

## THE EDITING OF LOUIS ADAMIC'S BOOK THE EAGLE AND THE ROOTS

Janja Žitnik

1. The author's collecting material for his book

*The Eagle and the Roots* is Louis Adamic's last book and, in his own opinion, his most important one. The printed version of that work<sup>1</sup> is an expurgated version of the author's typescript which is preserved in several incomplete copies, kept in various public and private archives in Yugoslavia and in the United States.

The work was written on the basis of the author's personal impressions during his second visit to his native land in 1949. The published version of *The Eagle and the Roots* discusses the political and economic conditions in Yugoslavia in 1949, the moods of the Yugoslav people, their top politicians and intellectuals at the time of the first five-year plan (Book One<sup>2</sup>), including a biography of Josip Broz Tito until 1945 with an outline of the most important events in the country before and during World War II (Book Two<sup>3</sup>). In various passages scattered in both books, it describes the selfsacrifice and the resistance of the Yugoslav people during the Liberation War. An important subject is the dissention between Tito and Stalin which had its germs in the prewar period. The author follows its development through the war and during the first years after the liberation until the Cominform resolution in June 1948.

The major part of the book recapitulates Adamic's discussions with Marshal Tito, Vladimir Dedijer, Edvard Kardelj, Boris Kidrič, Milovan Djilas, and other Yugoslav political, economic, and cultural representatives. Their discussions tend to reveal the background of the Yugoslav-Soviet crisis. They represent a confrontation of two different viewpoints: Marxist ideology on the one hand, and the views of a politically independent, American author on the other hand.

The idea of revisiting his fatherland occurred to the author in autumn 1948 when the Truman-Wallace-Dewey election campaign in which he had been intensely engaged, reached its climax. In December 1948, Adamic applied for a Soviet visa. Since he was unable to get one, he decided to spend as much of the following year abroad as his finances and other circumstances would allow: five to ten months. He was going to visit Europe, starting with a short stay in the Slovenian Uplands where he might take a rest. For about

<sup>1</sup> Louis Adamic, *The Eagle and the Roots*. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1952, 531 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 1—261.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 262—531.

a decade, he had been planning to write a book entitled »The Education of Michael Novak« in which he would treat various aspects of American life during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century from the viewpoint of a successful American of Slovene descent. When he set out on his travels, he had no intention of writing another book on Yugoslavia<sup>4</sup>, although he was deeply interested in the causes and consequences of the Tito-Stalin split.

Soon after his arrival in Belgrade on January 12, 1949, events and circumstances made him change his mind about writing a new book. Staying in the Yugoslav capital for a few days, he started making notes about his impressions; this was the beginning of his collecting of material for the book about Tito and new Yugoslavia. He was quartered at Miroslav Krleža's apartment and thus had an opportunity to have long conversations with him, mostly about Tito and various Yugoslav cultural problems. During that time, he visited Vladimir Dedijer, Aleš Bebler, colonel Stane Valentinčič, and with Boris Kidrič he visited Edvard Kardelj. He also attended the opening session of the Second Congress of the Serbian Communist Party. A day before his departure for Slovenia, he was invited to lunch with Marshal Tito and the majority of the members of the Yugoslav Politburo, at the President's home.

From January 19 on, Adamic spent several days with his family in Slovenia. After that, he was invited to Josip Vidmar's villa, near Tržič, to spend a month or more there as a guest. Accompanied by Boris Kidrič, Franc Leskošek-Luka, and Marijan Brecelj, he visited the most important industrial and power plants, schools, and other institutions in Slovenia. On March 12, he made a trip to Northern Italy. Immediately after his return, he spent another week in Belgrade (April 12—18) where the Third Congress of the Yugoslav People's Front had just closed. During that week, Adamic had another meeting with Marshal Tito, and paid a visit to Milovan Djilas.

The next important event connected with his writing of the new book was his trip to President Tito's birthplace Kumrovec. To gather as many interesting pieces of information about the President's life as possible, he talked with Tito's one-time friends or neighbours, and with his aunt Ana living in Podsreda. Yet the information he collected during his visit to Zagorje was fairly incomplete. He had to supplement it with his later notes and a shorthand report of his interviews with Marshal Tito. On June 9, they had their longest interview, which lasted seven hours.

In the second half of June, Adamic went on a trip through Yugoslavia, accompanied by Edvard Kardelj, Moša Pijade, Aleš Bebler, and Stane Kolman, whom he does not mention in his book<sup>5</sup>. They visited parts of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia, stopping at the most important centers, connected with the antifascist resistance during World War II. The author and his hosts exchanged their views during this trip, which was very informative for both sides.

Toward the end of the month, Adamic left for Paris. He returned in the middle of July and made a journey to Skopje the next day. He revisited the Macedonian capital on August 1 to hear Tito's speech at a public meeting,

---

<sup>4</sup> By then, Adamic had written two major works on Yugoslavia: *The Native's Return*, New York, London, 1934, and *My Native Land*, New York, London, 1943.

<sup>5</sup> J. Žitnik, Interview with Stane Kolman. Ljubljana, May 21, 1986 (typescript), Centre of Scientific Research of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA), Slovene Emigration Institute (SEI).

and stayed in Macedonia for a fortnight. On August 18, flying back to Ljubljana, he decided to leave Yugoslavia immediately, without saying good-bye to anyone except to his mother. Due to an invitation to join a group of American progressives who had an appointment with Tito a week later, he postponed his departure. When he returned from Brioni, he was surprised by a farewell party organized by the leading Slovene politicians. After Miha Marinko's and Josip Vidmar's speeches, he talked to the party for two hours, trying to sum up his major impressions of Yugoslavia. A month later, he received a transcribed shorthand report of this speech.

On his various trips through Yugoslavia, talking with a number of Yugoslav top politicians, cultural representatives, industrial managers, and ordinary people, Adamic collected enough material for his book. Soon after his arrival, a group of twenty-four assistants who helped him gather material for his book, was organized in Belgrade.<sup>6</sup> Many other individuals all over Yugoslavia were ready to help.<sup>7</sup> When he returned to the United States, he took four hundred pounds of notes, reports, maps, and literature with him. Most of it remained unused. The basic sources for his book were Adamic's notes; he used only a few published sources in his chapters on Yugoslavia.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, there is a long unpublished chapter on the United States in his typescript<sup>9</sup> which contains over five hundred quotations from or references to various contemporary American published sources.

