

THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

March 14, 1951

Description: In the opening segment, ER and Elliott Roosevelt respond to a listener's question about sharing atomic technologies with Russia and fostering trade agreements with India. In the interview segment, ER and Ernesta Barlow, wartime journalist and lecturer, discuss Barlow's recent trip to Yugoslavia.

Participants: ER, Elliott Roosevelt, Ernesta Barlow

[ER:] Good day. This is Eleanor Roosevelt speaking. It gives me great pleasure to visit with you, as I do each day at this time, from my living room atop the Park Sheraton Hotel overlooking Central Park. I am grateful for the many encouraging letters you send me and most happy that you find my guests both informative and entertaining as I do. Now, my son Elliott, who assists me on these programs, will speak to you.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Thank you, Mother. Today we are going to invite all of you to come along with us on an automobile trip through Yugoslavia. Our guide is Mrs. Ernesta Drinker Barlow. She has just returned from Yugoslavia, and she's going to describe the experiences of an American traveling today on a completely unofficial visit through a communist state. Before the journey begins, Mother is going to discuss a letter which suggests that if we'd shared the A-bomb with Russia, we not-- might not be in our present trouble. We will return to the letter as soon as we've had a word from the sponsors who make this recorded program possible.

[Break 1:14 - 1:18]

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Our letter for discussion today, Mother, comes from um Mrs. J. McEwan of Philadelphia. Her question reads: "Do you think if we had shared the atom bomb and everything that goes with it with the Russians all this trouble in the world today could have been prevented? I was educated in the public schools and love my country. And maybe it's wrong to criticize what governments of the world do, but sometimes I don't think people of some of the other countries of the world appreciate what we're doing for them, as well as trying to win the peace of the world. If India is going to get a lot of wheat from us, as I am told, why can't she give to us magnesium, and other things she has that we need in return? I would think they would be glad to pay for what they need with what they have. Enclosed find a clipping. Surely if things like this get into our papers, the Russians soon get to know this too. So maybe India someday will be glad to go along with us and help in whatever way is possible for them. I believe I heard something about it not being good economics for India to arm at present. I wonder if they know what it is doing to us." The clipping Mrs. McEwan refers to carries a dateline of New Delhi, February the first, and reads: "Indian atomic energy commission geologists have discovered two substantial uranium ore belts," the statesman says. One belt of fifty miles is in eastern India, the other runs northwest from central Asia, it was reported." Uh would you say uh this letter, and the question it raises, uh you would feel that India and our relations with them that we haven't probably pressed hard enough for uh trade agreements? (3:20)

[ER:] No, um I um I think this is a new discovery. I think it probably hasn't been developed as yet. I think that, undoubtedly, India will use it to pay in the future for things that they want to obtain. In the meantime, they have asked immediately for um a gift of [Elliott Roosevelt: Yes.] two million tons of wheat. Now, our president has requested one million tons, I understand, as a gift. I personally hope we will make the gift of two million tons, since we have it. And it will not hurt our own reserves to do it.

[Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] For the simple reason that I think it was made for the first time as a request

from the government and on a humanitarian basis. And I think it will do a great deal for the feeling of the people, if we do it quickly. If we delay for months, the people will starve, and then when it does arrive it won't mean as much to them. [Elliott Roosevelt: Yes.] We could take a leaf out of the book of the U.S.S.R., who signed um an agreement with Iran not long ago [Elliott Roosevelt Hiccups], and in two weeks had the wheat uh which they had already loaded in Iran [Elliott Roosevelt: Yes]. Now, uh I think um sometimes the promptness with which a thing is done adds enormously to the value. Um I would not feel that the fact that this uh ore has just been discovered there should change our attitude on the present request. I think that we should enter into negotiations with India um perhaps to help her develop this, [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] and in the future be able to use it at -- in payment of things that are needed, or in trade between us. Uh but in the present situation, I think we have something to do and to do quickly. And uh I think it would be well to do it [Elliott Roosevelt: Uh-huh.]. Now, I'd like to go back to the first part of that letter. Would you reread that because I thought there was an answer that should be made to that.

[Elliott Roosevelt:]: "Do you think if we had shared the atom bomb and everything that goes with it with the Russians all this trouble in the world today could have been prevented?"

