

Josip Broz Tito and Yugoslavia:  
Maintaining an Independent Communist State

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Individual Website

Website contains 1,192 student-composed words.  
Process paper contains 497 words.

## Annotated Bibliography

### Primary Sources

#### **Books:**

**Djilas, Milovan. *Tito: The Story from the Inside*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc., New York: 1980. Print.**

Milovan Djilas was one of Tito's closest colleagues in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia until he broke with the Party in 1954. In this book, published right after Tito's death in 1980, he describes Tito and the inner workings of the Yugoslav government from an insider's perspective. This source provided important information about Tito's break with the Soviet Union, his motives and methods in ruling Yugoslavia, and the varying levels of repression throughout Tito's years in power. It was helpful to read an analysis of Tito's policies from someone who was deeply involved with them but eventually became disillusioned by Tito's focus on power. This primary source was an important look at the actions and atmosphere of Tito's government.

**Markham, R.H. *Tito's Imperial Communism*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1947. Print.**

This book written in 1947 looks at the history of Yugoslavia up to that point and assesses the situation after Tito's takeover. R.H. Markham served as the Balkan correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor and spent much of his life in southeastern Europe, becoming one of the most informed Americans on the situation there. Markham presents a very anti-Tito perspective, focusing on how Tito has brought Yugoslavia under oppressive Communist control. His book is valuable because it looks at the situation from the point of view of the Yugoslav people, showing how they were forced to turn towards Tito in the midst of war, and then came under the domination of his regime. This source provided a unique negative perspective on Tito's regime, before he broke with the Soviet Union and began to allow for more freedom.

**MacLean, Fitzroy. *Tito: A Pictorial Biography*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York: 1980. Print.**

This book is a pictorial biography of Tito published right after his death. Its author, a British soldier and politician, was deployed to Yugoslavia during World War II and got to know Tito personally. Although it presented an overly favorable view of Tito as a leader, I found it extremely helpful as a source of pictures from every period of Tito's life. The quality and variety of photographs and maps allowed me to use this book as the main source of images for my website.

## Database Articles:

**Drakulic, Slavenka. "The Generation that Failed." *Nation* 289.16, 16 Nov. 2009: 16-17. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 16 Jan 2015.**

This article by a journalist who grew up in Croatia gives a firsthand perspective of the unexpected shift from stability to conflict after Tito's death. The author describes how during Tito's rule, Yugoslav citizens enjoyed greater freedom and a better economy than in other Communist countries. She then asserts that Yugoslavia failed as a country because unlike the members of the Soviet bloc, it had no opposition to Communism, setting the stage for a turn towards nationalism when Communism began to fall apart. I found this primary source to be an eye-opening account of someone who lived through the transition from Tito's positive legacy to his negative one.

**Roberts, Walter R. "Tito - Personal Reflections." *American Diplomacy* 19 Feb. 2014: 1-7. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 16 Jan 2015.**

This article was the account of an American diplomat who worked in Yugoslavia and met Tito. He describes his time in Yugoslavia and the American policy at the time. I encountered the interesting fact that Tito predicted, a decade before his death, that Yugoslavia would fall apart after he died. This primary source reinforced the idea that it was never Tito's goal to pursue permanent Yugoslav unity.

## Newspaper Articles:

**Handler, M.S. "Tito Holding His Own Against the Kremlin." *New York Times* 5 Sep. 1948: E5. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*. Web. 22 Feb. 2015.**

This article, published in September 1948, lays out the strategy Tito is pursuing as he develops Yugoslavia as an independent Communist state. It also describes why Tito has been so successful. I used the headline from this primary source to give my project the immediate feeling of the events of the time.

**Handler, M.S. "Tito's Grip on the Nation Is Firm, Reply to Charges Due Today." *New York Times* 28 June 1948: 1. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*. Web. 22 Feb. 2015.**

This June 1948 article from *The New York Times* discusses how Tito appears to be ready to defy Cominform after being charged with deviating from Communism. The author describes why the Yugoslav Communists are inclined to defy Stalin and how they are doing so. I obtained information about how the CPY built itself separately from Stalin because the Partisans were the ones to liberate the country. This primary source provided background and an important quote about how the CPY rose to power.