## 2. The genesis of *The Eagle and the Roots*

Back in the U. S. A., Adamic continued his work on the manuscript with incredible zeal. The first typescript version of the book<sup>10</sup> was finished by early spring 1950. Suddenly, the publisher's interest in the book decreased.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, Adamic was confronted with other problems: a lack of finances, his and his wife's illness, and on top of everything, numerous threats that he must immediately give up writing his book in which he defends Tito and his policies. All these obstacles caused Adamic to put off work on the manuscript for several months. He left his farm in New Jersey, where he no longer felt safe, and went to California to join his wife. They rented a house in Manhattan Beach, a town near Los Angeles, and Adamic settled down to work again. Soon after the author's arrival in California, Marshal Tito's reputation in the United States improved<sup>12</sup>, and the publisher showed new interest in the book. As his editor no longer minded the growing volume of his script, Adamic decided to extend the chapters on Yugoslavia and include

<sup>6</sup> J. Žitnik, Interview with dr. Vladimir Dedijer and Vili Jager, Ljubljana, July 16, 1986 (typescript), SASA SEI.

<sup>7</sup> J. Žitnik, Interview with Štefan Urbanc, Ljubljana, April 7, 1986 (typescript), SASA SEI.

<sup>8</sup> E. g. Vladimir Dedijer, *Dnevnik 1941—1944*. Belgrade, 1945; Edvard Kocbek, *Tovarišija*. Maribor, 1967; Josip Broz Tito, *The report at the Fifth Congress of CPY*, June 1948; The report on the s. c. »Bomber Trial« (»Bombaški proces«), *Novosti*, November 8, 1928.

<sup>9</sup> The Library of SASA (LSASA), folder R 67/III.

<sup>10</sup> LSASA, folder R 67/I.

<sup>11</sup> Soon after his return to the United States, Adamic made an agreement to write a book on new Yugoslavia for Doubleday & Company, a large publishing house in New York. Bucklin Moon, his first editor at Doubleday, was deeply interested in his plan for the book. Unfortunately, he left Doubleday before Adamic had finished his typescript.

<sup>12</sup> LSASA, folder R 67/III, Chapter 4, pp. 314 a. b.

most of the material on the contemporary situation in the United States which he had gathered on his trip across the country. Thus, during the following months, he was engaged in writing the longest chapter of his manuscript, entitled »A Game of Chess in an Earthquake« in which he treats American domestic and foreign policy. He worked day and night, with short breaks for a few hours' sleep. His wife Stella helped type the script. By the end of spring 1951, the second version of the typescript was almost complete.

In June, he travelled back East to make a final arrangement with his publisher concerning the technical details of the publication. For the sake of his safety, he stayed in New York and drove to Milford on Fridays to hand new parts of the book to his secretary. On September 4, he was found dead in his home in Milford, New Jersey. His secretary remembers that when she last saw him, shortly before his death, he looked optimistic and satisfied with his work, which was almost finished.

The text was finally prepared for printing by Adamic's widow Stella and his new editor at Doubleday, Timothy Seldes. It was published nine months after the author's death. In their foreword to the only American edition of the book, the editors state that they cut about one third of the text, along lines the author had suggested or they were certain he would have followed.<sup>13</sup>

Until recently, the contents of the unpublished parts of the original script were unknown, with the exception of a shorter passage from Chapter IV, Book Two, which was posthumously published in *The Nation* by Adamic's friend Carey McWilliams. What was actually cut from the typescript and why, what other changes were made in the text by the editors, and the final effect of their editing *The Eagle and the Roots*, are some of the questions which were often raised but remained unanswered for a long time. The first study to treat these and related questions is my MA thesis *The Genesis of Adamic's Book Eagle and the Roots. An Analysis of the Final Editing*.<sup>14</sup> In the following paragraphs, the principal conclusions of the study will be presented.

### 3. The typescripts of *The Eagle and the Roots*

The first version which was written by the end of 1949 or perhaps by spring 1950<sup>15</sup>, is a draft of the second version of his script. Two partial copies have been found:

the carbon copy kept in The Library of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana which was donated by Prof. Vladimir Dedijer in November 1980. The so-called first version of the Ljubljana typescript is incomplete. It contains 22 chapters, comprising 443 pages. In spite of the missing chapters, it is the most complete first version copy found so far;

the carbon copy kept in the Princeton University Library, New Jersey, which contains only a few individual chapters and disconnected passages.

<sup>13</sup> *The Eagle and the Roots*, p. V.

<sup>14</sup> Janja Žitnik, *Geneza Adamičeve knjige Orel in korenine. Analiza končne redakcije*. Magistrsko delo. University of Edvard Kardelj, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana, October 1988 (typescript).

<sup>15</sup> The approximate time of Adamic's writing the first version of his typescript is evident from his correspondence with Vladimir Dedijer, LSASA, folder R 67/V.

The second version was written from spring 1950 until September 1951.<sup>16</sup> It is an extended version of the first one. The following copies have been located so far:

the carbon copy, kept in The Library of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, donated by Dr. Vladimir Dedijer together with the rest of the material concerning Louis Adamic. It contains all the chapters of the so-called second typescript version of *The Eagle and the Roots* except the last two. Comprising 1733 pages, it is the most complete second version copy preserved;

the carbon copy in the possession of Prof. Dr. Henry A. Christian<sup>17</sup>, given to him by Mrs. Stella Adamic's brother Dr. Sanders. It is a complete copy of only one chapter from the second typescript version, namely Chapter IV in Book Two (439 pp.). It is almost identical with the same chapter in the Ljubljana typescript;<sup>18</sup>

the typescript material which Prof. Christian received from a friend of Adamic's living in California. It comprises less than 100 pages from the unpublished part of the script;

several separate chapters from the second typescript version which Adamic sent to Janko Rogel. That material was passed on to Prof. Christian by Prof. Dr. Carole Rogel.