[ER:] Certainly not, because I think the only thing that is probably keeping us from uh having war today is the fact that we are well ahead in the development and in the number of, and in the manufacture of atom bombs. [Elliott Roosevelt: Yes.] Uh I have a fervent hope that we will never use them, um but as a preventive I think they are vastly important because I have a knowledge, I think um of -- by watching what the Russians have done -- of the way the Kremlin's mind works. And the Kremlin seems to have respect for force. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] And as long as that is so, they will think twice before they meet a larger force --a stronger force --than theirs. (7:06)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, do you think that uh going on the basis that the atom bomb is a deterring factor with the Russians, do you think that uh we -- once we have achieved our goal of uh creating a defense force in Europe, and creating a strong position -- holding line in Asia, and uh making sure that we ourselves are secure, that then we will be in the position where the Russians might be willing to sit down and talk of -- uh probably uh really carrying out a proper inspection system of their country and preventing armaments and so forth?

[ER:] I- I think nearly all the democracies [Elliott Roosevelt coughs] have that hope, and we certainly have, that the day will come when it um will dawn upon the Russians, [Elliott Roosevelt: But you can't--] upon the government, not the people, but the government [Elliott Roosevelt: You can't walk over anybody.] that they can't walk over everybody, and therefore, that they'd better sit down and come to an agreement, which will lighten the burdens. Because in the meantime, we must realize that they must be having some difficulties to keep their enormous war machine, um even though it's much cheaper for them to do it than for us, it still must be some burden, and at the same time, to meet their promises of gradual improvement in the living standards of their people. Now the way they have staved off any real comparison with other countries is by keeping their country shut off so that their people will believe the propaganda, namely, that they have the best medical system in the world, that they are better off as workers than any other workers in the world, et cetera! But um when they sit down -- when they find that they must sit down --the first negotiation would be for free intercourse. And [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] the minute they have that then they must absolutely cut down on their military expenditures in order to improve their home-living standards.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Yes. Now there is another part of this question from Mrs. McEwan that I think is -- should have a few words on it also. She says, "I believe I heard something about it not being good economics for India to arm at present."

[ER:] Well, I don't think you heard it in just that way. What you heard was that India's economic situation was such that she couldn't possibly do what she had promised to do for her people and have the expenses of a large army. She has, as a matter of fact, uh had an army because she has had a war with Pakistan. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] And- and is still um in an unsettled situation over Kashmir. So that she has some army expenses, but nothing like, of course, what she would have if she armed as a great power in- [Elliott Roosevelt: Yes.] in the whole field of military army.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Would it be to the best interest of the United Nations and the of the United States and the people of the United States if we were to undertake the additional burden of building up India as a great military power in Asia?

[ER:] Well, I doubt it. In the first place, I don't think that the Indian government cares to become a great military power. They have- they have the tradition of [Mahatma] Gandhi, and Gandhi's students and followers are still in power. I think they would find that a very unwelcome role, and therefore I think it would be a very unprofitable undertaking for us.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, I would like to suggest that as a topic for another one of our programs, because I have differing ideas from you on that subject [ER: All right.]. And now I think it's time for us to go on to another part of the program.

[Break 11:57-12:15]

[ER:] My guest today is a lady well known for many reasons, but in particular, she is going to tell us about a recent trip she and her husband made through Yugoslavia. During World War II, she was an active leader in many causes urgent to America in the war and is a well-known writer and lecturer. I am very happy to present to you, Mrs. Ernesta Drinker Barlow.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt, I am very happy to be here with you.

[ER:] Well, before we talk about Yugoslavia, Mrs. Barlow, I'd like to remind our listeners that during the war, you were well-known for your NBC radio series when you were called "Commando Mary." Why were you given this identification?

[Ernesta Barlow:] I never could quite discover. The program was supposed to be a program on American industry at war and how women were to get into war jobs, and I always felt rather ashamed and humiliated at being called "Commando Mary," considering what commando meant in the war.

[ER:] Oh, I think that's very interesting! It must have been a personality that they just made up from what -- how you sounded on the radio.

[Ernesta Barlow:] When the - when the cows -- the farmers began to name their cows after me, well, then I began to think I must be a success.

[ER:] [Laughs] Well, now to come to Yugoslavia. I've always been very much interested in Yugoslavia. So I'm particularly glad to hear what you have to say about it. Did you have any difficulty in getting into the country?