**Handler, M.S. "Tito's Grip Tightening Despite the Cominform." *New York Times* 28 Nov. 1948: E4. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*. Web. 22 Feb. 2015.**

This November 1948 article from the New York Times describes how Tito is maintaining control over Yugoslavia. Although he struggles against economic troubles and pressure from the Soviet Union, Tito seems to still remain strong and has started a new public works program to show his confidence. I used the headline from this primary source to illustrate Tito's leadership and the international community's surprise at his success.

**Nightwire, A.P. "Jugo-Slavs in One State." *Los Angeles Times* 10 Dec. 1918: 12. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*. Web. 13 Mar. 2015.**

This 1918 article announces the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. It includes an announcement from the newly formed government and discusses some of the kingdom's immediate problems. I used the headline from this primary source as a visual to back up my introduction of Yugoslavia as a country.

**"The Case of Marshal Tito." *New York Times* 4 July 1948: E6. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*. Web. 22 Feb. 2015.**

This July 1948 article from *The New York Times* talks about how Tito is proving that the Soviet Union does not have complete control over Communism. He expresses hope that Tito's stand-off with Stalin will halt the progress of Soviet domination and that Yugoslavia will eventually turn towards the West. From this primary source, I gained an understanding of the importance of Tito's break with the Soviet Union and why the United States had an interest in supporting Yugoslavia.

## **Interviews:**

**Jaros, Mike. Personal interview. 22 April 2015.**

I conducted a telephone interview with Mike Jaros, a current Duluth native who grew up in Yugoslavia, living there from 1945-1960. His family moved to the United States when he was seventeen, but he has traveled back to the area multiple times. He is very knowledgeable about Tito's personal history and gave me information about the Partisans during World War II. He also described to me the current political situations in the countries of former Yugoslavia. Mr. Jaros does not think that Tito's leadership contributed very much to the breakup of Yugoslavia, and told me that Tito is remembered as a leader who was able to hold the country together. My conversation with Mr. Jaros gave me an inside perspective from someone who grew up with Communist control as the norm, and made me more aware of the controversy of Tito's legacy and the nostalgia for a time when Yugoslavia was unified and stable. I used the recording of our interview to add audio to my website to increase its audiovisual impact.

**Talić, Martina. Personal interview. 19 Feb. 2015.**

Ms. Talić is a Spanish teacher at my school, Saint John's Prep. She was born in Bosnia and lived in both Bosnia and Croatia before and during the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Ms. Talić provided an important perspective on how religion was repressed in Communist Yugoslavia, an idea that I had not come across in other research. She also gave me information about the economic situation and ethnic divisions in the Balkans today, as well as quotes and stories that greatly added to my project. This interview gave me a personal perspective on the situation in the Balkans region before and after the breakup of Yugoslavia, a major part of Tito's legacy.

### **Videos:**

#### **“Josip Broz Tito, Kosovo 1979.” 1979. *YouTube*. Film.**

This clip is from a longer video showing footage of Tito’s 1979 visit to the province of Kosovo. Huge crowds line the streets to watch his car drive by, showing his immense popularity even at the end of his life. The depiction of the Yugoslav people’s love for Tito adds to my presentation of his controversial image. The primary video gave audiovisual power to my website through the depiction of crowds chanting Tito’s name.

#### **“Tito Funeral May, 4, 1980, Part-1/5.” 1980. *YouTube*. Film.**

This clip is from a documentary released in Yugoslavia a week after Tito’s death, depicting events in the country on the day of his death. The section I used shows miners stopping their work to gather and pay respect to an image of Tito after hearing of his death. The scene of the miners singing to honor Tito demonstrates the great respect the Yugoslav people had for him, and brings up the question of whether this was due to his charismatic leadership or his indoctrination policies. This video added to the audiovisual impact of my website.

