

# Browder Unmasked Bullitt's 'Carrot and Club' Anti-Sovietism During Phila. Mayoralty Race

The speech made by Earl Browder during last year's mayoralty campaign in Philadelphia is of special timeliness today in view of William C. Bullitt's article in Life magazine attacking the Soviet Union and calling for a third world war. We reprint here the major portion of Browder's speech originally delivered on Oct. 22, 1943:

By EARL BROWDER

The city politics of Philadelphia have been inextricably mixed up with world politics. The problems of your sewage system and water supply have been raised above the problems of the United Nations and its leading Anglo-Soviet-American coalition in the life-and-death global war. This has been brought about by the sudden, unheralded, and unnatural conversion of a character from the spheres of world diplomacy into a candidate for mayor of Philadelphia. I speak, of course, of Mr. William Christian Bullitt.

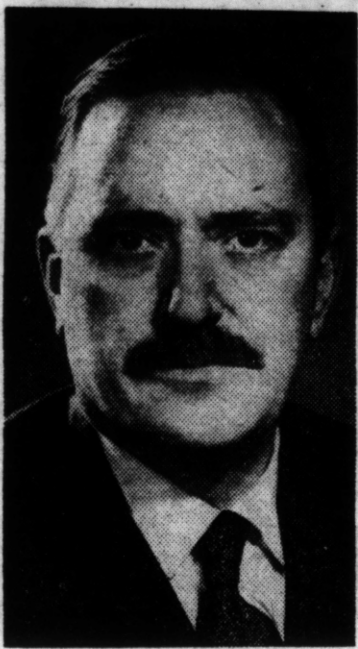
Candidate Bullitt's chief newspaper support, the Philadelphia Record, began on Wednesday, Oct. 20, the publication of an elaborate series of articles against the Communists. The Record seems to believe that Philadelphia is choosing between Mr. Bullitt and the Communist Party to head its municipal government. Mr. Bullitt and the Record are proposing to save Philadelphia from Communism. But the Communist Party has deliberately refrained from putting forward a candidate of its own in this election. There is not and cannot be an issue of Communism.

The Record is indulging, therefore, in matters completely irrelevant to the present election. Even if it could prove the most damning of records against the Communists, this would in no wise raise the stature of its own candidate for mayor by a single inch. Therefore I will pay no attention to the irrelevant fulminations of the Record against the Communists at this time. They have nothing whatever to do with the issue of whether Philadelphia wishes to present America and the world with William C. Bullitt as its chosen mayor.

I must, however, ask your indulgence for one personal word before proceeding to discuss the main issues before us. The Record on Oct. 20 described me as "a convicted perjurer." That is a public charge of moral turpitude against me. I hereby publicly demand of the Record that it retract this charge, that it explain to its readers that the Government of the United States has never charged me with any offense involving moral turpitude, and that the accusation on its part was the result of a misunderstanding. If this retraction is published within one week, I shall drop the matter. Otherwise I shall be forced to seek legal advice as to possible redress.

Now to the issue which Philadelphia, in its mayoralty election, raises for the entire nation. Why is it that the election of Mr. Bullitt as city mayor would be a profoundly disturbing factor in our country's international relations?

Mr. Bullitt resigned an important post in the federal government but recently. It was this resignation that made him available for the municipal candidacy. Why did he resign? Undoubtedly it was because his continued presence in the federal government was an embarrassment to our nation in the conduct of international relations. Mr. Bullitt had made his political personality extremely repugnant to our strongest allies in this war.



EARL BROWDER

Philadelphians were perhaps, by and large, unaware of this fact, since Mr. Bullitt is a comparative stranger to the city. Mr. Bullitt is much better known to the people of Paris, in which city he gained his experience in municipal government, holding the local authority in his hands for the purpose of turning that city over to the invading Nazis. The people of Paris would be keenly conscious of the significance of Mr. Bullitt's appearance as the chief authority of any city. It is time that Philadelphians should be aware of Mr. Bullitt's political implications as well.

