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## THE CARROT AND THE CLUB, OR THE COPPERHEAD CABAL

BY EARL BROWDER

**V**ICTORIES over Hitler's armies by the forces of the Soviet Union have, since November 20, reached such proportions as to astonish the world. In 100 days Hitler lost all ground he gained in 1942, plus decisive strategic points, railways, and much territory held since 1941, not to speak of over a million of his best soldiers, thousands of planes, tanks and heavy artillery, and untold quantities of war materiel. For the United Nations victory was brought within reach.

The appeaser and Copperhead newspapers of the United States during these months of the Red Army advance have quickly descended from heights of enthusiasm for the defense of Stalingrad; with Soviet victory a few more degrees of chill came over them; until in the early part of March they burst into a veritable orgy of recrimination and abuse against our Ally who is winning victories for us.

It seems as though that part of reactionary Big Business which expresses its views in the defeatist press stands in deadly fear of victory, when it is won through the Red Army—a fear which is more

vocal, more unrestrained, than their fear of a victory for Hitler.

The Copperhead Cabal has stepped into the open to do what it can to avoid the dread possibility that Hitler might be crushed in 1943. Their desperate outcries are directed to prevent the opening of the Western European Front by the British-American forces which, by dividing Hitler's armies between two fronts, will quickly bring the Nazi "New Order" down in ruins and defeat.

Before I analyze this sortie of the Copperheads, permit me to state for the record that I predict their failure. The logic of events, the great offensive of the Red Army, the rising movements in the Axis-occupied countries, and the growing sentiment of the masses of the people in the United States and Britain for invading Europe without delay, bring the opening of the Second Front nearer. Any other course is suicidal for the democratic governments of the West.

Our American Copperheads are, however, obsessed by a suicidal mania akin to that which dominated the "200 families" ruling France. Interestingly enough, they found

their frankest voice during these crucial days within the official family of our President, in the person of William C. Bullitt, formerly Ambassador to the Soviet Union and France, and now Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Navy, the man who will be remembered in history as an accomplice of Munich and as the negotiator of the surrender of Paris to the Nazis without a fight.

Mr. Bullitt lifted the diplomatic veil to give us a hint of the real discussions going on in Washington behind the scenes. Let us examine his words as reported by United Press March 12:

"When a foreign government will not move in the direction in which we want it to move there is only one way to make it move—the old way of getting a donkey to move by holding a carrot in front of its nose and club behind his tail, and intimating politely to him that he can have either one he wants. And the carrot has to be a real carrot and the club has to be a real club. . . . But the day that Germany collapses we shall still have on our hands a war with Japan—a hard war which may be long—and the Soviet Union will be at peace and we shall want Soviet support against Japan. Under those circumstances . . . the real carrot and the real club will be in the hands of Stalin."

Does this pretty little parable require any interpretation? It is clear enough, but anyway let us put it in plain English. Mr. Bullitt wants "a foreign government" (the Soviet Union) to do something it has not agreed to do. That "something" is

not disclosed, but is hinted at. The "carrot" held before the Soviet "donkey" can obviously be nothing else but the Second Front in Europe; the "club" with equal obviousness can only be the withholding of the Second Front, plus perhaps the cutting down or off of lend-lease supplies. Mr. Bullitt sees in the collapse of Hitler a terrible danger to the United States—the loss of "the carrot and the club." Mr. Bullitt proposes that the United States shall refuse to fight the war against Hitler any further, despite its pledge of the "Declaration of the United Nations" and the June 11, 1942, agreement on the "opening of the second front in 1942," and the repeated declarations of President Roosevelt for the offensive—unless and until the Soviet Union promises to do something they have not yet promised to do. In short, Mr. Bullitt demands "renegotiation" of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition upon a new and undisclosed basis. The short term for such "renegotiation" is *renege*, and the name for persons who make such proposals is *renegade*.

Mr. Henry A. Wallace, our Vice-President, has another word for it. He calls it double-cross, and warns that out of such double-dealing can emerge a Third World War. But even Mr. Wallace, despite his obvious good faith and sincere alarm about the intrigues going on around him, showed in his speech at the Ohio Wesleyan University, March 8, that he also is weakening under the pressure of the Copperhead Cabal; gone was the inspiring thesis of his May 8, 1942, speech on the "Century

of the Common Man," with its tracing of the "people's revolution" across the centuries, and in its place a muddled philosophical jargon of abstractions unrelated to history and the experience of mankind.

Our American Ambassador in Moscow, Admiral Standley, is a close friend of Mr. Bullitt (and also of Hamilton Fish). In the light of Mr. Bullitt's thesis of "the carrot and the club," we can better understand "the bluff Admiral," his sensational charges made in the newspapers that the Soviet Government "hides" American help from the people, and that he doesn't know what the Russians are talking about when they speak of a Second Front.

Mr. Welles for the State Department declared that the Ambassador had spoken without consultation. From Moscow the Admiral confirmed that he had expressed his personal opinion, not his government's policy.

Unquestionably, the Soviet Government will draw its own conclusions from all this. Of one thing, however, we may be sure from past experience. The Soviet leaders never allow themselves to be provoked; they have had their experience with Bullitt before this, and "have his number." They know that Bullitt has done lots of damage, but they have never called the turn of history; he always bets on the wrong horse. The Soviet Government will forgive us for the antics of our Bullitts and Standleys, the moment we make good on our pledged program of the Second Front and real coalition war to break Hitler's back this year.

There are, of course, the most serious dangers inherent in this light-minded playing with the fate of the world. We cannot laugh off the Bullitts and the Standleys, when such a substantial organ of ruling class opinion as the *New York Times* vacillates from week to week, plumping for the "carrot and club" thesis and then demanding the immediate opening of the Second Front, as it is torn between prejudice and patriotism, between greed and good faith.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain in his day had a slightly different version of "the carrot and club" thesis. Mr. Bullitt's type of wisdom, borrowed from Chamberlain, will suffer even quicker bankruptcy and oblivion. He made the fatal mistake of revealing his face to the American people. And Americans have never knowingly followed a double-crosser and renegade in a critical moment of national history. They will reject Mr. Bullitt with his carrot and his club today.

We can trust our Soviet ally, because it has sealed its pledges with the blood of millions. It is now our turn to win Soviet confidence in the United States by demonstrating equal good faith.

The Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is based upon the pledge of a common war with all human and material resources against Hitlerism.

The Soviet Union is conducting that war with all resources.

The United States and Britain still engage not more than eleven divisions of Nazi troops in North Africa, while Hitler continue to shift

troops and equipment from the West to the Soviet front. (Since the start of the Soviet winter offensive alone, Hitler has transferred over thirty divisions from France and other Western points to the Eastern front.)

The supreme interests of victory, the honor of our country, as well as its vital interests, demand the immediate opening of the Second Front.

A double-cross of the Soviet Union is at the same time treason to the United States.

Now, as never before, it is imperative for labor and the people to organize the most active support for the declared program of our Commander-in-Chief to strike soon and hard against the Nazis in Western Europe!

*The Second Front must be opened now!*