[Ernesta Barlow:] None whatever, contrary to belief, the very general belief, there wasn't any trouble whatever. You just got in, got a visa as easily as if you were going to Switzerland or Portugal or Spain or anywhere else.

[ER:] Well, did you have uh any official uh air about you, or were you just an unofficial visitor?

[Ernesta Barlow:] Oh, it was absolutely unofficial. We- we wanted that, particularly. We wanted to see how the ordinary tourist got along in a communist country. That was really our -- one of our main objects in going. We were very anxious to see whether you were watched, whether you were guarded, whether what happened. That -- we wanted to go as simple tourists. And we did.

[ER:] And you went as simple tourists.

[Ernesta Barlow:] As simple tourists in our own car, drove ourselves.

[ER:] But now, what were your first impressions? (14:33)

[Ernesta Barlow:] Well now, of course I know they're often rather significant and they're just as often very superficial. So I wouldn't -- I don't know which mine are. A little of both, I think. But what struck us immediately -- you want to know what the -- right away, what you -- what we got. Well, you go in -- we went in from Trieste. [ER: Mhm.] Now, that hits Slovenia right away, and that's pure Austrian Tyrol: lush, beautiful [ER: Mmm.] farm country. With no sign there -- this was late August -- no sign then of the drought. We didn't know. We were ignorant of it at that time. The papers hadn't taken it up to the extent that they did later. And so we went in to Ljubljana and to Bled into beautiful Austrian Tyrol country; mountains, green, pastures, cattle. with all that that means, all that it looks like.

[ER:] Well, that was, it was a nice introduction, anyway. Um—

[Ernesta Barlow:] It was very deceptive. It was very deceptive.

[ER:] It was very deceptive of what you probably found after.

[Ernesta Barlow:] And, of course—

[ER:] Did you, were they willing to talk to you, or could you talk, in the first place?

[Ernesta Barlow:] Well, the- the curious thing, the thing that surprised me most was that it didn't seem to be a police state. [ER: Did--] Now, none of the fear that -- I was suspicious, frankly suspicious of a communist state, and I thought I was going to -- A well-known columnist told me that I could expect a police state, but this columnist had not been there for a couple of years. So, I was on the watch-out for it. And there was no evidence of it at any time. Immediately in cafes, strangers -- you'd sit down for a drink of beer or for some of the ersatz coffee -- which is all you get, there's no coffee. And strangers would speak to you. They would recognize you as a foreigner, and foreigners are very scarce there, they don't get to see many. There are practically no tourists. They'd talk to you; they'd talk to you and tell you exactly what they thought of everything, quite out loud. I'd say, "No, oh, look, aren't you being awfully indiscreet?" They made me nervous. I thought the OGPU [Joint State Political Directorate of the USSR] was going to catch them by the back leg, [ER: Mhm.] you know? I mean, it was curiously reminiscent of the Republican -- our fellow Republican friends talking about the Roosevelt administration, Mrs. -- I think you would have felt quite at home some of the time, I really do. Not, perhaps quite so violent, not quite so vindictive.

[ER:] You mean they really criticized, uh [Ernesta Barlow: Oh, yes.] what was going on in Yugoslavia?

[Ernesta Barlow:] Yes, the, their bureaucracy, taxes ruining the country, inefficiency. I --you know the chorus, you know it very well.

[ER:] Oh yes, I know that very well, but I'm surprised to hear, under a communist government that's permitted.(17:09)

[Ernesta Barlow:] You couldn't have been half as surprised as I was. And I cannot believe that there is, as I saw no evidence of it, you feel fear in a country. You would feel it; you sense it at once. We never felt it anywhere. They always spoke their minds anytime and total strangers to total strangers. As I say, always picked us up in cafes and restaurant, asked us what we thought, told us what they thought.

[ER:] Well now, you know this interests me very much, because um I have found um from the beginning in the United Nations, even when the Yugoslavs were part of the satellite countries, you could always talk to one of them alone, which you can't do with representatives of any other satellite country.

[Ernesta Barlow:] They just won't do what they're told. They won't follow a line that somebody gives them. I don't think it's in-- it's so contrary to their nature, so antipathetic to them.

[ER:] You don't think any ruler can probably enforce it. That's what happens, I imagine

[Ernesta Barlow:] It doesn't seem - it doesn't seem as though you could.