Prof. Dr. France Adamič, the author's brother, mentions two more copies of the typescript. The first one was sent to him from California by the author. France Adamič sent it to Belgrade in 1951. The second copy was brought to Ljubljana by Mrs. M. Stetten. It was personally given to her by Louis Adamic.<sup>19</sup> Neither of the two copies has been located yet.

#### 4. An inventory of the Ljubljana typescript

The first version of the s. c. Ljubljana typescript is kept in The Library of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts. Its class-mark is R-67/I. It contains 22 short chapters: 16 chapters from Book One, and 6 chapters from Book Two. The pagination continues through the chapters:

Book one: Chapter 1 (pp. 1—18), Chapter 2 (pp. 19—34), Chapter 3 (pp. 35—48), Chapter 4 (pp. 49—62), Chapter 5 (pp. 63—78), Chapter 6 (pp. 79—89), Chapter 7 (pp. 90—104), Chapter 8 (pp. 105—118), Chapter 9 (pp. 119—132), Chapter 10 (pp. 133—148), Chapter 11 (pp. 149—168), Chapter 12 (pp. 169—197), Chapter 13 (pp. 184—202), pp. 272—284 (not evident from which chapter), Chapter 22 (pp. 379—394), Chapter 23 (pp. 395—406), and Chapter 24 (pp. 407—428).

Book two: Chapter 1 (pp. 429—442), Chapter 2 (pp. 443—469), Chapter 3 (pp. 470—504), Chapter 4 (pp. 505—530), Chapter 5 (pp. 531—566), and Chapter 6 (pp. 567—590).

<sup>16</sup> The time of the author's writing this version is evident from the text itself, especially from the unpublished Chapter IV in Book Two, LSASA, folder R 67/III-2.

<sup>17</sup> Rutgers University, Newark College of Arts and Sciences, Newark, New Jersey.

<sup>18</sup> Prof. Christian's copy contains some corrections in the author's handwriting later than the Ljubljana copy. It is the copy which Carey McWilliams used for his publication in *The Nation*.

<sup>19</sup> J. Zitnik, A short interview with Prof. France Adamič in autumn 1985 (typescript), SASA SEI.

The first version of the Ljubljana typescript contains 443 pages. Pages 203—271 and 285—378 are missing (altogether 163 pages, belonging to chapters 14—21). The contents of the first typescript version correspond to the first 1103 pages of the second version of the Ljubljana typescript. The proportion between the corresponding chapters in both versions is 1 to 2.

The second version of the Ljubljana typescript, kept in the same place as the first, contains 15 chapters (1733 pages). Its class-mark is R-67/III.

Book One is complete. It contains all the ten chapters: the Opening chapter (pp. 1—61), Chapter 1 (pp. 1—75), Chapter 2 (pp. 1—95), Chapter 3 (pp. 1—76), Chapter 4 (pp. 1—87), Chapter 5 (pp. 1—94), Chapter 6 (pp. 1—77), Chapter 7 (pp. 1—82), Chapter 8 (pp. 1—34), and Chapter 9 (pp. 1—122).

Book two is incomplete. It contains the first five chapters: Chapter 1 (pp. 1—142), Chapter 2 (pp. 1—48), Chapter 3 (pp. 1—109), Chapter 4 (pp. 1—363), and Chapter 5 (pp. 1—192). The last two chapters are missing.

Several pages were added later, and some of the pages were shortened and combined on a single page by the author as he was revising the text. On each page of the typescript, including those which were written at the time of Adamič's first revision, there are several additional corrections in the author's handwriting. They prove that the author had made at least two revisions of the text before he passed it over to Aleš Bebler, who gave it to Vlado Dedijer.<sup>20</sup> Some of Adamič's hand-written remarks on the folders of certain chapters indicate that, in his opinion, the text was not definitively corrected when he sent it to Yugoslavia.<sup>21</sup>

## 5. An analysis of the final redaction

The extent of the cuts made by the editors in the original text has so far remained unknown. In order to find what it is, we must first establish the total number of pages comprised in the last version of Adamič's typescript. The second typescript version in the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts comprises 1733 pages, and does not contain Chapters VI and VII in Book Two (the last two chapters). While nothing is known about the final chapter except that Adamič wrote it and that it was completely omitted by the editors, we can assume that Chapter VI originally comprised at least 300 typed pages (but probably more)<sup>22</sup>. Thus, from at least 2033 pages of the original typescript, more than 750 pages were cut. Since the two numbers do not include the unpublished final chapter, it is quite certain that the extent of the cuts reached two fifths of the original text and not one third, as stated by the editors.

Before analysing linguistic, stylistic, and thematic changes made in the text by the editors, we must present the changes in the succession of chapters and the extent of the cut pages in individual chapters:

---

<sup>20</sup> The fact that the Ljubljana typescript is the copy which A. Bebler brought from the United States in April 1951 is evident from Adamič's hand-written remark on the folder of Book Two, Chapter Two, and from his letter to Vlado Kozak, April 3, 1951, LSASA, folder R 67/V. See also: J. Žitnik, Interview with dr. Vladimir Dedijer; France Adamič, *Spomini in pričevanja o življenju in delu Louisa Adamiča*. Ljubljana, 1983, p. 161.

<sup>21</sup> E. g. on the folder of the Opening chapter, Book One, LSASA, folder R 67/III-1.

<sup>22</sup> The relation between the number of printed pages in the American edition and the number of typed pages in the original script is 1 to 2, 6.

