuhr's understanding of human nature, Schlesinger remained at a comfortable distance from the theological convictions that Niebuhr found so important. Niebuhr, meanwhile, deferred to Schlesinger on historical matters, and he admitted to Schlesinger that he had come rather late in appreciating Roosevelt and his pragmatic New Deal measures. After Niebuhr's first stroke in 1952, Schlesinger involved himself personally in Niebuhr's life, much to the benefit and appreciation of Niebuhr and his family. In the last decade of his life, with his health in rapid decline, Niebuhr deeply valued his continuing friendship with Schlesinger.

HANS J. MORGENTHAU (1904–1980)

Chapter 5 deals with Niebuhr's remarkable relationship with Hans Morgenthau, who, within six years of his 1943 arrival in America, gained the well-deserved reputation as America's preeminent international political theorist. Morgenthau was not only one of the architects of modern international politics but also instrumental in the move to obtaining a home for the study of foreign affairs and diplomacy in the political science departments of most universities. Born in Coburg, Germany, to a Jewish family, Morgenthau was educated in Germany and Switzerland. After a variety of teaching positions ending in Frankfurt, he immigrated to the United States in 1937 during the Nazi era. Morgenthau secured a position at the University of Chicago, where he taught for twenty-five years until, in 1968, he took up a teaching post at the New School for Social Research and at City University of New York.

The twenty-five-year relationship between Niebuhr and Morgenthau began in 1944 when Niebuhr was invited to Chicago to give a lecture. Niebuhr was then at the apex of his career, having recently published *The Nature and Destiny of Man*. For both men, American political thought was betrayed by the false notion that the methods appropriate to the natural sciences were applicable to understanding the much more complicated realities of human nature. In 1946, Morgenthau published his first important book since arriving in America, *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics*, which, in its attack on what both men labeled "scientism," was in complete accord with Niebuhr's own thinking. In addition, both Niebuhr and Morgenthau agreed that American political thought was wedded to a naïve idealism that consistently misjudged the realities of power and self-interest in both domestic and international politics. In 1948, seeking to redirect political thought toward a more realistic basis, Morgenthau published his monumental *Politics Among Nations*, a work that would undergo numerous editions and become the definitive book on international politics for decades.

Niebuhr and Morgenthau expressed their mutual indebtedness, each insisting that the other had influenced him more. Niebuhr had become one of the major voices in America in defense of what has been called "political realism," and, although his form of realism was rooted explicitly in the Christian theological tradition whereas Morgenthau's realism was not, they usually found themselves on the same side of an issue. Having moved to New York City at the time Niebuhr was nearing the end of his life, Morgenthau was among those whose effort to maintain close personal contact meant so much to Niebuhr.

GEORGE F. KENNAN (1904–2005)

George Kennan was a superb diplomat who emerged as the most astute observer and interpreter of Russia during the critical years of the post–World War II conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. He was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, graduated from Princeton University, and entered the