DEAN ACHESON PRESENT ATHE CREATION

MY YEARS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

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DEAN ACHESON

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PRESENT AT THE CREATION



"Had I been present at the creation I would have given some useful hints for the better ordering of the universe."

—Alphonso X, the Learned, 1252–84, King of Spain

TO HARRY S. TRUMAN
"The captain with the mighty heart"

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

WITHOUT THE indefatigable and scholarly help of three assistants who have been with me every step of the way through this book, the effort would have been beyond me. Mrs. Marina S. Finkelstein, now Editor of Publications of the Harvard Center for International Affairs, and Miss Corinne Lyman, at present on the faculty of Ohio Wesleyan University, took over the scholarly examination of innumerable documents that fell from me during twelve busy years like autumn leaves, fitting the account of an individual life into greater surrounding action and tracing the influence and reaction of each on the other. They thus laid the foundation for my work and then rendered equal assistance by reviewing it and holding me to what Honor Tracy's Irish priest might have called the straight and narrow path between truth and error.

Miss Barbara Evans has played once more in this our sixth book together her familiar role as the custodian of my papers, my memory, and my conscience. From the first deciphering of an exotic calligraphy to the last grooming of the proof, she has pursued the serpent of error like a female St. Patrick. My gratitude to these three invaluable colleagues is great indeed.

For all of us the correction of errant memory has been greatly aided by the kindness of former Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Dr. William Franklin, Director of the Historical Office of the Department of State. Assistance on matters too numerous to list was rendered also by Dr. Arthur Kogan, Donald J. Simon, and Wilmer P. Sparrow, all of the Department of State, and by their helpful and resourceful staffs. To all we are deeply grateful.

Due to the forethought and kindness of the late Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, a group of my colleagues in the State Department met at the Institute with him and me every other month during 1953 and 1954 to record our recollections of how the major foreign policies of President Truman's Administration came into being and our appraisal of the considerations that affected them and us. This group included Dean Rusk, W. Averell Harriman, Herbert Feis, Edward W. Barrett, Paul H. Nitze, Adrian S. Fisher, Joseph E. Johnson, George W. Perkins, and George C. McGhee, and (to stimulate and cross-examine us) McGeorge Bundy, then Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard, Dr. Edward M. Earle of the Institute, and Professors George A. Graham and Harold Sprout of Princeton University. These seminars added to the account of those times the essential factors of causation that the bare official record so rarely reveals.

APOLOGIA PRO LIBRO HOC

"Pen, ink and paper," John Adams confided to his diary in 1770, "and a sitting posture are great helps to attention and thinking." I shall need them all in writing this book, which only five years ago I forswore. Why, I was then asked, "stop with the experiences of Morning and Noon? Why not go on to Afternoon, the time of larger events?" Because "detachment and objectivity" would become suspect. "The element of self-justification could not be excluded." It was all very simple, reasonable, and probably the right decision.

Yet I do go on. Why? Because I have changed my mind. The experiences of the years since I wrote have brought the country, and particularly its young people, to a mood of depression, disillusion, and withdrawal from the effort to affect the world around us. Today detachment and objectivity seem to me less important than to tell a tale of large conceptions, great achievements, and some failures, the product of enormous will and effort. Its hero is the American people, led by two men of rare quality, President Truman and General Marshall, served by lieutenants of whom I had the great good fortune to be one. The enormity of the task before all of them, after the wars in Europe and Asia ended in 1945, only slowly revealed itself. As it did so, it began to appear as just a bit less formidable than that described in the first chapter of Genesis. That was to create a world out of chaos; ours, to create half a world, a free half, out of the same material without blowing the whole to pieces in the process. The wonder of it is how much was done.

In the epigraph Alphonso X, King of Spain, is quoted to the effect that if he had been present at the creation he would have given some useful hints for the better ordering of the universe. In a sense the postwar years were a period of creation, for the ordering of which I shared with others some responsibility. Moreover, the state of the world in those years and almost all that happened during them was wholly novel within the experience of those who had to deal with it. "History," writes C. V. Wedgwood in her biography of William the Silent, "is lived forwards but it is written in retrospect. We know the end before we consider the beginning and we can never wholly recapture what it was to know the beginning only." In a way, this volume is an attempt to do just that; for those who acted this drama did not know, nor do any of us yet know, the end.

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