

WHY ADAMIC SHIFTED HIS SUPPORT FROM MIHAILOVIĆ TO TITO

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Introduction

At the beginning of World War II Louis Adamic was a recognized U.S. writer. His was a success story achieved by very few immigrants, especially those from the South Slavic lands. Adamic had come to the United States from Slovenia when he was fifteen years old, at which time his formal education came to an end.¹ He has therefore to be regarded as a self-made English-language writer, whom Slovene Americans and those from the other South Slavic lands regarded with respect.

There are two general explanations suggested for Adamic's shift of support during World War II from Draža Mihailović and his Chetniks to Josip Broz-Tito and his Communist-led partisans. The first maintains that he decided in favor of Tito because of his ideological and political convictions; and the second asserts that he was persuaded by the U.S. Communist party to support Tito, perhaps on orders from the Comintern.

Adamic's ideology was already liberal, maybe leftist liberal, before his visit to Yugoslavia in 1932-33. He was greatly interested in the workers' struggle for a better life and against capitalist exploitation, as his book *Dynamite* demonstrates.² His second greatest interest involved the immigrants to the U.S.A., especially those from Eastern Europe and the Balkans. In *Laughing in the Jungle* he described their hopes and their struggle for survival in foreign surroundings that were in many ways inimical to them, a struggle aggravated by exploitation and clashes between capitalists and organized labor.³ But he was an objective observer and reporter of these events; there was no propaganda for a pro-socialist or pro-Communist policy in his works prior to his visit to Yugoslavia.

The Influence of Slovene Communists on Adamic

It was in Yugoslavia that Adamic came into contact with Slovene Communists, who at that time were almost unknown. Moreover, the Communist party was illegal and Communists were persecuted by the police, as were members of other political parties who opposed the dictatorship of King Alexander. In Ljubljana Adamic met the renowned Slovene poet Oton Župančič, who introduced him to Josip Vidmar, the liberal literary critic, and to France Kidrič, the University professor of Slovene literature. Boris Kidrič, son of France, was a leading Communist. With his help Adamic met in secret with other leading members of the Slovene Communist party.⁴ Boris Kidrič likewise introduced him to Edvard Kardelj, the Slovene who later became one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Kardelj, who was introduced to Adamic under an assumed name, probably explained to him some basic Communist ideas, and gave him a manuscript describing his and his comrades' experiences with police brutality during their interrogations and prison confinement. Upon his return to the U.S.A. Adamic translated the manuscript into English, and, in his own words, "changed it only insofar as necessary to hide the author's identity and in order not to betray anything connected with the work of the Communist party of Yugoslavia not already known to the police."⁵ He published this translation as a pamphlet entitled *Struggle*. The soft red covers, and the list at the end of the pamphlet of U.S. writers and intellectuals who protested against the persecutions in Yugoslavia, were good adver-

tisements for Adamic's book *The Native's Return*, which with literary flair and in greater detail described the dictatorship of King Alexander.⁶

A few statements in *The Native's Return* reveal the great impact that Slovene and other Yugoslav Communists had made on Adamic when he was in Yugoslavia. In the 'Conclusion,' where he discusses Slavic vitality, Adamic writes:

"Most important of all, [Slavic vitality] created a new Russia, which, with all its terrible shortcomings, today unquestionably is the most solid state in the world, firmly hooked to the future; the one hope of multitudes outside her borders; a stronghold of the socio-economic morality based on the principle of production for the benefit of the producing masses and not for the profit of only a small number of rugged individualists."⁷

On the following page he writes:

"A new European war appears certain; if not this spring, then in 1934 or in '35 or '36. The contradictions of the system under which the world functions makes them inevitable. Of course, it is horrible to contemplate such a war. Millions of people might die in it; but then, as things are today, millions of starving, frustrated, unfunctioning men, women, and children are dying a slow death in Europe, anyhow. If such a war would finally lead to general upheavals on the part of masses everywhere, it is highly desirable. Even chaos, which might follow such a war and such upheavals before the forces of true social progress could be organized, would be preferable to the present condition of 'peace,' with its gangster diplomacy and the racketeer methods of government."⁸

And he concluded the book with this idea:

"Bearing all this in mind, it's grand to be a Yugoslav-American and to come back after a visit to the old country. I love America. I think that, with Russia, she will be the most important factor in the future of the world and mankind. . . America will have to go Left. If nothing else, the vast industrial equipment which we Yugoslav immigrants have helped to create in America will make her go Left and revise her social system. She will go Left, too, because Americans, like Slavs, are essentially constructive—people of the future.