[ER:] Well, that uh that is - that is interesting to me, because it reinforces what I have felt in my contacts in the United Nations.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Well, there was so little talk of Titoism or communism. Almost- almost never. We never heard the words. Now that again, we didn't go officially. We didn't see the big communist officials. We didn't go to Belgrade where we might have seen them. And we didn't want to talk to them, but the ordinary people, the little people. We wanted to talk to the white-collar people.

[ER:] Well, after all, that's what you want to know.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Well, yes. They- they never mentioned -- Tito's name and his picture everywhere. There's a frightful paper shortage, among other things. And I thought a few less pictures of Tito and they might have some writing paper, maybe. [Ernesta Barlow laughs] But nobody- nobody beyond that. I never had anybody mention his name or mention the word communist unless you dragged it out of them. Now, people working in official bureaus in Putnik, which is the travel bureau --very efficient, good bureau it is, too --they -- you'd say, "Are you a communist?" They'd say, "No, but we belong to the 'People's Party'," which seems to be a rather vague term. "We're not communists, but we belong to the People's Party," which seems to me that they were for Yugoslavia—

[ER and Ernesta Barlow overlap]

[ER:] Well, I suppose that's reminiscent -- well, that's reminiscent of the old USSR difference, you see. There only a very few people are communists, and it's a- the very elite who belong to the Communist Party.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Well, I think that's true in Yugoslavia. As- as we know, you cannot have a big party and have them keep complete control. And I believe they've really got control of the country, don't [ER: Yes, that's...] make any mistake about that.

[ER:] Yes, well, that's very interesting. Well now, what did you find about the shops, for instance? Could you buy anything you wanted?

[Ernesta Barlow:] Nothing. It -- the austerity program is relentless. Really relentless. They are saving every single cent they have for co-absolute necessities. In the country, if they have to use foreign exchange, if they have to buy outside the country, they are only buying it for the utter necessities. And things that we would consider necessities they are just not. They don't exist. You can't buy anything. I bought, in the whole time I was there, one small jar of honey. This was before I knew what the exchange was. And the exchange is ruinous for strangers. [ER: Oh, is it?] And-- oh, ruinous, absolutely terrific. Mr. Allen, our ambassador, couldn't quite make out himself why it was so severe. But they don't want their people to spend money on anything that seems like a luxury, so they just, the money, valuables, everything is so high, for us or for foreigners or for anybody that you can't buy it. As I say, one little jar of honey, this big, half a pint, I thought I'd paid ten dollars. Well, I nearly fainted, and I stopped buying --

[ER:] Ten dollars?! (20:57)

[Ernesta Barlow:] Ten dollars. Well now, tourists get from Putnik -- they are given -- they want tourists. But if they don't -- they've got to want them more and let up on the exchange a little, I think, because hotels and everything -- although tourists get the dinar at half-price. It's still -- five dollars is pretty high for a little jar.

[ER:] For a jar of honey, yes. [ER Laughs]

[ER and Ernesta Barlow overlap]

[Ernesta Barlow:] And everything else accordingly, I nearly --

[ER:] You mean your hotel bills and everything are, run along at that price? One night would cost you twenty-five dollars.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Everything is very, very expensive. But, they -- Well, Ambassador [George V.] Allen warned us of it that it would be terrible -- but their generosity to strangers. Now, their generosity to us was -- it was -- it was touching. They had found that my husband had helped Yugoslav relief. And they were almost unwilling to let us pay for anything. You see, the hotel bills are all government owned [ER: Oh, they are? Oh.], all government owned. And, if you have - if you have - if you've tried to help the people, the Yugoslav people, doesn't make any difference whether they don't care about the word communism or sympathy with communism or anything else, they will do their best for you, to give you, almost give you things. The, uh--

[ER:] You mean the government, the government-owned?

[Ernesta Barlow:] The government owns the hotels, yes.

[ER:] Yes. And therefore, well, the government, of course, in a communist state owns everything so--

[Ernesta Barlow:] It doesn't own the little bits of lodging houses, little small ones. But all the big, principal hotels are government owned. (22:22)

[ER:] It does. I see. Well, then that- that means, well, of course the government is in charge of giving everyone a job. It owns all the ways of employing people.

[Ernesta Barlow:] It does. [ER: In a communist state.] It owns the mines, it owns the industrial plants. They-- for the collect-collectivization, is that the word, of the land is going very slowly. But the big mines --the mines have all been taken over. And, we met a little French engineer --we met him here and there because he was working for -- [ER: Yes.] uh building blast furnaces. And, he said, "Yes, the mines have

all been taken over." He had nothing to do with communism. But, he said they, the foreign owners, have been paid very fair compensation.