Typescript			American edition	
Chapter	Pages	Unpublished pages	Chapter	Pages
Book One				
Opening ch.	61	17 .....	1.	19
1.	75	9 .....	2.	30
2.	95	7 .....	3.	33
3.	76	8 .....	4.	30
4.	87	30 .....	5.	26
5.	94	29 .....	6.	28
6.	77	14 .....	7.	4
7.	82	13 .....	8.	25
8.	34	23 .....	9.	29
9.	122	51 .....	10.	29
Total	803	201		

Typescript		American edition		
Chapter	Pages	Unpublished pages	Chapter	Pages
Book Two				
1.	142	11 .....	1.	49
2.	48	48	—	
3.	109	11 .....	2.	36
4.	439	439	—	
5.	192	38 .....	3.	54
6.	300+?	? } no typescript ? } preserved	4.	126
7.	?		—	
Total	1230	547		
	+?	+?		
In both	2033	748		
books	+?	+?		

It will be noticed that the chapters in the published version are marked differently from those in the typescript. The reasons are the change of the »Opening chapter« into »Chapter 1« and the elimination of three chapters in Book Two. The order of the rest of the chapters remained as it was, with the exception of Chapter 8 in Book One, which was moved two chapters ahead. Comprising only 4 pages, it is the shortest chapter in the book, describing a magnificent bird trying to free itself from a root. The change was made for the sake of the chronological order of the plot.

On the one hand, the editors of *The Eagle and the Roots*, Stella Adamic and Timothy Seldes, state in their foreword to the American edition of the book that save for cutting one third of the text, »no other changes

were made».<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, the comparison between the last version of the typescript and the American printed version proves that besides omitting three entire chapters (two of them comprising 487 pages) and cutting another 261 pages from the published chapters, the editors made no less than 3009 other changes in the text covering 404 printed pages. The average number of corrections on each page of the printed version is thus eight. In the analytical study of their editing, of which I am trying to present the main results here, the editorial changes are divided into three major groups: 1. formal changes, 2. minor changes affecting the contents, and 3. unpublished chapters.

### *Formal changes*

The formal changes made in the text by the editors are those which influenced the form of the text or the grammatical, orthographic, or stylistic characteristics of its language. Such changes are: shifted passages (14 cases<sup>24</sup>), changes in word order (8 cases) and other grammatical corrections (12 cases), a different orthography for Yugoslav words (763 cases), the replacement of small initial letters by capital letters (291 cases), the omission of apostrophes (135 cases) and other orthographic corrections (150 cases), the replacement of individual words by (partly) synonymous expressions (140 cases), changes in the use of italics (62 cases), division of long paragraphs into shorter ones (56 cases), and changes in punctuation (745 cases).

On the basis of a detailed analysis of the above mentioned editorial changes, the following conclusions about the editors' criteria and the quality of Adamic's English can be made:

a) the text was changed in order to make it as surveyable as possible (e.g. dividing long chapters into shorter ones).

b) grammatical corrections: there were less than ten justified grammatical corrections made in the entire text, including changes in word order. It is quite clear that Adamic had fully mastered English grammar.

c) orthographic corrections: the analysis of the corrections in the spelling of individual words shows that in most cases, the author's spelling is at least permissible, if not more usual than the spelling in the printed version. It is evident that the majority of the orthographic corrections in *The Eagle and the Roots* were unnecessary. On the other hand, it can be noticed that the author was weak in three respective points: in the use of capital initial letters in the names of the public and political functions, federal offices and institutions, in the use of the hyphen, and in the orthography of compound words; In all other respects, Adamic's English orthography is on the highest level which cannot be said of his knowledge of the orthography of French, German, and other foreign languages. There is no doubt that every correction the editors made in Adamic's spelling of foreign words was necessary.

Another interesting conclusion occurs in the analysis of the linguistic corrections made during the editorial revision of the text. There are a

---

<sup>23</sup> *The Eagle and the Roots*, p. V.

<sup>24</sup> The numbers in brackets indicate how often the respective editorial correction occurs in the printed text covered by the entire second version of the Ljubljana typescript.



number of cases where Yugoslav words are correctly spelled in the printed version of the book, whereas they are misspelled in its typescript. It can therefore be supposed that Stella Adamic had a Yugoslav consultant during her work on the script, whom she does not mention in her foreword to the American edition. Thus, the question of the third, Yugoslav editor remains open.

d) the orthography of Yugoslav words, changed for American readers, especially the change of č, ž, š into c, z, s. Because of such corrections, several ambiguous cases appear in the printed version, e.g. Sušak — Susak (Adamic gives the name of a place on the Croatian Littoral, the editors change it into the name of an Adriatic island). The writer had avoided the problem of ambiguity by means of the original Slovene or Serbo-Croatian orthography.

e) the corrections which the editors made in order to modify the author's language, rich with colloquial expressions. The editors replaced a number of colloquialisms by more literary forms. The most frequent correction of that type is the replacement of couldn't, he'll, I've, etc. by full forms. Moreover, there are many colloquial idioms in the manuscript (very often in dialogues) which are replaced by literary expressions in the printed version.

f) Regarding vocabulary and punctuation, Adamic's style has certain particular characteristics which are avoided in the printed version as often as possible. In the typescript, the author often tends to choose less usual expressions which the editors replaced by more conventional words. The same tendency of the editors is even more clearly evident where corrections of punctuation marks are in question. An important feature of Adamic's style is a frequent use of informal punctuation marks such as three dots or a dash. The editors usually omitted the three dots following a full stop or preceding a new paragraph, and replaced the dash by a comma or some other punctuation mark. With 745 changes in punctuation, the printed version evidently deviates from the original.

### *Minor changes affecting content*

The editorial revision of *The Eagle and the Roots* affected the substance of the narrative much more than it did its language. Minor corrections of the kind are addenda, changed data, omitted words, and transformed or cut sentences. There are 68 cases of added words or sentences in the printed version. In more than one third of cases, a word was added for the sake of linguistic improvement. Individual sentences were corrected according to the editors' criteria of appropriate language (e.g. informal phrases were made more formal by the addition of a word which is usually omitted in colloquial English). There are only 16 cases of pieces of information added for the sake of clarity where the source of the additional information is not evident from the passages that were cut. In most cases, the interpolated information is generally known. Several addenda show that the author himself must have done some final editing after sending the second version of his typescript to Yugoslavia.