## **Secondary Sources**

### **Books:**

#### **Cohen, Lenard J. *Broken Bonds: Yugoslavia's Disintegration and Balkan Politics in Transition*. Westview Press, Boulder: 1995. Print.**

This book, written by a professor of political science at Simon Fraser University, looks at the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the outlook to the future in the year 1995. However, what I found most useful was the section describing the buildup to the conflict, which looked at how Yugoslavia developed under Tito. Cohen addresses what he describes as Tito's "ambiguous legacy." He gives a helpful summary of the changes in Tito's strategy and leadership over the years, contrasting the relative freedom and prosperity Tito brought to the Yugoslav people with the purges that showed he was an authoritarian dictator. This source also described how Tito allowed Yugoslavia to fragment into republics by giving power to regional Communist leaders, which supported my argument that Tito's leadership was a factor in the breakup of Yugoslavia.

**Crnobrnja, Mihailo. *The Yugoslav Drama*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal: 1994. Print.**

This book, written by a former Ambassador of Yugoslavia to the European Union, examines what led up to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the events of the breakup, and the view looking forward from the midst of the conflict. The author argues that Tito set the stage for the breakup of Yugoslavia when he halted economic reforms and allowed the regional governments to become powerful and divided. Tito left behind a weak central government that could not control the aggressive nationalism that emerged in the republics. Crnobrnja's insightful description of Tito's rise to power during World War II gave me a better understanding of how he transformed Yugoslavia into a Communist state in the wake of wartime destruction. This book helped strengthen my argument that by leading with the goal of prolonging his own political power, Tito greatly contributed to Yugoslavia's disintegration.

**Denitch, Bogdan. *Ethnic Nationalism: The Tragic Death of Yugoslavia*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis: 1994. Print.**

This book examines the role of nationalism in the post-Communist world by looking at the specific example of Yugoslavia. Denitch writes about the background of Yugoslavia and the emergence of nationalism after Tito's death, and uses this to look at the transition to democracy in Yugoslavia and other countries. My research focused on a section that talked about how Tito's political approach weakened Yugoslavia. Denitch presents how Tito hung on to absolute power by repressing younger politicians and nationalists who wanted change. Tito stepped back from economic reforms and returned to orthodox Communism. This source helped develop my argument that Tito's continuation of Communist authoritarianism set up Yugoslavia for its future failure.

**Djokić, Dejan, ed. *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea 1918-1992*. Hurst and Company, London: 2003. Print.**

Dejan Djokić, a professor at the University of London, edited and compiled this collection of essays written by politicians and scholars from both the West and former Yugoslavia. The book aims to look back at Yugoslavia's history from a new perspective after the country's disintegration. It has sections of essays dedicated to Yugoslavia's history, national groups, leaders, and intellectuals. I pulled information from two essays. The first, by Dejan Jović, addressed how Tito's concept of Yugoslavia changed over time, and how ideology shaped the country's history. The second essay, by John R. Lampe, described economic changes in Yugoslavia and the effects throughout Tito's time in power. These essays added to my project because their narrow focus gave me a concise picture of the economic and political situation Tito created in Yugoslavia.

**Friedman, George. *Flashpoints: The Emerging Crisis in Europe*. Doubleday, New York: 2015. Print.**

This recently published book analyzes Europe's history and predicts future conflicts that could emerge in the continent despite its present peaceful appearance. The section on the

Balkans gives a wide overview of its history. It addresses the many different ethnic groups and their problematic union before World War II. Friedman pinpoints the Balkans region as a "flashpoint," a region where conflict could break out in the future. This showed me that the full impact of Tito's legacy may not be known yet. The well-written, accessible description of the region from a modern perspective helped me understand how Tito fits into the larger context of the history of the Balkans.