[ER:] Very fair compensation.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Yes, he said very fair. He said, "All except the French," and he said, "We were too greedy."

[ER:] [Laughs] That's wonderful. Well now, I'm sorry to say that we have to stop for a minute and let our announcer have a word, but we'll come right back.

[Break 23:18 - 23:24]

[ER:] I was especially interested, Mrs. Barlow, in what you said about the collectivization of farms going slowly. Is that because the farmers won't give up their land?

[Ernesta Barlow:] They'd have to give up their land if they were ordered to. But what they found is what any state finds at once if they try to take over the farms, is that a farmer stops producing. He reduces his production at once [ER: Mhm.]. And they just couldn't -- I think that they just couldn't afford that. They have -- I don't mean that it's not in the program, and in Tito's sights, but it's not of anything like the importance it is in some of the other, has been in some of the other countries. Because Yugoslavia, as you know, has always been a country of small land-holdings. [ER: Mhmm.] They weren't the biggest states. They were very small landholdings. And those men cling to that with -- those small holdings -- with great passion and fervor.

[ER:] Well now, um where did you go after you left Slovenia?

[Ernesta Barlow:] We went south, at once, to Dalmatia via Fiume. And Fiume, really, it -- we got out of there just as fast as we could; the poverty. There we found the drought at once. Fiume is the most unutterably dreary, down-at-heel town I ever saw in my life. But the people all crowded around us again. There were no, not even any motorcars in the street, not even bicycles. They just haven't got anything. [ER: They have nothing?] And they crowded around us and wanted to know -- we had a French license plate, so all the people that could speak French came around. But, we explained we were Americans. Then they were even more interested. But they said, "We all have jobs. We have places to live. But, we cannot get anything. We can't get anything for our money -- for our wages." A woman came along -- a little bag of flour, very small bag of flour. She said, "This was due me three weeks ago. I've only just got it and it's my month's flour ration." Now that was before there was even talk of drought. (25:19)

[ER:] Well, they are really living on very little everywhere, aren't they?

[Ernesta Barlow:] Oh, very little, pathetically little.

[ER:] Well, how good were the roads, for instance?

[Ernesta Barlow:] The roads -- the scenic roads, were absolutely unspeakable. Now, we took the scenic roads, and they are the ones that are going to be repaired last. They're repairing the roads first which were -- which are essential for traffic, [ER: Oh, yes.] and the scenic roads last. Well, that was our funeral. We wanted to take those roads and go down the coast of Dalmatia where the scenery is incredibly beautiful, and so the roads were perfectly frightful. Frightful. And there were no maps. No maps. [ER: No maps.] We find -- we got a little map from an information bureau, but it wasn't a road map. And all the signs are obliterated. And nobody can understand what you ask them. So, how we got anywhere I can't imagine.

[ER:] I think it's perfectly extraordinary, but did you find among the people that they would um there was a good deal of English spoken or not?

[Ernesta Barlow:] Have you ever found language a barrier anywhere you've ever been? 'Cause I never have. Doesn't matter where you go, sign language goes. The white-collar class speaks uh speaks Eng-- speaks German. [ER: German.] Well now, my husband's German was German *lieder*; great, wonderful familiarity with German *lieder*.

[ER:] Well sure, but not much any -- with anything else! [ER Laughs]

[Ernesta Barlow:] *Du bist wie eine Blume* might get you very far [ER: Yes.] as long as full of scenery, but when you wanted to discuss [ER laughs] the sterner aspects of dialectical material, well, it wasn't so useful. But Italian and French, [ER: Italian and French.] and then English. On the top of the wildest mountain, in the wildest spot, a thousand miles from anywhere you met a man looking like an eagle, and he had worked ten years in Detroit. He had spoke better English than I did.

[ER:] That, of course, is what I have found. I have found that every now and then you come across someone and you discover that he got his education in this country, or he worked in a [ER laughs] steel mill, or he did something of that kind.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Well, those Slavs, you know, of course, have all gone into our heavy industry in this country.

[ER:] Yes. Well now, what about the children? I'd like to know how they look.

