

Winters, Ella
1945, 47

(2)

papers in America. About 22 small newspapers bought a little of it. This is one way our Press brings down an iron curtain between the people of America and the facts they ought to have. Every correspondent in Europe knows how his stories are cut, changed or suppressed. Time Magazine completely changes any story it wishes. Wertenbaker, its Paris correspondent, sent 2500 words on Henry Wallace's

as from 10 St
8 E N 73

[Winter

Edward White Star

R.M.S. "Queen Elizabeth"

Oct 22

26

I had had 20 photos
of the program on
Roosevelt's
but

Dear program
I think ^{with} the course
of your radio program on
the freedom of your press
you ought to mention that
the highly important interview
I had with Marshal Tito
on Sept 3rd 1947, which
dealt with 34 questions all
of which came up at this
UN gathering, was entirely
suppressed by every large news-

visit to France which were not touched. The Prague correspondent of TIME (Pat Zegart) sent 2000 words about the Youth Festival in Prague which were completely ignored in favor of some outright lies fabricated at home.

The correspondents are beginning not even to bother to send the stuff they know won't be printed or will be twisted beyond recognition. (Ask

John Hersey & Richard L. Luterbach of LIFE + TIME what were their Moscow experiences with Mr. (Ker). Lincoln Steffens - still one of the greatest American journalists - said newspapermen ought not to become disillusioned, cynical, hurt & so refuse to do their job. But they do. Why do you not, Mrs. Roosevelt, devoted to truth & honesty & the right & good as you are, tell him too? It is appalling how Americans are being stampeded into an ^{atmosphere of} ~~atmosphere of~~ war - how our Press is

6

Knows it is one of
the safest countries in
Europe to travel in.
(You can check this
statement with CBS's
Howard K. Smith, with
F.P.'s Dan de Luca, with
Robert St John, & the 7
clergymen who went there -
also ^{with} the two American young
people who came back
from the Youth Railroad
including Ann Aldrich of
Boston Elizabeth M. Kitchin

5

Cunard White Star
R.M.S. "Queen Elizabeth"

becoming ~~fast~~ ^{guess so} fast it is astounding
to a newspaper woman
like myself. Do you
suppose one paper will
tell the truth about
Yugoslavia today? No!
And our leaders refuse
to go & look, and Mrs
Shufley still stamps
passports "Not valid for
Yugoslavia" though everyone

(7)

daughter of the Vice-Pres
of the Chase National
Bank.)

I write you because
I think it criminal
irresponsibility to be preaching
^{as so many of our papers do}
daily for a war ~~in~~ ^{NO ONE}
in Europe (except the Nazis).
Want or can bear. I've just
been here 3 months. And I can observe.

Yours sincerely
Illa Winter

And the greatest evil
is coming from our
Present day.

What is so appalling is this:

I talk to many seducible American
people +, almost to a man now,
they parrot the Daily News + Hearst
line, the John O'Donnell + Westbrock
Pfeffer line. Don't the big State Dept
brains see that when we fight
progressives all over the world
we don't aid the middle of the
roaders - like the M.R.P. in France -
but only the extreme reaction
like General de Gaulle's new-
Croix de Feu.

for Mrs Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Winter

INTERVIEW WITH MARSHAL TITO (for NANA) ELLA WINTER
date/time ZAGREB AUGUST 29, 1947

I had been in Yugoslavia ten days seeing its towns, its villages, its past in feudal forts and veiled Moslem women, its future in the tremendous pace of reconstruction. I had seen the Youth Railway with its two hundred thousand young people working hands and feet into blisters, in a gigantic effort to finish 153 kilometers in seven months - practically all by hand, because there is so little machinery. I had found the country one of the safest in Europe, with no molestation of any kind, except that foreigners have to have passes to travel, (which they always get), and which are a measure for their own protection, since the country was till recently infested with savage enemies. I had also found a surprising lack of corruption - surprising in today's world of black markets and conscienceless profiteering.