The immediate incident which made Mr. Bullitt's resignation from the federal government desirable was the speech he made in Philadelphia a few months ago on the subject of United States relations with the Soviet Union. Therein he advocated that the United States policy toward the Soviet Union should be modeled upon the relations between a donkey-driver and his beast of burden, that we should dangle a carrot before its nose and beat it from behind with a club. That speech was widely published in the press, and would doubtless be transmitted to Moscow for the information of Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov. It was also reported in the press, and not denied, that Mr. Bullitt circulated in Cabinet circles in Washington a memorandum elaborating his "carrot and club" thesis, with a proposal to stop all material assistance to the Soviet Union pending the negotiation of an entirely new political agreement.

Clearly, such expressions of policy toward our Soviet Ally on the part of an official of the United States Government could have but one result, to seriously prejudice our relationships and embarrass our own officials in the conduct of the war. This was especially true, since Secretary of State Hull was to undertake his present trip to Moscow for the historic conference now taking place. Mr. Bullitt's resignation from the federal government was unquestionably necessary in the interest of the success of Mr. Hull's mission.

Mr. Bullitt was not satisfied, however, to retire from the scene in the interest of success for Mr. Hull's efforts. He immediately became a convert to the cause of improving Philadelphia's sewage and water supply systems. He became candidate for mayor of the third largest American city. If he is elected, the news will be cabled to Mr. Hull in Moscow, sitting in conference with Mr. Eden and Mr. Molotov, dropping upon their conference table the symbol of the carrot and club with the compliments of the voters of the great city of Philadelphia.

I sometimes wonder if Americans have lost the invaluable capacity to see ourselves as others see us.

It might throw some light on this question if, using our imaginations rather freely, we should transpose the roles in this drama, and then reflect upon how Americans would think and feel about it. Imagine the unimaginable, that a prominent Soviet diplomat, say Mr. Litvinov, made a public speech advising Mr. Molotov to handle the United States as he would a donkey, with carrot and club; then imagine that since Mr. Molotov was coming to Washington, Mr. Litvinov found it advisable to resign from his official positions, to avoid the embarrassment of Mr. Molotov in his negotiations; and then suppose in the midst of the Washington conversations a cable should suddenly announce that Mr. Litvinov had suddenly been elected as mayor of Stalingrad! Imagine what Americans would feel, and think, and say, about such an event!

I hasten to offer my apologies to Mr. Litvinov for this imaginative misuse of his name in a wildly impossible supposition. But I know of no other way to transmit to my fellow Americans some inkling of the criminal carelessness with which Mr. Bullitt is continuing a damaging activity in the field of our country's diplomatic relations.

Mr. Bullitt's thesis of handling our Allies with "carrot and club" is not a new and temporary aberration on his part, which can be dismissed as unimportant. It is a logical continuation of his role in the Ambassadorship to the Soviet Union from 1933 to 1936, and to France from 1936 until his surrender of Paris to the Nazis, an

act which symbolized his whole diplomatic policy.

I refer you to the record, and refrain from embellishing the picture with any additional facts from my own knowledge. The public record is enough, though but fragmentary.

Our Department of State has just published a great volume of 874 pages, entitled "Peace and War," with the sub-title "United States Foreign Policy, 1931-1941." During most of the period thus reviewed Mr. Bullitt was our country's Ambassador, first to the Soviet Union, and then to France. He was very active in European diplomatic life. In the entire 874 pages of the State Department report there is nothing from Bullitt or about him sufficient to get his name listed in the index or the table of contents. If we should judge by this official record, Mr. Bullitt's diplomatic career is a complete blank.

Unfortunately this does not correspond to the facts. And, fortunately, we do have access to the facts. I turn to the most authoritative semi-official record available, the book "Ambassador Dodd's Diary." This is a record of facts that came to the knowledge of our Ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd, the famous historian, from 1933, the year of the rise of Hitler, to 1938, the year of the Munich betrayal. Ambassador Dodd had official contact with Mr. Bullitt at critical historical moments, and has left to us an illuminating if fragmentary record of those contacts. . . .

Well, there is the picture of Diplomat Bullitt, registered at the time these events were taking place that resulted in the World War through which we are living, by Ambassador William E. Dodd in Berlin.