Another type of correction made by the editors is the replacement of inaccurate information in the typescript concerning events and persons

from Yugoslavia by accurate data in the printed version. Here, again, we must assume that Mrs. Adamic had a consultant from Yugoslavia who was able to check the data in question. There were also several cases where Vladimir Dedijer corrected the misinformation in the typescript but obviously did not notify the editors about the factual errors in the text. As a result, the printed version contains some unchecked data, as for example in the sentence which says that in four and a half years (1921—1925), Josip Broz led three strikes and was arrested and jailed seven times.<sup>25</sup> Dedijer made a note on the typescript correcting the author, with the information that during that period, Broz did not lead a single strike and that he was not arrested more than once.<sup>26</sup>

The most obvious effect of the transformed sentences (55 cases) is when the editors give a formal tone to those sentences in which the author's informal language does not correspond to the context. A more frequent change is the cutting of individual words (116 cases). Three main causes for these corrections are revealed by our analysis: the avoidance of pleonasm, the elimination of superfluous emphases, and the reduction of colloquial elements in Adamic's language, especially the curses in dialogues. A number of sentences in the printed version had been shortened (76 cases). In the typescript, these sentences are usually too long and therefore unclear. Another reason for the shortening of sentences is to avoid exaggerated sentimentality or to cut down the frequency of colloquial phrases. By means of cutting whole sentences (112 cases), the editors tried to reduce repetition, exaggeration, pathetic inserts, and the mention of embarrassing private affairs.

The substance of the narrative was affected to a certain degree by cutting four fifths of the original footnotes. Of more than 130 footnotes in the typescript, only 28 are left in the printed version. The author's numerous footnotes in the typescript represent an important part of the content of individual chapters, as they contain valuable and interesting information. Many of them touch upon delicate political questions even more directly than the basic text of the work. Thus, it is possible that one of the reasons for cutting the majority of the footnotes was political. The main reason, however, was doubtless the editors' basic tendency to unify the form of the text and avoid frequent digressions from the central subject in order to make the narrative uninterrupted and thus easier to follow.

From the published chapters, 222 full pages were cut (79 passages comprising 1—19 pages each, and 87 shorter passages comprising less than one page each). The principal reason for cutting shorter and longer passages was that the publisher had demanded that the book be shorter. Otherwise the editors were motivated by a wish to avoid repetition, over-detailed descriptions, long passages without weighty substance, groundless meditations, extreme pessimism, black and white presentations of historical events, and speculative assumptions. In addition, several passages were cut in order to avoid mentioning certain events or persons from Yugoslavia. It is possible that the persons concerned requested the author not to mention them in the book, and he could have made the cuts himself as he was working on the final revision of the typescript. However, there

---

<sup>25</sup> *The Eagle and the Roots*, p. 316.

<sup>26</sup> LSASA, folder R 67/III-2, Chapter 3, p. 12.

is no way of checking this assumption since most of Adamic's later correspondence was destroyed in the fire.

The majority of the above mentioned corrections and cuts were advantageous to the book as a whole, although the editors had to sacrifice many interesting passages or footnotes.

### *The unpublished chapters*

The editors of *The Eagle and the Roots* decided to omit Chapter Two («Old Yugoslavia: 1918—1940 — A Thumbnail Sketch»), Chapter Four («A Game of Chess in an Earthquake»), and the final chapter, all of them in the original version of Book Two. In order to establish the final effect of the editors' omission of three entire chapters from Adamic's typescript and to find the reasons for their decision to do so, we must first give an outline of the two unpublished chapters which are preserved in the second version of the Ljubljana typescript.

«Old Yugoslavia: 1918—1940 — a Thumbnail Sketch» is a short survey of Yugoslav history between the two wars. On 48 typed pages of a chronologically arranged narrative, the author describes the conditions in old Yugoslavia which led the country into a social revolution. The major part of the chapter is covered in Adamic's book *My Native Land*<sup>27</sup>, in the chapters which have the common title «Death to Fascism, Liberty to the People!». The whole summarized history of old Yugoslavia presented in the unpublished chapter is written from a point of view which corresponds to the main interest of *The Eagle and the Roots*, that is the relationship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union with special attention to the differences between the two countries. At the very beginning of the chapter, the author explains why he finds it necessary to insert a history of old Yugoslavia in his book about new Yugoslavia. The long historical process, says Adamic, which resulted in the formation of the new state of South Slavs in 1918, has been consistently ignored by nearly all writers on new Yugoslavia. This has created the impression that the Yugoslav revolution had no motivation apart from the fact — which in 1948 turned out not to be a fact — that Tito was Stalin's stooge.

The chapter «Old Yugoslavia» contains five subchapters. In the first, the author reaches back thirteen centuries to describe the main features of life on the Balkan peninsula, which was the crossroads of various imperialisms and messianisms for over a millenium. Starting with the arrival of the Slavs on the Balkans in the course of the great migrations of nations from the third to the eighth century, Adamic stresses that the development of the new cultures in the Slavic part of the Balkans went its own way, more or less independently of the cultural processes in the land of the Russians. He presents some of the differences, but more especially the common features of the history of the South-Slavic nations and the rest of the European nations, trying to prove that the progressive ideas which eventually led to the contemporary processes going on in Yugoslavia, originated in Europe and not in Russia.

The author compares the development of the Yugoslav idea in the 18<sup>th</sup> century with the Czech movement and states that the Yugoslav movement

---

<sup>27</sup> See note 4.

failed to produce a statesman as perceptive and eloquent as Thomas G. Masaryk, or attract an operator as precise and cunning as Edvard Beneš. The reader is acquainted with the completely unprepared situation of the Yugoslav leaders at the moment of the new state's foundation. Since the only possibility was an annexation of the former South-Slavic provinces of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to the Serbian monarchy, the Yugoslav idea became a victim of the pan-Serbian idea which was supported by the »civilized West«.

The second section of the text is a compact geographical report on old Yugoslavia with all the necessary statistics about its area, population density, different nationalities, the poor railway system in the country, the state of industry and agriculture, and especially about the country's financial situation influenced by its serious foreign debt.