"I guess my job for the next few years, perhaps for the rest of my life, will be to harp on that idea . . ."⁹

The influence of Slovene Communists on Adamic is nicely illustrated by his answer to a questionnaire addressed to left-wing writers by the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, and printed under the title "Where We Stand—A Symposium" in the July 1934 issue of *International Literature*, the Moscow organ of the International Union. In his response, among other things, Adamic said:

"The existence and achievements of the Soviet Union have been for years one of the most important factors in my intellectual and emotional consciousness. The ideas, principles, and methods which are the basis of the Soviet Union doubtless are the highest promise and hope that humanity has today . . . I have had leftist tendencies ever since I can remember, but my study of the Soviet Union . . . has helped to clarify my outlook upon the world to the extent that now I consider myself a Communist . . .

"And, of course, there is the 'New Deal' in the United States, with its

imperialism that will help bring on a new world war, which I expect will end in a world revolution—in the sovietization of all the countries.”¹⁰

Besides his ideology it is important to note that Adamic supported the idea of a war against Nazi Germany from the beginning. After the annihilation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, he published “We Must Grow Strong,” an appeal to all Slavs and especially the Czechs not to give up hope and continue to struggle for a new Czechoslovakia.¹¹ When Hitler put pressure on Yugoslavia in the Spring of 1941, Adamic sent a cable to Vice-President Maček and the other Yugoslav leaders urging them to “bear in mind the country’s tradition of never submitting to tyranny and force no matter however superior without battle.”¹² On March 25, 1941, the Yugoslav government gave in to Nazi German pressure and signed the pact which led to military overthrow on March 27. That same evening Adamic sent a cable to Bogdan Raditsa, head of the Press Service of the Yugoslav legation in Washington, with two words: “Živela Jugoslavija.”¹³ It is of interest that during this time—in March and April 1941—Soviet Russia was still allied with Nazi Germany, and that consequently the American Communist Party and its members were ardent pacifists.¹⁴ When Adamic heard about the underground resistance of Draža Mihailović, he was well pleased and supported him during this first period, although he did have some reservations about him. Adamic suspected that Mihailović advocated the old centralistic form of government with a Serbian predominance, while Adamic himself favored a federation of equal nations—the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and others.

In his continuous search to find out what was going on in Yugoslavia Adamic learned, probably some time in January 1942, about another guerilla force in Slovenia which was not directly under the command of Mihailović.¹⁵ To learn more about this underground organization, in March Adamic and his friends collected money to send Stojan Pribičević—an American journalist of Serbian origin—to London.¹⁶ In addition, during July and August of that year, Adamic received news about the partisans from the *Daily Worker*, the organ of the United States Communist Party, and from the presse releases of *Inter-Continent News* [ICN], both of which were stationed in New York City. Then, in August 1942, Adamic received factual data about the Slovene partisans and the Slovene Liberation Front with Josip Vidmar as chairman and Boris Kidrič as secretary, both of whom Adamic had met in 1932-33.¹⁷ These people and their underground were much closer to Adamic’s philosophy and political outlook than Mihailović had been.

After this condensed summary of Adamic’s views—especially those he acquired after 1932—there should be no difficulty accepting the opinion that on his own initiative he shifted his support from Mihailović to Tito and his partisans as soon as he had firmly established their existence, sometime in the middle of 1942.

Contrary Evidence: Budenz

Yet this self-evident and logical conclusion is marred by the declarations of Louis Budenz, former leading Communist and editor of the *Daily Worker*, and of Elizabeth Bentley, a party member and courier for Soviet intelligence in the United States. Both were active during World War II and changed their allegiance thereafter. Although they since then testified before many House and Senate committees, their testimony has been questioned by some just because of their defection.

