Giant Among Communists Governed Like a Monarch

By RAYMOND H. ANDERSON

Throughout his long and extraordinary life, Josip Broz Tito was known as a man of stubborn courage, ready to fight and intrigue, endure hardship and risk death for his beliefs. In the tradition of the Balkans, he was proud, strong-willed, unbending before an opponent, ruthless to an enemy—and a bit vain.

The peasant's son and wartime guerrilla leader who was to become President relished power. He used it with the confident air of a king born to the throne, not an insecure usurper. Tito lived like a monarch, with many palaces, a personal island, his own train and an awed retinue. But he proclaimed, to his last days, that Communism was his goal for Yugoslavia.

In striving toward that goal, he did not allow power to turn him into an ascetic ideologue like Lenin, a suspicious tyrant like Stalin or a know-it-all like Nikita S. Khrushchev.

Tito's pride put him in conflict with Stalin when the Kremlin leader attempted to dominate postwar Yugoslavia. The outcome was a historic rift in Communism in 1948. Adrift between East and West, Tito worked with other thirdworld leaders in the 1950's to develop the movement of "nonalignment" and he was to stay at its forefront.

Tito Sought to Improve Life

Unlike others who rose to power on the Communist wave after World War II, Tito did not long demand that his people suffer and sacrifice for a distant vision of a better life. After an initial Soviet-influenced bleak period, Tito moved toward radical improvement of life in the country. Yugoslavia gradually became a bright spot amid the general grayness of Eastern Europe.

As a boy in his home village in Croatia, a wandering metalworker before World War I, and a Communist conspirator in the 1920's and 1930's, Tito was drawn to smart clothes, fine food and other touches of stylish living. As wartime guerrilla leader he often slept in caves or forests and had too little to eat.

In his later years as Prime Minister and then President, Tito loved imperial uniforms with white gloves and gold braid, black-tie dinners and luxury automobiles. He took pleasure, even in his 80's, in getting behind the steering wheel of a convertible, smoking large cigars, sipping Chivas Regal and dancing with beautiful women.

In 1941, at the age of 49, Tito went into the mountains of Bosnia and Montenegro to organize and lead outnumbered and illequipped guerrillas in battle against Germans, Italians and their collaborators, with little help from anyone, including

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A Communist Who Lived Like a King

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war.

After victory and the creation of a and abroad, even from some of his foes.

Cast out of the Soviet bloc in 1948 for "boundless ambition, arrogance and conceit" in refusing to submit to Stalin's dictates, Yugoslavia under Tito advanced for more than three decades along a path between the Soviet bloc of the East and the capitalist powers of the West. Tito rarely, if ever, compromised with either. He sometimes exasperated both.

A New Ideology: Titoism

What emerged in Yugoslavia was to become known as Titoism, a brand of Communism with free-market forces, connewsstands, including nude centerfold borhood inns. magazines, a decision-sharing role for employees called workers' self-management, and, importantly, freedom for virtually all citizens to travel abroad and to return at will.

In many ways, Tito seemed to typify the general Yugoslav approach to life make it a pleasurable experience but do not compromise on honor or principle. As car ownership multiplied in Yugoslavia, for example, the highway death rate rose to appalling levels. Yugoslavs tended to pass on hills and curves and found it unmanly to yield to oncoming vehicles. In a sense, Tito met Stalin on a curve and refused to yield.

At intervals over the decades, strains and conflict developed as Tito endeavored to forge a nation out of diverse and rival peoples like Serbs and Croats, Slovenes and Macedonians, Albanians and Montenegrins — Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Islamic. All the while, the shadow of the disapproving Kremlin hung over the country, interfering with Yugoslavia's efforts for unity and perhaps menacing its very existence.

A Land of Many Languages

Spurring separatist tendencies was the absence of a single unifying language. The dominant tongue was Serbo-Croatian, as it was known in Serbia, or Croato-Serbian, as it was called in Croatia. Other languages were Slovenian, Albanian, Macedonian and various minority tongues like Hungarian, Rumanian and German. Moreover, the country was divided by two alphabets - Latin in Croatia and Slovenia and other areas with a Catholic tradition; Cyrillic in Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro and other areas with an Eastern Orthodox tradition.

For several decades, Tito had to look beyond his own death, to a Yugoslavia under secessionist threat from within and Soviet inducements and coercion from without to return to Moscow's fold. Many of Tito's actions, decisions and policies were intended to bolster Yugoslavia internally against the separatists and externally against the Soviet Union.

Between East and West

As part of the objective of safeguarding Yugoslav independence, Tito strove to weld a strong third-world movement, nonaligned with either the Soviet or the Western bloc. Various third-world conferences were held but the results were largely inconclusive. In striving to organize the third world, Tito became a frequent traveler and a host to presidents, kings and prime ministers.