[Ernesta Barlow:] The children in Dalmatia, when we got out of Slovenia, right away, the children looked white, thin, eyes were too big, and the babies, you were very worried about when you saw them. But they, nobody ever asked for anything. I never saw one person hold out their hand. Never. Anywhere. No begging--never. And you couldn't make them take a tip. They would -- the children would hold our dog for us --we had a big boxer dog to complicate our lives. We tried to give them a tip if they held it while we went inside a church. No. They wouldn't even take a loaf of bread. They're the proudest people I have ever seen. And if you stopped at the farms, the people -- we'd stop and get out, in hoping to find a shade. The heat was terrific, about a hundred and ten. It was really frightful. It was something, we -- it-it got on our nerves. We could hardly talk about anything else. Well, the people would come out, pull a bunch of grapes up out of the well, offer you half a bottle of wine. But take anything? No.

[ER:] They wouldn't take anything in return for it?

[Ernesta Barlow:] No, no, no, no. You're Americans; they want to give you something. They won't take anything.

[ER:] Well, that's very interesting. Are they are --why is that? Are they grateful to America, or they interested, or what?

[Ernesta Barlow:] No, they just like America. They had nothing to be grateful to America for yet. Although, of course, we mustn't forget that UNRoD [United Nations Register of Damage] did a most terrific job in Yugoslavia. And Tito tells that—

[ER:] Yes, and of course Yugoslav-Americans, you must remember, [Ernesta Barlow: Have sent a great deal back.] have sent a great deal, because I served on a Yugoslav-American committee [Ernesta Barlow: Yes.] which sent milk and medicine to the children, and it's subversive, I believe. But I [ER Laughs] stayed on until it closed.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Good for you. Glad to hear you did.

[ER:] [Laughs] But um uh I- I'm interested, w-did they want to know about America when you could talk to them?

[Ernesta Barlow:] They did. They wanted at once to know about -- now, I expected propaganda. I expected to have it poured into my ear. I expected them to say that they discovered penicillin and they invented the submarine and the incandescent light, you know. (29:35)

[ER:] That's what you'd hear in the USSR.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Now, I was-I was ready to hear that. I never heard a word of boastfulness [ER: Mhm.]. I never heard any propaganda that you would -- that you could call -- the newspapers, I understand, are all straight propaganda sheets. Well, I couldn't read them.

[ER:] No. Well now, um did you happen to hear anywhere whether the *Voice of America* was being listened to at all?

[Ernesta Barlow:] I heard that right away.

[ER:] Right away?

[Ernesta Barlow:] At once, the first hour I was in Yugoslavia. Because we went to Ljubljana, where there's a government bureau, and that is where they monitor the *Voice of America*. And the girl who monitors it came out to see us and talk with us. [ER: Mhm.] And I asked her about it: "And uh how about the *Voice of America*?" Well, I expected to have her say--[ER: Mhm.] and she said, "Almost- almost no propaganda," she said at once, [Ernesta Barlow laughs] which is handing something right back to me. [ER: Uh-huh.] And she said, "We believe it. It speaks the truth!" I said, "The Russians don't believe that." She said, "The Russians don't believe anything. We are getting stomach ulcers from having to listen to the Russian broadcasts."

[ER:] And now that's very interesting because—

[Ernesta Barlow:] She said, "They tell nothing but lies, they don't tell a word of truth, and we think that the *Voice of America* does tell the truth."

[ER:] Well then, they have real antagonism to Russia.

[Ernesta Barlow:] It seemed to me just about universal. Now, undoubtedly, there are some pro-Soviet groups and elements, but I didn't happen to meet them.

[ER:] Well, they probably feel they're betrayed.

[Ernesta Barlow:] They do feel exactly that. You see, they had faith in Rus --they believed the Russian communists were going to be their brother. They found the Russian communists wanted to dominate them. [ER: Mhm.] Now, they wouldn't take that from anybody. We wouldn't be their friends one minute if we started to try and dominate them.

[ER:] If we started to dominate.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Not one minute.

[ER:] No, I think that is our one great um--

[Ernesta Barlow:] I think their disillusionment [ER: Mhm.] is very bitter and very complete. [ER: And, um--] with Russia.

[ER:] With Russia.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Yes.

[ER:] But of course, I think we do have to remember, and I'm sure you- you felt it. There is-- Tito is a convinced communist.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Oh, no question about it. No question about it.