The third section deals with the corruption of the government administration in prewar Yugoslavia and the miserable living conditions of peasants and workers. When a politician became a minister, says Adamic, one of his principal tasks was to serve foreign investment capital which helped him »make« a fortune for himself in a short time. Politicians, stresses the author, in their game against one another, used every trick to accentuate the religious and ethnic differences of the various nationalities in order to maintain the *status quo*: semi-feudalism internally, and semi-colonialism in relation to the big powers.

The main source of the material used in the fourth section is Tito's historical analysis, delivered at the Fifth Congress of the CPY in 1948. It treats the foundation and the development of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Adamic explains that the new CPY was an abrupt fusion of left-wing elements and individuals in the Social Democratic and Socialist movements in the country which inherited all their old ideological feuds. During the first eighteen years of its existence, it had no effective leadership. We read about the workers' strikes, organized by communists, and the circumstances which enabled the domestic counter-revolutionary forces to suppress the revolution before it could really break out. The anticommunist propaganda reached its climax at the end of 1920's. Adamic describes the *Obznana* — the anticommunist drive started by Minister of Internal Affairs Milorad Drašković, whose methods he compares to those used by the U. S. Committee on Un-American Activities from 1948 on. Under the aegis of the Yugoslav constitution, the Law for the Protection of the State was promulgated and the CPY was declared illegal. The illusion of Yugoslavia being a democratic kingdom, says the author, vanished on January 6, 1929, when King Alexander proclaimed an open dictatorship. Apart from the corrupt ministers and lesser government officials, King Alexander himself drew over a million dollars a year from the national treasury, and deposited most of it in foreign banks instead of investing in the country's industrialization. The instability of the situation is revealed by the fact that from 1918 to 1929, Yugoslavia had twenty-four governments, and from 1929 to 1941 ten more: a total of thirty-four governments in twenty-two years of its existence.

In the final section of the chapter, Adamic returns to the difficult situation of workers and peasants in prewar Yugoslavia which made more and more people turn to the left and join the underground CPY. The chapter is unfinished. Adamic planned to conclude it with a personal story of the early

youth of Aleš Bebler who, during the author's visit to Yugoslavia, told him how he became a Communist.

Adamic's chapter on old Yugoslavia contains fewer fictional elements than the other chapters in *The Eagle and the Roots*. Considering its form, it would probably have been more suitable if Adamic used it as an illustrative lecture or a separate historical article than to insert it in the narrative of his visit to new Yugoslavia. As we can clearly see, there was no political reason for cutting this chapter in 1951—52. The only obvious reason was the repetition of material which had already been covered in the author's earlier books on Yugoslavia.

#### »A Game of Chess in an Earthquake«

In his letters to his friend Vlado Kozak<sup>28</sup> and to some of his other correspondents, Adamic often expresses how difficult it was for him to write a book on Yugoslavia and on the world situation during 1949—51, quoting Osbert Sitwell's words: »As well try to concentrate upon a game of chess in an earthquake!«<sup>29</sup> In the context of the chapter bearing that title, »the earthquake« symbolizes the uncertain political situation in the world at the time of Adamic's writing his last book, with all the unpredictable moments, revolutionary movements and other »acts of subversion«, whereas »the game of chess« stands for the dexterous political moves made by the two super-powers on the chessboard of the world. The figure-heads are various countries all over the world. The author and the reader concentrate upon that complicated game as observers.

The chapter comprises 439 typed pages, and is divided into ten sections marked with Roman numerals. The division is partly based on individual themes treated in separate sections, and partly on the chronological order of the political and public events described or commented on in the chapter. The thematic framework of the chapter is a complex picture of public and private life in the United States during 1950—51, with special regard to the most important moves in American domestic and foreign policy at the time. To make the picture as wide and objective as possible, the author composes it of hundreds of references or quotations from contemporary speeches, articles, political and military works, economic studies, and other scientific or fictional works written from various ideological viewpoints. The quotations are used as a starting-point for the author's comments or reflections on contemporary social, economic, and political problems of America.

Adamic is convinced that the center of the world revolution is not in the Soviet Union, but in the United States. Marx and Engels foresaw the huge progress of the industrial revolution and the problems it would bring for mankind. Yet, the author doubts that they were quite able to imagine the 1950—51 level of productive capacity in the U. S. A. They also believed that the first signs of a social revolution would appear in Western Europe and not in Russia, China, or Yugoslavia (p. 9—10). At the end of the first section and at the beginning of the second, Adamic explains his fairly simplified views of the basic theses of Marxian philosophy. He reflects upon the use of force, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is supposed to be

<sup>28</sup> LSASA, folder R 67/V.

<sup>29</sup> A sentence from the last short story in Osbert Sitwell's collection of short stories entitled *Open the Door!*

necessary in order to win the battle for democracy. He quotes some of Lenin's statements about the importance of democracy and about the end of the state's existence, when there are no more social classes and when all the capitalists have disappeared. The author considers such statements »the irrelevances a politician, even a great politician, must toss about if he is to get anywhere, or at least stay in power« (p. 18—21e). On the other hand, Adamic gives his own, highly favourable evaluation of *The Communist Manifesto*. To illustrate the diverse and controversial definitions of »socialism« and »communism«, he quotes parts of statements by more than twenty well-known authors or public personalities.

Section IV (pp. 85d—142) treats the question of the character of American financial-industrial leaders and their actual role in the American system. It is another long passage with numerous references to all kinds of important publications discussing the problem. Adamic tries to explain how American tycoons wield their authority over the government, how they force the government to help them out financially and shift the costs to the public, and how easily they can hire all the technical, legal, and public-relations back-up they need »to keep afloat«. He touches upon the question of two-faced labour leaders who favour employers more than employees. The passage discusses the cultural and moral patterns which American industrial and trade managers imposed on the little man in order to raise sales. Another topic in this section is big industry's connection with organized crime. Finally, the reader is acquainted with the problems which managerial magnates have to deal with, and the way their minds work when they are confronted with unpleasant phenomena such as strikes or a communist movement. A vivid portrait emerges of a typical American magnate talking about the wonderful system, about F. D. Roosevelt who engineered the country into World War II because there was no other way of pulling it out of the Depression, about the war which was »a Godsend«, about the American free-enterprise system which works best through a war economy, and about stockmarket values climbing through the rest of 1950, after the outbreak of the Korean war.