The Marshal saw me in Zagreb where he is staying for part of his summer vacation. He gave me an hour and a half's exclusive interview; there has been no interview for the general American press by an American reporter since last December. No one was present, not even a stenographer; since we both talk German, Tito dispensed also with an interpreter. This interview is entirely uncensored. The Minister of Information told me, "Whatever Marshal Tito said to you goes; this is a free country."

We sat in the comfortable, well-furnished living-room of a large yellow stucco villa, once the property of a Jewish flower merchant called Sever who was murdered by the Ustachi

along with forty thousand other Zagreb Jews (in spite of his wealth and a reputed friendship for Mussolini). Tito wore a plain gray suit and appeared extremely healthy and sunburned. He motioned me to sit down (he was already waiting for me when I came in) and then, not seeing cigarettes on the plain glass table, ^{he} called: "Dejourni!" (Officer-on-duty). No one heard him, so he got up and fetched a box of the ~~commonest~~ local cigarettes himself.

I began by saying I had many things to ask him, as opinion in the United States was turning so much against Yugoslavia and so many stories were being spread. I had submitted eight questions previously through the Foreign Office and he had this list before him, but I said I wanted to ask more now; things had moved so swiftly that it seemed to me the war danger was growing. He motioned me to continue. ~~I ought perhaps to say here that~~ (the Marshal has an ^a ~~extraordinarily~~ kind, and benevolent face and attitude which puts you immediately at your ease and robs you of ~~all~~ nervousness; ~~you would~~ he has the simplicity and informality of the shipyard mechanic he once was. There was no pomp and no "side". I was reminded of President Roosevelt in this.)

I: "You have seen, Marshal, ~~we said~~ that our State Department has announced that it intends to issue a White Paper on the situation along the northern Greek frontier. Have you any comment?"

Tito: "We can also issue one," ~~he said freely.~~ "We know many facts. If it is necessary we shall publish these for the world to judge." ¹ "If the truth is known now, why not publish such a

document immediately?" ~~Emphasis~~

Titu: "That we don't is a sign that we do not wish to worsen relations. We shall only defend ourselves against attacks, but defend ourselves we shall. World opinion must be informed of the truth."

I: "Mr. Loy Henderson on August 23rd stated that if a 'serious situation' develops in Greece before the General Assembly meets, 'drastic action' will be necessary; the serious situation he described as ^{implied} meaning more alleged assistance to Greek guerrillas, by Yugoslavia, Bulgaria or Albania, ~~(by implication)~~. What have you to say regarding this alleged help to the Greek guerrillas?"

Titu: "It is not true. We have sympathy for the Greek peoples who fight against their own reaction, but it is absolutely untrue that we give any help in arms or troops." (I had learned ^{earlier} that the Greek Brigades on the Pruga - Youth Railway - are not permitted to go home lest the charge be made that they were trained or armed here) ^{in Yugoslavia.}

I: "Where do the guerrillas get their arms?"

Titu: (smiling) "Where did we get ours? Everyone knows that the Partisans hid their weapons; the rest they captured. In any event they have only light arms; but their main help comes from the Greek people." ~~(This refers to fact~~ ^{that} ~~that population feeds and hides Partisans, gives information and tends their wounded wherever possible.)~~ ^{than}

I: "You said, 'Where did we get ours?' Where did you get yours,

Marshall Tito?"

Tito: "No one gave us even a revolver before 1944. We took them from the enemy with our own hands. We took so much that we armed 300,000 people. At the end of 1943 the British dropped some help, but it was only food and medical equipment. In 1944 about 8% or 10% of our arms came from the Allies."

I: "Did not the United States send armed help?"

Tito: "From the United States we had no arms at all - which is not what one might expect from Allies. Lend Lease gave us nothing either. They had an agreement with the Yugoslav Government in London to supply them with certain arms which, however, were used only in North Africa and Italy; we saw nothing of any of that."