**Little, Allan and Laura Sibling. *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*. Penguin Books, New York: 1995. Print.**

This book examines why Yugoslavia broke apart and includes a detailed account of events before, during, and after the wars in Croatia and Bosnia. It argues that the conflict was not an inevitable explosion of ethnic hatred, but rather a result of leaders employing nationalism as a means of gaining power and territory. It also includes a brief description of how Tito's policies left Yugoslavia in a situation that allowed the conflict to occur. My project does not focus on events of the Yugoslav Wars beyond the major outlines, but this book provided important information about the economic and societal results of the wars. Its succinct summary of Yugoslav history up until the conflict began gave me a good big picture view that shaped how I wrote about Tito's rise to power and rule. This source helped me understand the Yugoslav Wars and Tito's role in setting the stage for them.

**McFarlane, Bruce. *Yugoslavia: Politics, Economics, and Society*. Pinter Publishers, New York: 1988. Print.**

This book, from a series that examines different Communist countries, gives a detailed description of the economic, social, and political structure of Yugoslavia. It describes the history of Yugoslavia from this perspective. While the information was more specific than I needed to examine the big picture of Tito's leadership, I did gain important insight about how Tito transformed the economic and social structure of Yugoslavia after World War II, and how he allowed the republics to develop separately.

**Swain, Geoffrey. *Tito: a Biography*. I.B. Tauris, London: 2011. Print.**

This modern biography of Tito was written by a professor at the University of Glasgow who is an expert in twentieth century history of Eastern Europe. It provides a detailed description of his life and leadership. However, what I found to be most helpful was the conclusion, where Swain looks at the big picture of Tito as a leader. This was the most recently published source that I used, so it provided a unique backwards look that I did not get in other books that were written when the ideals of Communism or a united Yugoslavia were still alive. Swain ultimately assesses Tito as a leader who wanted only to hold on to power. His ideology and bureaucracy suppressed the country's problems without solving them. Swain's to-the-point assessment of Tito supported my ideas about Tito's leadership and legacy, and helped me express them more clearly.

## Articles from Databases:

**Djilas, Aleksa. "Tito's Last Secret: How Did He Keep the Yugoslavs Together?" *Foreign Affairs* 74.4 Jul./Aug. 1995: 116-122. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 16 Jan. 2015.**

This essay published in *Foreign Affairs* magazine is a review of the book Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia by Richard West. The review is Yugoslav historian Aleksa Djilas, son of Milovan Djilas, a CPY leader alongside Tito who later broke with Tito's regime and became a dissident. Djilas disagrees with West's view of Tito as the great unifier of Yugoslavia and instead argues that Tito was an authoritarian leader who built up his personal power at the expense of national unity. The essay examines the political situation in Yugoslavia before and during Tito's rule. I was very interested in the idea that Tito's policies contributed to the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Although Tito is still remembered favorably by many, this source provided evidence that the Yugoslav Wars should be considered part of Tito's legacy.

**Tyle, Laura B. "Tito." *UXL Biographies* (2003). *Student Resources in Context*. Web. 16 Jan. 2015.**

This biography of Tito comes from UXL Biographies, a collection of biographies of historical figures originally published as a book. I obtained descriptions of the Communist Party's rise to power during World War II and the aftermath of Tito's break with the Soviet Union. This information helped me build a better understanding of Tito's leadership.

**"Josip Broz Tito." *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6th Edition* 2013. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 16 Jan. 2015.**

This entry about Tito from the *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia* describes his ascent to power as well as his time as dictator. It gave an especially helpful description of how Tito suppressed internal opposition but also pursued different policies from the Soviet Union. This source provided specific information about Tito's leadership in Yugoslavia.

**"Marshal Tito." *DISCovering Biography* 2003. *Student Resources in Context*. Web. 16 Jan. 2015.**

This selection comes from *DISCovering Biography*, an online database compilation of biographical materials published by Gale Cengage Learning. It gives an overview of Tito's life and the rise of Communism in Yugoslavia. It also gave important background information about the situation in the Balkans region before World War I. This source helped give a big picture view of the events in Yugoslavia as a starting point for further research.