In the last part of section IV, Adamic comments on the American communist movement and touches upon the problem of »ten million American families and six million unattached adults who are living under monopoly capitalism on sub-standard incomes, in shabby homes, with inadequate medical service and schools«. The author believes that the American people whose living standard is much higher are also somewhat unsatisfied. The pattern of American life brought on by the industrial revolution is turning into a monopoly feudalism which puts vast masses of people into psychological-political straightjackets while they drive around in shiny new Fords. But the industrial monolith sensitively registers the moods of the people and gives them surrogates of happiness to calm them down. Material goods, says the author, are an escape from the hopeless want of freedom, from investigations and guilt by association. Adamic's economic, ideological, and moral picture of America includes his own view of American culture at the beginning of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He believes that it is being mechanized, industrialized, commercialized, »canned and gaily packed«, brought down to the level of the average person.

Another important question dealt with in the chapter on the world situation is the policy of »bilateral anti-imperialistic imperialism« and the cold war. Sections V and VI are almost exclusively devoted to this topic,

while it is also partly discussed in other sections. Adamic believes that if F. D. Roosevelt had not died in 1945, and if he had had the chance to make the United Nations a potent agency for compromise, conciliation and peace, he would not have used the chance. He would certainly have sided with the American »giant« against the Russian »giant«, the author says. The two super-powers have the rest of the world locked in a tension mutually advantageous to each. »Protecting« the world from the imperialistic danger of the other part, they create a general paranoia which helps them keep their own people under control, turning their attention away from their own economic, social, ethnic, and racial problems.

In section VII, Adamic mentions the question of the United Nations being a gimmick of United States foreign policy. The U.N. Commission in Korea, for example, is in Adamic's opinion completely subservient to the United States. Various problems connected with the United Nations' intervention in Korea are treated in sections VII, VIII, and IX. The scope of the problems which Adamic is concerned with is fairly wide. On the one hand, the author tries to explain the true motives for sending American troops to Korea, mentioning the profits for the American war economy. He tries to unveil the political background of President Truman's decision to take the country into war by executive action for which, as Adamic states, he had no authority. The reader learns about the role of the political fight between the American Democrats and the Republicans connected with the Korean problem. On the other hand, the author is alarmed by current reports from the Korean battle-fields, the barbarism of the American officers and their soldiers in Korea, and the increasing American, Korean, and Chinese casualties. We read about the growing demand of American people that the U. S. forces leave the Far East immediately. Adamic describes the means of the American domestic policy used to suppress every public expression of resistance against the war. The U. S. Senate Committee on Un-American Activities accused an incredible number of individuals and organizations of being subversive. Any writing which contained a message of peace was considered communist propaganda and was thus immediately suppressed. In section II, the author gives a list of well-known American personalities who had recently discovered that there were marks against them in the archives of the F. B. I., the Committee on Un-American Activities, and similar organizations (pp. 36—37). The general atmosphere in the United States was full of fear and suspicion as it had never been before.

Connected with the question of subversion is the author's own case of subversiveness. Being convinced that Senator McCarthy and his assistants were not aware of all his controversial deeds, he gives examples of his activities owing to which he could be paradoxically labelled un-American (pp. 58—62). Of course, Adamic was disturbed by the fact that he was controlled by the F. B. I. and by the Committee on Un-American Activities. Yet, if they had decided to subpoena him, he had his answer prepared: »What do you mean when you ask me if I'm a 'Comunist'? (...) If you mean whether I am a member of the CPUSA or any other CP outfit anywhere, the answer is no — not yet. But if this hysteria keeps up, I'll probably begin to look around and join almost anything that's against those who are creating it.« (p. 181)

Adamic's autobiographical notes form an important part of the »Game of Chess in an Earthquake« chapter. They start with section VII where the

author gives an account of the events connected with his writing *The Eagle and the Roots* (pp. 178—186). He mentions that when he returned from Yugoslavia, he immediately found a publisher for his book. By April 1950, he had written almost 1000 pages of the script, dealing mostly with new Yugoslavia and Tito. By July 1950, he had written the paragraphs on the Korean war planning to publish them in his paper *T & T*. However, in July and August, the American intervention in Korea was so popular that he felt it would be dangerous to publish the text, so he decided to suspend the paper and wait for a more suitable moment.

Instead of continuing his paper battle, he took some time to read. In the meantime, he visited a colony of pacifists in New Jersey who had gone on a hunger strike against the war. He also visited several friends whom he trusted, and showed them some of his new script. They advised him to return to his book and finish it (pp. 186—200a). Only one of his friends warned him that it was extremely dangerous to write a book of that sort at the time of the »witch-hunt« and that he had better give up the idea of publication. (p. 222b.)

In October 1950, Adamic settled down to work again. Soon afterwards, a car with a Michigan licence came to his place in New Jersey. Four men got out and warned him that he must not finish his pro-Tito book. They told him that his life was in danger. A dry-cleaner's car arrived just in time to scare the uninvited visitors. They ran away, unnoticed by the cleaner.

Adamic was frightened. In all probability, the intruders were former Axis collaborationists from Yugoslavia. He decided to leave New Jersey for a few months and rent an apartment near Los Angeles. He bought a car and requested the New Jersey State Police to keep an eye on his house (pp. 258—266).

He drove slowly through the country and visited some of his friends on the way. The last part of section VIII (pp. 266—287) covers his long conversation with a friend, an ex-Communist from Indiana. The paragraphs reveal their views on American domestic and foreign policy.

In section IX, the author continues with his impressions of life in the parts of the United States which he observed on his way to California. He bought papers and propaganda booklets in every town he passed through (p. 288). In order to get a full and complex impression, he tried not to rush through the country. When he reached California, he rented a house close to the ocean in his favorite beach town<sup>30</sup> (pp. 301—305). This is where his autobiographical notes end. He does not mention his wife living in California or his need to join her so that she could help him type the script — which was doubtless one of his main reasons for leaving home.