I: (this question not cabled) "In your Tanjug interview [Aug. 7] you said you were forced by the American Government to give up the two Douglas bombers presented to you by the USSR?"

He: "Yes, the Lend Lease agreement stipulated that no country could sell or give away any materials it has obtained under Lend Lease even though the recipient be an Ally."

I: "Since our State Department speaks so much of 'serious situations', could you tell me what you would consider a 'serious situation'?"

Tito: "Everything that comes before the U.N."

I: "Can you tell me what steps you would take if you believed that the war threat was very serious?"

Tito: "I can't tell you just what steps we would take if there

were more interference on the part of other states in Greece. But it would mean a serious war danger and we have 'kalte Herzen' - nerves of steel. We would take all steps to defend our country." He said this with the strength, pride and passion ~~I have seen in every Yugoslav every time this subject is brought up, and I've brought it up often in my stay here.~~

I: "What would be your action if a division marched into your country?"

With passionate emotion he replied:

Tito: "We wouldn't let a step be taken into our country. No one would dare. We can defend our borders and our country." ~~← How receive a sense of indemnity and inadmissibility when a man who has fought underground for freedom, been imprisoned for five years, and led his partisans against two strong foreign enemies and a brutal internal fifth column speaks thus. →~~

I: "Is there any chance of your recognizing the 'Free Greek Government' as our State Department suggests, in Mr. Loy Henderson's statement of August 23rd?"

Tito: "That is not a question for us alone. It is a question for all the countries in the United Nations. ~~It~~ ^{It} is a very wrong assumption to consider this question one for us alone; and any action must come as U. N. action."

I: "Mr. Loy Henderson remarked (on August 23rd) that the establishment of the Free Greece Radio station 'might be seized as a pretext by other countries to furnish more assistance to the guerrillas by extending recognition overnight to so-called Free

Greece. What is your comment?"

Tito: "We consider that the expression of a war threat. There was no reason for it. It was said to give an excuse for more interference in the internal affairs of Greece; that is our opinion."

We smoked a cigarette, I partly because the Marshal was disturbed and angry.

I: "Why do you consider relations between the United States and Yugoslavia have apparently deteriorated so much so rapidly?"

Tito: "I said in my interview with Tanjug (Aug. 7) that this is not a new manifestation; they were already bad before, and not the way relations should be between Allies. I still insist on everything I said in the Tanjug interview. These are facts, and facts are very stubborn things. They cannot be refuted merely by statements in the American Press." I was about to ask another question but he held up his hand for me not to interrupt. "I insist and I repeat that what I said is true and still true."

I: "On what realistic basis do you think relations could be improved between our two countries?"

Tito: "That is very difficult to answer. World conditions and questions of peace are now so complicated and so interrelated, that it is hard to separate individual relations between individual countries. But I'll tell you this. Till now the American Government has been against us on every question - in London, in Paris, and now in the United States. We've seen little sign of friendliness or goodwill - neither at Trieste, nor in the votes

at the U. N., nor on the different committees of U. N."

I: "Why do you think this is so?"

Tito: "One can see ~~the signs~~ ^{Signs} — the tracks, ever since the war and since the new Yugoslavia has appeared."

I: "But why should such hostility be expressed just against your small country?"

Tito: "We have gotten rid of the whole old state apparatus; we have set up a whole new Yugoslavia on a new broad basis of a people's democracy. There is a people's administration from top to bottom - and this I believe is the cause for the hostility."

Again he waited a little while, ~~he lighted a cigarette~~

"We saw this already in 1943 and 1944. There was little goodwill in the United States toward us, nor desire to help us. One helped Draga Mikhailovitch who fought against [†] us."

I: (With my mental eye still on the questions of the American farmer of the Middle West - or the Harvard student) "But we consider we have a democracy. Why should our democracy show opposition and unfriendliness to yours?"