Last year, at the age of 87, Tito flew to Havana to lead a fight at a third-world conference against efforts by Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader, to orient the movement toward the Soviet Union.

Despite controversy over Yugoslav repression of dissenters, Tito succeeded for many years in retaining the friendship and support of the United States. But at times, the precarious balance between Washington and Moscow seemed endangered as Tito denounced "imperialists" and accused the United States of aiding Yugoslavia's foes abroad.

Croatian Upheaval in 1971

nationwide retightening of controls by the with fluent knowledge of German. Communist Party.

mountains between armed Croatian infil-ferent as in "The Good Soldier Schweik," trators and Yugoslav troops, Tito's drive depicting Czechs serving the Austro-Hunto reimpose full party control gained garians. Broz was on the Russian Front swift momentum. "Liberal" officials in 1915 when Circassian horsemen galwere ousted in Serbia, Slovenia and else- loped up and leaped into the trenches where. Professors at Belgrade Univer- with lances and sabers. He suffered a sity and other schools were removed as lance wound in the back, fell unconscious "anarcho-liberal elements." Some news- and was taken alive only when Russian paper editors and film directors were soldiers intervened to stop the Circasalso ousted, mainly persons identified sians from slaughtering the wounded. with the United States or who spoke out openly in opposition to strict party controls over social, political and economic

force in the country. The mystique of his wartime leadership remained a powerful influence. His was virtually the only working in the Urals in 1917 when the voice in Yugoslavia to which all listened. Czar was deposed and the Bolsheviks whether in agreement, awe or fright.

economy with widespread private enter- were with the Bolsheviks. Escaping, he prise in commerce, public services and made his way to Petrograd, now Leninagriculture, with brash Western-style advertising in the press and broadcasting, Tito took pains to disclaim that this was a oner of war and sent to Siberia. He esconcession to capitalism.

Warns of the 'Class Enemy'

Reacting angrily to suggestions that Yugoslavia was moving down the road to turned to Omsk, married a young Ruscapitalism, Tito declared in a speech in sian, went with her to Petrograd, and

nated. He lives, he acts, he undermines later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and our society and hinders social progress. We are submerged by the West with theories, concepts and conceptions of all

kinds. And all are negative. where people speak freely. And they freely give vent to their initiatives. But it is clear that there must be no democracy for those who act from an antisocialist

position."

gressive selection from top to bottom,"

among the million members of the Yugothe Russians on whose behalf he went to had been renamed to make it seem more democratic, and added:

"They say in the West that Yugoslavia Communist state in Yugoslavia, Tito was is gradually adopting a Western regime. his own man and stood up to pressure, That is what our class enemies want, but threats and abuse from Stalin. For his they are mistaken if they imagine that we defiance, Tito won admiration at home will deviate from our dedication to social-

Josip Broz was born in May 1892 in the village of Kumrovec in Croatia, then under the Austro-Hungarian Empire. (The birth was registered as May 7 but was celebrated on May 25.) Josip was the seventh of 15 children of Franjo and Marija Broz. He adopted the name Tito, common in his home region, in the 1930's for conspiratorial cover.

His father, a Croatian, had met Tito's Slovenian mother while illicitly cutting years in prison, he turned to the courtfirewood. The father had a 15-acre farm, a comfortable house and dealt in horses, cattle and hay. But life was hard and uncertain for the family because much of sumerism, Western publications at the the father's income was spent in neigh-

> Josip, as was the rural custom at the time, left school at 12 to start work. It was his father's ambition to send the boy to America to make his fortune, but there was no money for passage. Josip's first job was for an uncle, tending cattle. At 15, he went to work at a restaurant in Sisak, a small industrial town southeast of Zagreb. But he did not take to the life of a waiter and soon agreed to apprenticeship | shut me up. I would have done the same

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Associated Press

As a guerrilla commander during World War II, he established his headquarters in the mountains. With him is his shepherd dog, Tigar.

for three years with a locksmith and alization in a Socialist society. metalworker who repaired machinery and did fancy ironwork. A railing that Josip helped make is still part of the staircase in the Sisak District Court.

While learning his trade as metalworker, the boy began to read widely — history, fiction, travel, and adventure, from Sherlock Holmes to Edward Bellamy and Upton Sinclair. He was introduced by fellow workers to Socialist ideas and soon joined the metalworkers' union and the Social-Democratic Party.

road at the age of 18 in the old tradition of wandering journeymen, working in Zagreb, Ljubljana, Trieste, Pilsen, Mannheim. Munich and other places along the foundations by a secessionist upheaval in young Broz was called to service in the the republic of Croatia, mainly among Austro-Hungarian armed forces, he was students, professors, writers and other a skilled mechanic at the Daimler plant intellectuals. Tito's answer was suppres- in Wiener Neustadt, near Vienna. He had sion of secessionists and purges of the shed his village ways and had become an Croatian leadership, opening the way to a urbane, well-attired man of the world,

During the war, he fought in a Croatian In 1972, after a running gun battle in the regiment, where the spirit was as indif-

War Prisoner in Russia

A prisoner in the depths of Russia, Broz Tito seemed to be the main unifying volunteered to work and was moved from village to village to jobs as a mechanic, becoming fluent in Russian. He was were intriguing to take power. From the Although Titoism involved a mixed outset, the sympathies of the young Broz grad, and took part in street fighting.