Mr. Bullitt wants the voters of Philadelphia to send a message to the three-power conference in Moscow, that this great city has chosen as its chief magistrate the man who in 1935 wanted to give Vladivostok to the Japanese, the man who persuaded the French Government to drop its proposed loan to the Soviet Union, the man who argued heatedly with French diplomats that they should not complete their alliance with the Soviet Union, the man who urged the breaking-off of the Anglo-Soviet-French collaboration with the Balkans, the man who urged an alliance with Germany upon the French, the man who was known throughout diplomatic circles in Europe as friendly to the Nazi schemes of conquest.

Now, I have no doubt that the sewage and water systems of Philadelphia require improvement. But, as a patriotic American citizen who wishes above all at this moment that Secretary of State Hull shall bring back from the Moscow Conference a report of progress in consolidating the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, and plans for the quickest and most successful conclusion of this terrible war, I think it would be a misfortune for our country if Philadelphia should stamp its approval upon the public record of Mr. Bullitt.

Perhaps it might be possible for Philadelphia to find some one else who could put the city's sewage and water systems into proper condition. It is not necessary nor possible to turn to the reactionary Republican Party of Pew, Grundy, Hoover and McCormick for that purpose. The recommendations of the Independent Voters League give a sound and practical guidance.

## 'New Leader' Hails Bullitt's New War Cry

"Why do you fellows have it in for the Social-Democrats?" you'll sometimes hear a reader ask. And sometimes a reader who's new to the progressive movement gets puzzled by the term Social-Democrat, which makes him think of socialism and democracy.

Here's your answer in the current issue of the New Leader, the weekly published by the Social-Democratic Federation in New York.

An article by Liston M. Oak, one of its associate editors, summarizes the LIFE magazine article for war against the Soviet Union, written by William C. Bullitt. "With his analysis, the New Leader is

largely in agreement," says Oak, "although we do not share his faith in the Church as a democratic political weapon. But whatever our differences, the New Leader has been almost alone among American publications in presenting this picture of the very real menace of Stalinist totalitarianism — including the danger that it may be the cause of World War III."

This frank approval of William C. Bullitt is modest in only one respect. The New Leader isn't alone in its anti-Soviet crusade. It shares the day with such good company as the Hearst press, the Chicago Tribune, the N. Y. Daily News and all the other devotees of the German radio.

## Spike Attack on Loyal Japanese-Americans

Citizens of California have repudiated an attempt by the jingoistic Japanese Exclusion Association to intensify the State's alien land law, the California Secretary of State revealed in a statement published by yesterday's New York Times.

The Association sought 100,000 signatures for an initiative measure to appear on the November ballot which would have made it a penal offense to sell or lease any kind of property to a Japanese alien. It only managed to muster 77,975 names, and thus the question will not come up.

Mrs. Ruth Kingman, secretary of the Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles at Fair Play told the Times: "Many people who just after Pearl Harbor were quite agitated over the question of loyalty of Japanese-Americans have had their minds changed by the fine records made by these Japanese-Americans in the Italian campaign and by the absence of sabotage."

## Harlem Ben Davis Club Opens

Harlemites Saturday night crowded the 12th AD Communist Political Association headquarters, 2315 Seventh Ave., near 135th St., to honor Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., at the opening of those premises as a club bearing his name.

Thousands had turned out just the night before to make merry in 128th St., between Lenox and Fifth Aves., in celebration of Davis' birthday.

Davis pledged continuance of work in the people's behalf, thus justifying their naming the new CPA headquarters of the 12th AD after him.

### PAY RESPECTS

Davis' remarks centered about the non-partisan character of President Roosevelt's supporters in the coming election and the necessity of registering every person, regardless of politics.

William Prince, Democratic candidate for Assembly from the 11th AD, personally paid his respects.

Assemblyman William T. Andrews, running for re-election on the Democratic ticket, and Joseph Ford, executive secretary of the Peoples Committee, wired greetings.

Entertainment was provided by Teddy Wilson, who played the piano, and members of the orchestra from the Heat Wave, Harlem's sensational new night club.

The Ben Davis Club was originally part of the 21st AD Club under Charles Lowman. The 21st AD is now the Freedom Road Club and its original 800 membership is now divided with the Ben Davis Club.

Davis credited Miss Helen Samuels, president, with being chiefly instrumental in forming the new club. She said it would be open every evening from 8 P. M. to midnight and that it would hold a social every Saturday night. A feature of the new club is a bookstore selling Howard Fast's Freedom Road and works by Browder and other noted political leaders.