**"Yugoslavia Breaks Apart: 1991-1995." *Global Events: Milestone Events Throughout History* 4 (2014). *Student Resources in Context*. Web. 16 Jan 2015.**



This selection from *Global Events*, a set of books published by Gale Cengage Learning examining major events in history, looks at the break-up of Yugoslavia. It describes the horrific events and results of the Yugoslav Wars and provides important background information about the different ethnic groups. It also touches on how Tito's attempts to redraw borders to mix ethnic groups contributed to the conflict. I found it very helpful to obtain a timeline of the Yugoslav Wars. Mostly importantly, this source showed the scope of the violence and destruction, which occurred partially as a result of Tito's leadership.

## **Websites:**

**Laurent, J. Cushman. "The Seven States of the Former Yugoslavia: an Evaluation."** *Iwp.edu. The Institute of World Politics, Fall 2011. Web. 11 March 2015.*

This article published by authors from the Institute of World Politics described the political situation in each of the seven countries of the former Yugoslavia. It further supported my argument that these countries are struggling as a result of the war and are not at the same level as much of the rest of Europe.

**"Timeline: Breakup of Yugoslavia." *Bbc.co.uk. British Broadcasting Corporation, 22 May 2006. Web. 11 March 2015.***

This article from the BBC website summarizes the events of the Yugoslav Wars. It gave me the information needed to present a concise picture of what occurred and relate this back to Tito's actions.

## **Interviews:**

**Swain, Geoffrey. Personal interview. 22 April 2015.**

I conducted an email interview with Geoffrey Swain, author of the book *Tito: A Biography* and a professor at the University of Glasgow. I asked him a number of questions, ranging from Tito's rise to power to how Tito contributed to the collapse of Yugoslavia. Professor Swain explained why the Communists were able to rise to power during World War II and clarified some of Tito's economic policies. His responses helped put Tito's leadership in the larger context of his goals as a Communist leader. Professor Swain provided very knowledgeable responses to some of the specific questions I had as I worked to consolidate my research into a narrative.

## **Pictures:**

**5,000 Dinars. 1985. *Numismondo. Web. 24 April 2015.***

This photograph of Yugoslav paper money with an image of Tito on it is from an archive of photographs of currency from the National Bank of Yugoslavia. It connects to my section about economics and shows Tito's importance in the country.

***Aftermath of NATO Bombing in Kosovo War. 1999. The Diplomatist. By Zihau Liu. Web. 7 Mar. 2015.***

This photograph of a bombed building is from the Diplomatist, the online journal of the Cornell International Affairs Review. It gives an example of the destruction brought by the wars.

***A group of Partisans belonging to the company attached to the Supreme Headquarters in September 1940. N.d. Tito: A Pictorial Biography. By MacLean Fitzroy. New York: McGraw Hill Book, 1980. 53. Print.***

This photograph of a group of Partisans comes from a pictorial biography of Tito. It provided a visual for my description of Tito's army.

***A Nation in Pain and Mourning. N.d. Tito: A Pictorial Biography. By MacLean Fitzroy. New York: McGraw Hill Book, 1980. 116. Print.***

This photograph of Yugoslavians in mourning after Tito's death comes from a pictorial biography of Tito. It shows how popular Tito was in Yugoslavia and how the country was left without direction upon his death.

***Before the First World War. N.d. Tito: A Pictorial Biography. By MacLean Fitzroy. New York: McGraw Hill Book, 1980. 23. Print.***

This map shows the location of the Balkans region as well as what the region looked like before Yugoslavia was created. It adds to my presentation of the context of Yugoslavia's history before Tito arrived on the scene.

***Ethnic Composition of Yugoslavia. 1981. Mofa.go.jp. Web. 7 Mar. 2015.***

This chart shows the ethnic composition of Yugoslavia with data from a 1981 census. I obtained it from a report from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan that assessed major world events of 1991, including the ethnic hostilities in Yugoslavia. This chart helps convey that Yugoslavia is comprised of many different ethnic groups, with no one group making up more than forty percent of the population.