Adamic himself characterized Budenz’s testimony in 1948 as an electoral smear, for Adamic was then actively engaged in the electoral campaign of Henry A. Wallace and his Progressive Party. In the press release of August 3, 1948, Adamic nevertheless recognized

that he had close connections with Budenz who, as the editor of the *Daily Worker*, supplied him with information on Tito and the partisans.¹⁸ It is important to note that both Budenz and Bentley had referred to Adamic before 1948. Budenz mentioned him in his book *This is My Story*, published in 1947.¹⁹ Bentley named Adamic for the first time in 1945 in her report to the FBI in New York after she left the party.²⁰ Although some disregard the testimony by Budenz and Bentley, time has proven them basically correct.²¹ Moreover, the newly-published documents of Vladimir Dedijer also give greater credibility to Budenz's assertions.²²

The following is what Budenz said when testifying under oath before the Senate subcommittee in 1948:

"I had been appointed by the political committee of the Communist Party to corrupt Mr. Adamic's views politically. That is to say, when I say 'corrupt,' not to purchase him but to persuade him and to poison his mind in the Communist direction . . .

"When he came out on Yugoslavia first, in the difficulties over there during the war, he was critical of the Communists but under our careful nurturing he became a Communist proponent. . .

"At any rate, . . . we succeeded in winning Adamic over to being an intense champion of Tito.

"Now, Adamic wrote a book, *My Native Land*, and in this book he comes out in favor of the Communists, and also, however, recommends a federated Yugoslavia. This was rather an important book, and before it was ever published it was read and approved by [Jacob] Golos, by [Earl] Browder, by Eiseburger, and by Golos' friends. . . That is to say, I know they [Golos' friends] were Russians, because he introduced me to his friends as Soviet secret police.

"This book was read by all those and approved before it was published. . ."²³

Interesting, too, are Budenz's remarks that: "Originally, Soviet Russia had been against a federated Yugoslavia, but Adamic came out for it. However, in the meantime, Moscow had changed, and that changed the situation," and, ". . .that the Communists had thought that Adamic had very close relationships with the Office of Strategic Services, when I first approached him."²⁴

Contrary Evidence: Bentley

Next, let us analyze the accusations made by Elizabeth Bentley. On September 13, 1950 Tony Smith, a Scripps-Howard staff writer, published an article in the *Washington Daily News* entitled "Author Accused—Miss Bentley Charges Adamic Spied for Reds," in which he said: ". . . Miss Bentley charged Mr. Adamic with giving information to the Soviets while he was employed in the U.S. Office of Strategic Services [OSS]." The article was also published in the *Pittsburgh Press* and then translated into Slovene and published in *Ameriška domovina* (Cleveland) on September 21, 1950, creating a great sensation.²⁵

But what did Bentley really say about Adamic? It appears that she mentioned him for the first time on November 8, 1945, after she left the party, when she gave the FBI agents in New York a statement in which she referred to him as follows:

"He [Louis Budenz] was a personal friend of that Yugoslav, Louis Adamic. He suspected that Louis Adamic was also working with the OSS. Louis [Adamic] was very glad to tell him what was going on."²⁶

Bentley gave similar testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities on July 31, 1948. She said:

“He [Budenz] was a friend of Louis Adamic, the well-known Yugoslav writer, and Mr. Adamic had some unofficial—I don’t believe he was paid— connection with the OSS which was then interested in Yugoslavia; and Mr. Adamic gave this information to Mr. Budenz. Mr. Budenz relayed it to me.”²⁷

The interpretation is clear and simple. After his book *The Native’s Return* Adamic was regarded in Washington official circles as an expert on Yugoslavia and the Balkans. He had personal contacts with second rank officials in the OSS, the State Department, War Intelligence and other government agencies. What he learned from such conversations he related to Budenz who transmitted it to Bentley. This was no espionage. The FBI had come to the same conclusion: that Adamic had not been employed by the OSS and therefore could not betray any confidential data.²⁸

Bentley’s testimony, as well as that of Budenz, does illustrate that Adamic—knowingly or unknowingly—collaborated with the American Communist Party; and its directives very probably came from the Comintern, controlled by the Soviet Union.²⁹ The testimony of Bentley, and in particular that of Budenz, fell closely in line with the policy of the Soviet Union during that period.