Tito: ^{Self} "It is not your people who are unfriendly, but your big financiers and their financial interests. Yugoslavia has become independent of all the big financial interests who were here before and took our riches out of our country - copper, lead, zinc, bauxite, - without benefitting our people. These riches of our country were utilized only for the benefit of outside foreign interests."

I: "Since there is so much misunderstanding regarding your opposi-

tion, I wonder if you'd explain to me what the Opposition here consists of. In America our big parties differ politely, - or maybe impolitely, - but at any rate over the dinner table, or on the radio or at the polls. Why do you take such strong measures against your Opposition? This is one of the things that shocks American opinion."

Tito: "Our Oppositionists are enemies of the state, enemies of the new Yugoslavia. They have stopped at no measures to overthrow our Country, including espionage, sabotage and murder to enforce their opposition. Those who are willing to live in peace, like Groll, Shubashitch and others, we do not proceed against, but those who continue acting to overthrow the government - especially with foreign support - we take energetic measures to stop. Don't you do the same with the enemies of your country? Take the example now of Slovenia, this last trial at Ljubljana in which Nagode and Furland are shown up. This Opposition doesn't just disagree over a dinner table; it uses espionage and economic terrorism as its weapons. They give away military secrets. And anyone who spreads lies about our state we consider enemies too. Such lies have done us great damage, especially with foreign countries."

I: "How do you account for the fact that foreign countries, and especially their official governments, do get, according to you, such a false picture of this country?"

Tito: "I'll give you an example as an answer. The Manchester Guardian recently published a long editorial - or was it an arti-

ole, I've forgotten which - saying that the Chetniks were fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina, were forming a new army of twenty thousand men which was blowing up bridges, trains and factories. Now you've seen personally what goes on here, you've seen that no such thing is occurring. There are just a few hundred men who have not yet ~~sich-gestalt~~ ~~been announced~~, announced their presence" (- ~~he said this~~ with a quiet, amused smile -) "the rest have fled. We consider ^{that} an article ~~like that to have been written with the intent of making~~ trouble; it constitutes a method of encouraging the very terroristic acts it describes. Or it may be that the paper's correspondent was deliberately misinformed by enemies."

I: "What would happen, Marshal Tito, if such terroristic bands were formed?" (~~He smiled, and he has a smile which seems able to express almost any emotion.~~)

Tito: "They would be wiped out."

Still feeling the American people should have the ~~subject~~ truth and not "inspired stories", I reiterated a question already asked in several forms:

I: "Why are foreign powers, or, as you call them, 'certain foreign powers', so very hostile to Yugoslavia?"

Tito: "If a small state like ours does what we have done, it sets an example for other states that are not yet independent, as for example, some colonial countries. We are a new economic democracy which has already had great success."

He again grew passionate, his voice taking on fire and

and strength, but at this moment his great German shepherd dog Tiger, famous all over Europe, sauntered into the room, came up to his master and, looking up at him with adoring eyes, started making affectionate dog noises. He squeezed between us and against the Marshal's knee, asking for attention. "Miri" ordered his master: "Quiet!", but the dog grumbled like a baby. I patted him; he turned his long head hopefully to me and licked my face. The Marshal laughed; Tiger was appeased and lay down quietly at Tito's feet. {The dog once belonged to a German Army officer taken prisoner and was presented to Tito in 1944 by General Kosta Noj; he's about six years old, beautiful; marked in black and brown, almost the size of a Great Dane. }

Tito: (cont.) "We are only a small state and we have already achieved great successes." He again grew passionate and concentrated. "Our land was terribly destroyed. We have made such great steps forward in these few years, we have progressed at a rate never seen before in the world under such circumstances. It is really ~~an~~ a marvel. We did it through national unity and the unity of our peoples. We have used all our energies to build up and bind up the wounds of war. This is also a sign that there is no Kriegsstimmung - no 'war atmosphere'. A people that puts forth such efforts to reconstruct cannot be thinking of war, only of peace, only of peace." *A pause.*

~~giving him a moment to collect himself as he visualized again the sacrifices of these people he so deeply loves, I spoke quietly.~~

I: "I've noticed that ~~and~~ your new building has such strong walls, such thick foundations, as if they were being built for eternity. Why is that?"