***GNP Growth Rates, 1953-1971. 1990. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Web. 24 April 2014.***

This table showing the growth of Yugoslavia compared to other countries is from a paper about unemployment in Yugoslavia after Tito's death. It shows the country's economic success during the time that Tito liberalized the economy.

***Former Yugoslavia as of January 2008. 2008. International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. Web. 7 Mar. 2015.***

This map of Yugoslavia today shows how the country is now split into seven smaller countries. I obtained this map from the website of the tribunal in charge of conducting trials for war criminals from the Yugoslav Wars.

***Roman Catholic Church of Saint Michael the Archangel. Syncultour.eu. Web. 13 March 2015.***

This image of a Catholic Church in Yugoslavia is from a website with information on tourism and culture in Southeastern Europe. I used it to illustrate my point about the repression of religion under Tito's Communist system.

***Slobodan Milosevic. N.d. Historycentral.com. Web. 7 Mar. 2015.***

This photograph of Slobodan Milosevic is from *historycentral.com*. Milosevic was a Serbian nationalist who instigated the Yugoslav Wars and oversaw crimes against humanity on the part of the Yugoslav Army. His picture provides a visual for my description of his involvement in the Yugoslav Wars.

***Stalin and Tito during their discussions. N.d. Tito: A Pictorial Biography. By MacLean Fitzroy. New York: McGraw Hill Book, 1980. 84. Print.***

This picture of Stalin and Tito side by side is from a pictorial biography of Tito. It shows how they once worked together and provides a contrast to Tito's 1948 break with the Soviet Union.

***The Second World War. N.d. Tito: A Pictorial Biography. By MacLean Fitzroy. New York: McGraw Hill Book, 1980. 23. Print.***

This map of Yugoslavia during World War II shows what area the country encompassed. It adds to my introduction of Yugoslavia as a country, providing a contrast to the numerous countries and empires that had previously held that territory.

***Tito's army. N.d. Tito: A Pictorial Biography. By MacLean Fitzroy. New York: McGraw Hill Book, 1980. 110. Print.***

This picture of Yugoslavian soldiers helps support the idea that Tito created a strong army and secret police.

***Tito in his study. N.d. Tito: A Pictorial Biography. By MacLean Fitzroy. New York: McGraw Hill Book, 1980. 111. Print.***

This picture of Tito at work is from a pictorial biography by Fitzroy MacLean. It gives a good visual of the man himself and the authority position he had.

***To Arms, Everyone! Wikipedia. 22 February 2015.***

This poster from World War II gives an example of the propaganda the Partisans distributed. It adds to my analysis of Tito's buildup to power during World War II.

***Yugoslavia. 2012. The World in My Mailbox. Web. 7 Mar. 2015.***

This map of the republics of Yugoslavia, with the names of the republics along the side, shows that the former republics are countries today. It introduces the republics as the major political players in the Yugoslav Wars.

***N.d. Andrzejb.net. Comp. Borzyskowski Andrzej. Web. 22 Feb. 2015.***

This diagram of the South Slavic ethnic groups is from a webpage on the origins of the Slavic peoples. It introduces the groups and provides a visual depiction of the multiethnic nature of Yugoslavia.

***N.d. Tito: A Pictorial Biography. By MacLean Fitzroy. New York: McGraw Hill Book, 1980. 87. Print.***

This image of the huge crowd that gathered to hear Tito speak in Belgrade in 1945 shows the popular support that Tito had already won as World War II came to a close.

***N.d. Tito: A Pictorial Biography. By MacLean Fitzroy. New York: McGraw Hill Book, 1980. 93. Print.***

This picture shows Tito giving a speech to the Fifth Party Congress to rally support against Soviet pressure. It added to my project by depicting Tito in his leadership position.

***N.d. Tito: A Pictorial Biography. By MacLean Fitzroy. New York: McGraw Hill Book, 1980. 93. Print.***

This picture depicts the audience at one of Tito's 1948 speeches raising their hands in support of him. This shows the strong backing he had during his conflict with Stalin.