The Shift from Mihailović

Prior to the summer of 1942 the representative of the Soviet government in London and in Kuibyshev (Soviet Union) had been explaining to the Yugoslav government-in-exile that the Soviet Union was not responsible for the work of Communist parties in other lands, nor giving directives to the Comintern. If the Soviet Union conducted acts of this kind, she could be accused of mixing in the domestic affairs of other sovereign states. Hence before 1942 the Soviet government had been referring to Tito’s underground as the “second Yugoslav guerilla force,” and thereafter it regarded all the underground forces, including Mihailović’s, as partisans.³⁰

Then everything changed. On August 3, 1942 the Soviet representatives handed the Yugoslav ambassador in the Soviet Union a note accusing Mihailović’s commanders of collaboration with the Italian Fascist forces in Montenegro and Dalmatia, and of cooperation with the Serbian government of General Nedić, who had been collaborating with the Germans.³¹

Evidently by that time the Soviet Union had decided to support Tito and his partisans. It is quite possible, therefore, that the Soviets—directly or through the Comintern—asked the leaders of the U.S. Communist Party to approach Adamic and persuade him over to the side of Tito. Adamic himself, in *My Native Land*, recognized that this was the time he began to receive the major portion of information about Tito and Mihailović from *Inter-Continent News* and the *Daily Worker*, the latter edited by Budenz.³²

Then Adamic sprang into action. First he demolished Mihailović’s reputation in his article “Mikhailovitch: Balkan Mystery Man,” which appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* on December 19, 1942.³³ Towards the end of 1943 he published *My Native Land*, which served as a typical propaganda piece for Tito and his movement. Moreover, on December 6, 1942 the Slovene-American Congress in Cleveland had elected him honorary president of the American-Slovene National Council, and he had become the leading force and the president of the United Committee of South Slavic-Americans.³⁴ Both organizations became known for their support of Tito.

Budenz's assertion that he was ordered "from above" to contact Adamic became much more credible with the publication of Vladimir Dedijer's new documents about Tito. According to these materials, before Hitler's attack on Yugoslavia the Comintern sent Josip Kopinič—a Slovene by birth but a resident of the Soviet Union and a great hero of the Spanish Civil War—to Zagreb, to establish clandestine radio communication between the Comintern and the Yugoslav Communist Party. This underground radio link remained undiscovered until June 1944, when Kopinič left Zagreb and went to partisan-controlled territory.³⁵ Other radio stations for the Soviet Union also existed in Yugoslavia during the war.³⁶ Hence, the Soviets had direct contact with the Yugoslav partisan movement, and had been issuing them directives.

Conclusion

In conclusion one may say that Adamic shifted his allegiance from Mihailović to Tito because of his ideological closeness to Tito and the Communist cause. Adamic was convinced that in the final stage Tito's Communism would bring a better life to the great majority of the common people.³⁷

At the same time, however, the role of the Comintern should not be disregarded. Although Adamic was not a member of the Communist party, and therefore could not be ordered what to do, the leaders of the U.S. Communist Party and the Comintern knew his sympathies for the working class, for Yugoslavia, and for the Soviet Union. They were aware of his radical ideas and they tried to use him to achieve their own ends: to demolish Mihailović as a guerilla hero and to promote Tito. Adamic may or may not have been aware of that, but it was a relationship of mutual benefit. The Communists, and in particular Budenz, helped him with information about the partisans and about Mihailović, and in return Adamic—perhaps to show off—told them what he had heard from his contacts at the Office of Strategic Services and other intelligence agencies.

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NOTES

- * Some parts of this article were presented at the round table discussion sponsored by the Society for Slovene Studies and the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies at their annual meeting in Kansas City KA in October, 1983.
- 1. France Adamič, *Spomini in pričevanja o življenju in delu Louisa Adamiča* (Ljubljana: Prešernova družba, 1983) 19.
- 2. *Dynamite: The Story of Class Violence in America* (New York: Viking, 1931).
- 3. *Laughing in the Jungle: The Autobiography of an Immigrant in America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932).
- 4. Bratko Kreft, "Spomin na Adamičev obisk v Ljubljani: Srečanje s komunisti," *Delo*, October 16 and October 23, 1981.
- 5. *Struggle*, translated from the Yugoslav by Louis Adamic and with a Preface by the translator (Los Angeles: Arthur Whipple, 1934) 10. Most of the material contained in this pamphlet had been previously published in the September 1933 issue of *New Masses*. An editorial based on this story was printed in *The New Republic* for August 16, 1933 (see *Struggle* 3).
- 6. *The Native's Return: An American Immigrant Visits Yugoslavia and Discovers his Old Country* (New York/London: Harper & Brothers, 1934). Of course, the dictatorship of King Alexander is not the only topic discussed in this book.
- 7. Adamic, *Native's Return* 362.
- 8. Adamic, *Native's Return* 363.
- 9. Adamic, *Native's Return* 365.