Tito: "Yes, and we build our factories out in the open as you have seen; we are not hiding them. Does a country build factories thus out in the open if it expects war or courts war?"

I: "But if an atomic bomb were to be dropped on these factories - ? ~~He interrupted me with heartfelt laughter, he laughed,~~ ^{Tito} and laughed.

Tito: "We are not afraid of the atom bomb. We can defend ourselves. We have a secret."

I: "What is it? ~~may I ask?~~"

Tito: "'Tis our morale. Factories aren't everything. One can achieve Herostrot destruction [a Greek who destroyed a temple for the sheer sake of destruction] with the atom bomb, but one cannot destroy a people."

I: "Then you think war is impossible now?"

Tito: "For the present, yes. You can't fight a war without the people being willing, and people at present are unwilling, even in your country. Don't forget that the Nazis were the strongest military power the world has ever know[?], and they were the aggressors. They had much the strongest weapons, yet they were destroyed. ~~(wasn't it?)~~. Every aggressor must lose - and aggressors we shall never be. But for our defense we shall fight, particularly if our country is attacked. We want nothing from anyone. We've made such sacrifices, we know what war is. Yugoslavia lost 300,000 soldiers and 1,500,000 civilians - every tenth of

eleventh man, woman and child. This is a much greater sacrifice in proportion than was made by the United States. Can you imagine that we want war once more?"

~~Q: "Our State Department implies that you may have the illegal underground Greek radio station here. Is it true?"~~

~~Tito: "It's an invention. Why should it be here? Any help from us to the Greeks would take quite different forms; we have sympathy and support for their aspirations."~~

I: "I would like to ask you something about your industrialization plans. If the fifty million blocked dollars of yours which the United States still holds were released, how would you use them?"

Tito: "To buy machinery, tractors, trucks in the United States."

I: "You stated in your Tanjug interview (August 7) that America should leave you alone. Doesn't that smack of isolationism, and would you approve of an isolationist attitude on the part of the United States toward you?"

Tito: "I meant, Don't make difficulties for us; don't stop our reconstruction. We want economic and trade relations with you, but if you don't want them, then leave us alone."

I: "What about the Yugoslav Mission now negotiating in London? (He was smiling again with ^{apparent} enjoyment.)"

Tito: "It is going through. We've better relations with England."

I: "Why is that?"

Tito: "England gains and we gain (Es ist besser fuer England und besser fuer uns)."

I: "How is it, in your opinion, that England and France, which have great dollar loans, are not reconstructing as much or as fast as Yugoslavia, ^{which} ~~she~~ received nothing from the United States?"

Tito: "There's another secret. We use everything the minute we get it. We work very well; we use every ounce of material, every nail - for the benefit of all."

I: "Marshal Tito, it's still a mystery to me how you have managed your reconstruction. It's ^b quite astonishing to an American eye used to scrapers and graders, bulldozers, cranes, tractors, steamrollers, cement mixers, to see what you have done almost without machinery. You have rebuilt more, and more quickly, than any ~~other~~ European country that I have seen this summer - and I've travelled all through Central Europe. How did it happen?"

[In Yugoslavia buildings, bridges, factories, houses, workers' apartments, railroads seem to spring up almost overnight. The buildings are of thick cement and double brick, not jerry built or shoddy.]

Tito: "Our economic system is such that we can make such progress. In the West private ownership stops such progress. Here no one puts anything in his private pocket."

I: "If you did get loans and credits, could that tend to stop your reconstruction?" He laughed.