[ER:] And he's going to make the country a communist country if he possibly can - can keep it so.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Certainly, certainly. But my hope is that it will be, and I suppose yours -- I'm -- that it will be an independent communism, that it will set the pattern for independence from Moscow.(31:48)

[ER:] Because what I'm hoping is that we are going to find uh in Yugoslavia the pattern for how we can live in the world with a communist state, because I think we should be able to live with a communist state. But um what you cannot have is a kind of deceit about communism, and the fact that they are undermining something. But if they tell the truth, and if they um live in the open, I want to find the way to live in the same world. And that's what I'm hoping for.

[Ernesta Barlow:] That's-that's what I hope for. And that's what I believe is the hope with Yugoslavia. Now, if it can set the pattern for that, we're really getting somewhere, aren't we? The evidences being that Tito has believed that the Marshall Plan really has done a lot for Europe. He just hasn't shut his eyes to that. [ER: Shut his eyes.] And he hasn't, he hasn't done what the Russians have done and looked at that as imperialism. [ER: As an effort for imperialism, mhm.] No, [ER: Well...] he doesn't think it's --I don't think he thinks that that's imperialism, or that we are imperialists. I think he thinks that's the bunk.

[ER:] Well, I'm- I'm very much interested, and relieved to hear that. And,now, I want to ask you, because I heard you went to Split, where Diocletian's Palace is.

[Ernesta Barlow:] And Diocletian's Palace is still there!

[ER:] It's still there?

[Ernesta Barlow:] It is still there. It has been engulfed by time rather more than it has been destroyed. They have built into this enormous palace. They have built later-day houses, buildings, everything else. And they've sort of swarmed into it. It's bee-hived. It's honey-combed with modern dwellings, or dwellings through the centuries. And you can see all the Roman bone work standing through this.

[ER:] Oh, how interesting.

[Ernesta Barlow:] Intact.

[ER:] My, there are things. Now I must ask you one more thing that people would be interested in, and that is, how did you find the hotels? [ER Laughs]

[Ernesta Barlow:] Oh --some of them very luxurious, and some of them in ruins. It just depended. The one in Bled was very luxurious. We stayed in utter ruin in some places.

[ER:] And um do you think—

[Ernesta Barlow:] But, they were always so nice to you.

[ER:] They were nice?

[Ernesta Barlow:] Oh, so nice.

[ER:] And you could- you could get along, in other words.

[Ernesta Barlow:] You could get along perfectly well. Perfectly well.

[ER:] You could get along perfectly well.

[Ernesta Barlow:] The thing that -the thing that you get along so perfectly well by yourself that all this talk about a police state, I'd say, "Well, if this is a police state," -- well, I was on the top of nowhere, thousand miles from anywhere -- "If this, broke down, punctures, how are we going to get out of this?" We only had one spare tire. I said, "If this was a police state, where in heaven's name are the policemen? They ought to be following us in a car filled with spare tires and extra gas! [ER and Ernesta Barlow laugh] We could go over a cliff, and nobody'd ever know about it." (34:36)

[ER:] Well, I- I think that's very encouraging. I just wanted to say one more thing, and that is, you believe in helping Yugoslavia, with loans and with food, do you?

[Ernesta Barlow:] Absolutely. I'm all for it.

[ER:] Well, thank you so much for coming on and visiting with me today. It was awfully good of you.

[Ernesta Barlow:] I've enjoyed it so much, and I am particularly interested to hear you're going to have some talk about Care on your program, because I don't know anyway where you can get so much for so little for a people as through them.

[ER:] Yes. Wonderful.

[Break 35:03-35:19]

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Thirty-nine years ago this week, twelve girls in Savannah, Georgia, held a meeting. They were the first Girl Scouts in the U.S.A. Since the first meeting, the movement has grown by leaps and bounds. Today, wherever you go, you'll find Girl Scouts; in big cities, and on farms, in schools, and churches, even in hospitals and convalescent homes. More than a million and a half girls and grownups belong to the Girl Scouts, and thereby dedicate themselves to ideals of friendship, service, and democracy. On their thirty-ninth birthday, the Eleanor Roosevelt Program salutes the Girl Scouts -- a growing force for freedom.

And now it's time to close the program and to remind you that you've been listening to the Eleanor Roosevelt Program, which comes to you each Monday through Friday at this same time. And this is Elliott Roosevelt speaking and wishing you all good day.

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