10. *International Literature* (Moscow) 3 (July 1934) 83; see also 80.
11. L. Adamic, "We must grow strong" (n.d.), a paper clipping marked in the upper margin in handwriting "Dubna 4-1939," in Janko Rogelj's collection, box 1, in the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland OH [cited hereafter as 'Rogelj Collection']. Most of this material consists of xerox copies of the originals, which are deposited in various institutions in Ljubljana.
12. The complete message is reprinted in Bogdan Raditsa, "Louis Adamic: An Unmeltable American," *South Slavic Journal* 5/4 (Winter 1982/83) 19.
13. Raditsa 20.
14. Ivan Molek, "Spomini starega socialista," Molek Collection, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago IL, box 11, folder 3, p. 21 (typewritten).
15. See the letter from Adamic to President Roosevelt of February 3, 1942, in *Izbrana pisma Louisa Adamiča*, selected and edited by Henry Christian, translated by Jerneja Petrič (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1981) 334-336. According to this letter Adamic must have heard about this underground organization before his dinner in the White House, i.e., before January 13, 1943, cf. Louis Adamic, *Dinner at the White House* (New York/London: Harper & Brothers, 1946) 7. It is not established whether this letter refers to partisan or to non-partisan groups. According to the archival material that I have examined, however—and that is not all that is available—there is no doubt that Adamic heard about the Communist underground at the latest in March of 1942. Matjaž Klemenčič, in *Louis Adamič: Simpozij - Simposium* (Ljubljana: Univerza Edvarda Kardelja, 1981) 371, mentions an interesting episode at a Cleveland meeting on January 4, 1942, at which reference was made to a well-organized underground organization; but this refers to partisans and *domobranci*, and the latter were organized only after the Italian surrender in September 1943.
16. Letter from Adamic to Rogelj, April 27, 1942, in Rogelj Collection. Slobodan Nešović writes that Pribičević was in London from April 4 until the end of May 1942, and again from September 1942 to May 1943, in "Doprinos Luja [Louis] Adamiča probijanju istine o oslobodilačkoj borbi naroda Jugoslavije [1941-1945] sagledan na osnovu istraživanja štampe, periodike i arhivskih spisa u SAD - The contribution of Louis Adamic for the breakthrough of truth regarding the struggle for national liberation of Yugoslav nations [1941-1945]. Based on researches in American press, periodical publications and archival materials in the United States," *Louis Adamič - Simpozij* 392-393.
17. Louis Adamic, *My Native Land* (New York NY - London: Harper, 1943) 132.
18. Adamič, *Izbrana pisma* 439-441, 435; see also *New York Times*, August 4, 1948.
19. Louis Budenz, *This is My Story* (New York/London: Whittlesey House/McGraw, 1947) 208.
20. See Report by D.M. Ladd to the Director of FBI regarding Adamic—Security Matter C, September 19, 1950, *Federal Bureau of Investigation* file no. 100-63670-99 [hereafter cited as 'Ladd Report'], p. 3.
21. See for example Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, *The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth* (New York: Holt, 1983), and its review by Alan M. Dershowitz of the Harvard Law School in *New York Times Book Review*, August 14, 1983; and "Letters: Reaction to the Rosenberg file," and the authors' reply, *New York Times Book Review*, September 18, 1983. The authors assert that they found Bentley to be accurate in her statements, 22.
22. Vladimir Dedijer, *Novi prilozii za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita* (Rijeka: Liburnija/Zagreb: Mladost, 1981), vol. II; and *Novi prilozii za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita* (Belgrade: "Rad," 1984), vol. III.
23. U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department, *Export Policy and Loyalty*, S. Res. 189, 80th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington DC: GPO, 1948) 146; see also the *New York Times*, August 3-4, 1948.
24. U.S. Senate, *Export Policy* 147. Budenz's remark about Yugoslav federation refers to the time when the U.S.S.R. supported the Yugoslav government in exile, which stood for a strong centralistic government. With regard to Budenz's other testimonies, see for example U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Communist Activities among Aliens and National Groups*, S. 1832, 81st Cong., 1st sess. (Washington DC: GPO, 1950) 238-39.
25. I thank Dr. Rudolph M. Susel, the present editor of *Ameriška domovina*, for sending me this article.
26. Ladd Report 5-6.
27. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Un-American Activities, *Hearings Regarding Communist Espionage in the United States Government*, Pub. Law 601, 80th. Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington

- DC: GPO, 1948) 524-25. For a very similar statement see Elizabeth Bentley, *Out of Bondage* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1951) 187.
28. Ladd Report 5.
 29. On April 20, 1950, Budenz testified before the Senate Subcommittee that the Politburo of the U.S. Communist Party received its instructions and directives from the Comintern, i.e., from Moscow; see U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee, *State Department Employee Loyalty Investigations*, S. Res. 231, 81st Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington DC: GPO, 1950) 487, 489.
 30. Bogdan Krizman, ed., *Jugoslavenske vlade u izbjeglištvu, 1941-1943: Dokumenti* (Zagreb: Arhiv Jugoslavije/Globus, 1981) 312-13, refers to a note about the talks between A. Bogomolov, the Soviet Ambassador to the Court of King Peter II, and Slobodan Jovanović, the prime minister of the Yugoslav government-in-exile, May 16, 1942, in London. See also Krizman 186, 241, 310-11.
 31. "Promemoria," handed by Aleksander Lozovski and Nikolaj Novikov to Stanoje Simić, Yugoslav Ambassador in the U.S.S.R., in Kuibyshev, August 3, 1942; see Krizman 334-35.
 32. *My Native Land* 63. For more about the work of the *Inter-Continent News*, see U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Un-American Activities, *The Role of the Communist Press in the Communist Conspiracy*, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities (Washington DC: GPO, 1952) 2222, 2227, 2241.
 33. The subtitle, as given in the table of contents, reads: "Is the Yugoslavian leader our friend or foe?"
 34. Ivan Molek, *Slovene Immigrant History, 1900-1950: Autobiographical Sketches*, transl. and annotated by Mary Molek (Dover DE: M. Molek, Inc., 1979) 266-71; *Louis Adamič - Simpozij* 274, 376-77.
 35. Dedijer II, 470-73, 494. The radio transmitter in Zagreb was designed to connect eight European Communist parties with the Comintern.
 36. Another transmitting station was in the hands of Anton Srebrenjak, about whom Kopinič was very critical; see Dedijer II, 474-75. About a Belgrade radio station, see Dedijer III, 487-502.
 37. On March 2, 1944 Adamič wrote a letter to the editor of the *Times* in Hammond IN, who had called Adamič "a Communist." In his letter he said, "I believe in the trend toward general welfare, provided for in the American Constitution. . . And I am with anybody who works toward it insofar as he works toward it [sic], regardless what political label he chooses to operate under—Republican, Democratic, Agrarian, Socialist or Communist," quoted in Ladd Report 2.

POVZETEK

ZAKAJ JE ADAMIČ PUSTIL MIHAILOVIČA IN PODPRL TITA

Avtor analizira dva odgovora na gornje vprašanje. Prvi, ideološki, je v skladu z Adamičevim pisateljskim delom in svetovnim nazorom. Kot nasprotnik nacizma in fašizma je pozdravil jugoslovanski oborožen odpor ter podprl Mihailoviča, to je prvo odporiško gibanje, o katerem je slišal. Vendar, ko je zvedel za partizane in Tita, je podprl njih, ker so mu bili ideološko mnogo bližji kot Mihailovič. Drugi odgovor poudarja vlogo kominterne in Ameriške komunistične partije. Po njunem navodilu naj bi Louis Budenz, takratni urednik komunističnega glasila Daily Worker, pregovoril Adamiča, da je zapustil Mihailoviča in začel propagirati za Tita. Ker pa je Budenz po vojni zapustil partijo in pričeval proti komunizmu v ameriškem kongresu, mu levičarski krogi niso verjeli. Novi viri, med njimi Dedijerjevi Novi prilozi, potrjujejo veliki interes kominterne za Balkan in je zato zelo verjetno, da je kominternina preko Ameriške komunistične partije skušala pomagati Titu. Avtor zaključuje, da je nedvomno res, da je Adamič podprl Tita radi svoje ideološke usmerjenosti, vendar tudi ne smemo spregledati vloge kominterne, tj. sovjetske vlade in Stalina.