Tito: "Of course not. If we get cash or loans we'd simply buy more machines, for the good of all."

Now I asked the question all the world has been asking.

I: "Will you explain to me in detail, and concretely, why you

refused to participate in the Marshall Plan?"

Tito: ^{WOT} (with emphasis) "You see that we were ~~not~~ wrong. The Paris Conference has come to no result; we said it couldn't. The secret conference about the Ruhr now taking place in England is further proof that something is wrong somewhere; that somewhere there's a lack of goodwill; that not every state can expect help - least of all our country. We have our Five-Year-Plan, we've built amazingly in these past two years; we can simply not permit any obstruction. I'll cite you an example: According to the Marshall Plan, every country must put its surplus into a common pot. But we cannot do this; we already have agreements, trade and economic agreements, with many countries, Sweden, Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia... We wouldn't be free to have these under the Marshall Plan. We knew this, so we declined to go to Paris. Besides, they did the whole thing without consulting us beforehand. We were just told to come. ~~We were just told to come.~~ One doesn't do things like that."

I: "I think Americans would be interested in knowing why it is so important for you, a hitherto largely agricultural country, to become industrialized?"

Tito: "It is very important. We are a rich country. Why should we export minerals, for example? They belong to our country, we should use them for the benefit of our people. We have many riches in our country: oil, coal, copper, zinc, lead, manganese... We should work these ourselves and benefit from them ourselves."

Why export cheap raw materials and buy back expensive finished products? Why should our peasants have to emigrate because this country is poor - one and a half million have left home and spread over the entire world in order to make a better living than they could make here. We have too little earth for our population unless we till and work it intensively. Why should our peasants go away?"

I: "I understand 500 immigrants have just arrived from Canada - Yugoslavs coming back to their homeland?"

Tito: "These are economic immigrants." [They have brought a half million dollars' worth of tools with them - they're largely skilled labor.]

I: "What about your policy regarding D.P.'s?"

Tito: "We want our people back, of course. Those who are not war criminals can work here peacefully. We have amnestied all who weren't bloodstained criminals. It is enemy propaganda to tell them that things are bad here and that they will be punished if they return. ~~This is not true.~~ And many have already returned and have seen that it was untrue. We need workers, we have no unemployment here nor can we ever have any." (At this point Tito asked me why Americans didn't come to work on the Youth Railway as practically every other nationality had done.)

I: "You have spoken much, Marshal Tito, of the lies you allege are told about you. Do you think such alleged lies can continue in the face of all these things you have told me which you feel refute them?"

Tito: "The lies can't continue long. After awhile lies are de-

nied by facts, and we show the facts. Yet some do remain, and, as I've said, do damage. We tell the facts, and repeat them, but sections of your press are very powerful and are in the hands of people who want these lies to be spread. They print now a lie, now a truth, but some belief clings to the lies, and that damages all - those who tell the lies as much as those who believe them. But we have our democratic nation, and we'll win out."

I: "Since there is so much talk of another war, and since any spark can set it ablaze, tell me once more what you think could be done to dissolve the hostile feelings between your country and mine? I ask again, In your opinion, what could be done to have better relations?"

Tito: "This does not depend on us, but on the American Government and on the American authorities. We want to trade with America, we want good relations, but we consider we should run our own country. Our people want to run their own country without outside interference. And do you know how we came to this desire? We received many notes telling us that we must adhere to the Tito-Štambachitch Agreement, that we must not form a new Yugoslavia. But we wanted to found a new Yugoslavia, we wanted to make our country modern and industrialized and able to support all its people."

I: "Then what are these 'authorities' that you say are 'unfriendly' so afraid of?"

Tito: "They ~~are~~ ^{were} afraid that we would achieve exactly what we have now achieved. They have quite openly supported our reactionary

elements in order to prevent us building our new country. But we are building it nevertheless, and we shall win. We shall have a united and democratic people and we shall live at peace."

END WINTER HANA