The rest of section IX is written in the form of a dialogue between the author and the Pacific Ocean (pp. 340—345b, together 28 pages). Actually, it is the author's monologue on the current problems of America, the problems which hurt him most. The passage is written in an extremely pessimistic tone, revealing Adamic's complete disillusion with his second homeland and especially with its government's policy.

Section X is the last section of the »Game of Chess in an Earthquake«. It occupies 22 pages of the typescript (pp. 345—363) and represents a sort

---

<sup>30</sup> 613 Ocean Drive, Manhattan Beach, Ca.



of link between the chapter on the United States and the preceding as well as the subsequent chapters in both books dealing with Yugoslavia. Adamic believes that it is impossible to understand the Yugoslav revolution without understanding the inner forces of the industrial revolution reaching its climax in the United States, and, on the other hand, that one cannot entirely comprehend the present situation in the world without having a clear notion of a phenomenon such as the Yugoslav revolution. He asks himself if we can put aside all the irrelevancies and find a point where America's great know-how and the industrially backward peoples' anti-imperialism can meet. If he could speak to Tito in 1950, Adamic says, he would have told him about his guess that the two »giants«, both fearful of peace breaking out and of total war at the same time, might make a deal to turn Yugoslavia into a new Korea. The American economy could certainly use a new Korea if the war in the »actual« Korea ended. The American planes, trying to »liberate« Korea, are actually reducing that wonderful land to dust, the author says. This must not happen to his old country. Adamic finds it important for the American people and their government to know Tito in considerable detail and understand »why he may be the potential father of Freedom that wants to be born in Yugoslavia, in the Balkans, elsewhere.« (p. 363)

## Book two, Chapter VII

The typescript of the final chapter of *The Eagle and the Roots*, mentioned by the editors in their foreword to the American edition of the book, has not been found so far. Even Prof. Dr. Henry Christian<sup>31</sup>, who is better acquainted with Adamic's legacy than anyone else, is convinced that he has never seen the typescript of that chapter. Thus there is no information available about that part of the script except that it goes over ground already covered and that, in any event, it could not have appeared in its original form.<sup>32</sup> Finding the typescript of the final chapter, written during the last weeks of Adamic's life, could represent a discovery of important new facts, perhaps even in connection with the author's death.

## 6. Conclusion

The principal results of the comparison between the typescript of *The Eagle and the Roots* and its printed version throw light upon the author's knowledge of English, the degree of his wife's influence on the final form of the text, and the reasons for cutting individual passages and chapters. As the first conclusion inferred from the analysis of the linguistic corrections made in the text, it can be stated that Adamic had fully mastered the English grammar, orthography, and vocabulary. As already stated, Adamic's choice of expression, his grammatical forms and his spelling which were orthographically corrected by the editors, is at least permissible. An occasional exception is the author's irregular use of the capital initial letter, his use of the hyphen, and his mode of writing English compound words. In most other cases, though, his forms are even more usual than those in the printed version of the book. On the whole, it can be said that the editors frequently

---

<sup>31</sup> See note 17.

<sup>32</sup> *The Eagle and the Roots*, p. V.

used their own individual criteria regarding their linguistic corrections of Adamic's text. As for the stylistic characteristics of its language, it can be noticed that the printed version deviates from the typescript in two main respects: in using a more formal punctuation and in avoiding colloquialisms.

Although many editorial corrections regarding orthography and vocabulary were unnecessary, this cannot be said of the shortening of parts of long sentences or cutting entire sentences which are somewhat superfluous. By means of shortening certain passages, the editors successfully avoided repetition, exaggeration, sentimentality, pathos, spun-out meditations, and unsupported presumptions. Most of the passages were cut for the sake of modifying Adamic's somewhat redundant style. On the other hand, several passages were cut in order to avoid mentioning certain events or persons from Yugoslavia, probably to answer those persons' requests not to be mentioned in the book.

Cutting individual passages was in most cases advantageous to the quality of the text as a whole. The same holds true for cutting the chapters on old Yugoslavia and on the political situation in the United States. By excluding those chapters from the book, the editors reduced the thematic frame of the narrative to the problems concerning new Yugoslavia and its President. Thus the reader finds it much easier to follow the thread of the narrative in the printed version than he would if he had the chance to read the typescript. The complexity of themes in the original version is further intensified by numerous footnotes which largely digress from the central subject. Knowing this, it is also easier to understand why the editors decided to omit the majority of footnotes.

If we compare the essential themes in the original version of the book with those comprised in the printed version, we see that in the latter, the problem of the Yugoslav-Cominform split is excluded from the larger framework of the world situation. In his typescript, the author's primary intention was to make a sort of comparison between his two homelands in order to »find a point where they can meet«<sup>33</sup>, whereas that aspect is not obvious in the printed version.

With the longest chapter in the typescript («A Game of Chess in an Earthquake») left unpublished, the book obtained an acceptable size, but lost one of its central subjects. The international role of President Tito at the moment of his adopting a policy of non-alignment remains undiscussed in the printed version of *The Eagle and the Roots*. So do some other important problems treated in the typescript, e.g. the impact of eastern socialism on the situation in the United States, or the need for the West's economic help for industrially backward countries such as Yugoslavia.

It is clear that the editors' cutting of individual passages from the chapters on new Yugoslavia was partly political censorship, doubtless suggested by those Yugoslav politicians who had kept in touch with the author or his wife. On the other hand, political cuts of passages where Adamic sharply criticizes certain aspects of American policy were not necessary since the whole chapter on the United States was omitted.

Taking all the results of the present analysis into account, it can be concluded that in spite of numerous unnecessary linguistic corrections, the

---

<sup>33</sup> LSASA, folder R 67/III-2, Chapter 4, p. 354.

editors of *The Eagle and the Roots* improved the text in many respects and that the printed version of the book is much more acceptable to the average reader than the original version as regards length, complexity of themes, and density of language. However, the unpublished chapter »A Game of Chess in an Earthquake« is so interesting and rich in information that it certainly deserves to be edited and published.