

PREFACE

20 Sept. 47. Col. Dr. E. 1.75

THIS BOOK WAS WRITTEN IN THE MONTHS WHEN American-Soviet relations were at their lowest ebb, the summer and early fall of 1946. It is going to press in January, 1947, when the world is more relaxed, under the influence of the agreements reached in the Council of Foreign Ministers on the secondary peace treaties and the unanimous adoption of the resolution for limitation of armaments in the Assembly of the United Nations.

I have refrained from changing the text in any way under the influence of this current softening of Soviet-American disputes. Those differences were merely preliminary to facing the central question of Germany and her place in the postwar world. Now, with the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in Moscow in March to take up the central question of Germany, we will have the real test of whether substantial progress has been made toward co-operation for peace as effective as the co-operation achieved in war.

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I had designed my book from the beginning as a contribution to the discussion that will now begin around the German settlement. That is why I avoided as much as possible any entanglement in the details of those prob-

lems which occupied the spotlight when the book was being written, but dealt with them only as they forecast the coming main debate on Germany.

The German question is, of course, in reality the question of the long-range perspective of Soviet-American relations and involves the whole world. In dealing with Germany, America and the Soviet Union must decide whether they are able to give a joint guidance to the reconstruction of Europe that will avoid the threatening explosion of revolutionary civil wars over that continent. The answer to this question will determine whether we can hope effectively to discuss the similar problems of Asia.

Secretary of State Byrnes is resigning at the moment my book goes to press and will be succeeded by General George C. Marshall. It has not seemed necessary, however, to recast any of my arguments which were formally directed toward the positions taken by Secretary Byrnes. The role of any individual, however significant it may be, is subordinate to the issues involved and these issues remain substantially unchanged until they are resolved by international agreement. It must further be assumed that there will be a certain continuity of policy in Washington, that modifications of that policy which will take place will not be determined by these changes in personnel, but, at most, may be somewhat facilitated thereby. I have therefore made no attempt to bring my text "up to the minute" in its reference to leading personalities, since these are only incidental to the issues and the arguments.

The current relaxation of international tensions, the

improved atmosphere in Soviet-American relations, the series of specific agreements that have been reached: all these are favorable omens for the opening of the discussion of a settlement of the German question when the Foreign Ministers meet in Moscow in March. They are, however, only preliminaries. The real work is still to be done.

It is my hope that this book will be a constructive contribution to the understanding of those complex problems the solution of which alone can result in a long-term peace. If it seems to the reader sometimes to be quite controversial in tone, let it always be kept in mind that its aim throughout remains the resolution of controversies in a common international policy on the part of America and the Soviet Union, which will make a reality of the United Nations.

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