Broz was arrested as a fugitive priscaped again and joined the Red Guard at Omsk, in the civil war that followed the revolution, Broz had to flee and found refuge with Kazakh tribesmen. Later, he refrom there back to what had become the "The class enemy has not been elimi- Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, then, under Tito, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. He was, in real-

ity, a Moscow agent. Broz joined the Communist Party in "Our society has real democracy, Zagreb and promptly helped organize a metalworkers' strike. He was a respected and active party worker, with a sense of humor and ability to express political abstractions in simple terms, never falling into ideological fetishism. He once said He went on to threaten a purge, a "pro-that Marxism was "nine-tenths action and one-tenth theory."

For seven years, Broz worked at his slav League of Communists, as the party trade in various cities, all the while organizing union activity, agitating and stirring up political unrest. Despite a drive against radicals, he managed to avoid prosecution until 1927, when he was sentenced to seven months in jail for distributing Communist literature.

> While at liberty on appeal, he took his first major party office, becoming a member of the party committee for the Zagreb region. Thereafter, he led the clandestine life of a revolutionary. He was arrested again, this time for belonging to a banned party.

Turned Trial Into a Spectacle

Broz turned the trial in Zagreb into a propaganda spectacle, fencing with the court and proclaiming his Communist beliefs. When he was sentenced to five room crowd and shouted: "Long live the Communist Party! Long live the Third International!"

Broz spent most of the term in a former monastery, where his main duty was to take care of the prison's power plant. He organized a party unit among the prisoners and he read widely — Shakespeare, John Stuart Mill, Greek philosophy, Marx and Engels. "It was," he recalled, "just like being at a university."

Leaving prison in 1934 without bitterness, he remarked: "It was only natural that when they caught me they should thing in their place."

After his release, Broz, traveling in disguise and with various aliases and false documents, made his way to Moscow to work for the Comintern, as the Third International was called. There, living in the old Lux Hotel, he met leaders of the Communist movement — Georgi Dimitrov of Bulgaria, Otto Kuusinen of Finland, Palmiro Togliatti of Italy and ful of Moscow's tactics of delaying a war the Partisan warfare under some un-lured him from asylum in the Yugoslav 1930's but the fear and disillusionment of feat by the invaders. the Moscow years never left him.

A Comintern Assignment

ment from the Comintern to slip into Moscow to take diversionary action Yugoslavia, under an alias, as organizing against the Germans. secretary of the Yugoslav Communist Tito had slipped out of Zagreb, where Party. In 1937, after Milan Gorkic, the Croatians had set up an independent party's leader, fell victim to Stalin's se- state. He first went into hiding in Belcret police, Tito was named Secretary grade and then sought refuge in the General to succeed him.

Living clandestinely a few jumps ahead of the police, Tito managed to settle many of his small party's disputes through both a tough approach and common sense. He became skilled in the art of disguise and false names not only in Yugoslavia but also on many trips abroad, especially while recruiting for the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War.

Yugoslavia in the 1930's was a hard land, with widespread illiteracy, unemployment and misery. Tito told later of nians. his feelings when he made a clandestine visit to his home village:

"I thought of the day when Kumrovec and thousands of other towns and villages all over Yugoslavia would rouse themand to bring up their families. I did not know when that would happen. But I knew very well that it was worth making did happen."

the answer for Yugoslavia was industri-

Tito Chose Men of Courage

whom in the postwar years fell out with tially attributed to the Chetniks. Tito and lost their posts, but not their

In August 1939, the Yugoslav Commu-1941 evoked no initial resistance from the and proletarian divisions. Yugoslav Communists, who were mind- | Gradually, the Allies began to hear of Blocked due to copyright. See full page image or microfilm.

Marshal Tito signing cooperation treaty in Moscow in 1945. Behind him is Stalin, flanked by Foreign Ministers Ivan Subasic of Yugoslavia, left, and Vyacheslav M. Molotov of the Soviet Union. Stalin broke with Tito in 1948.

others. Now using the party name Tito, with Germany as long as possible. Tito known figure called Tito and they puzzled | Embassy in Budapest. he earned a reputation for reliability. He did issue a proclamation blaming the over his true identity — perhaps he was a narrowly survived Stalin's purges of the "Serb ruling class" for Yugoslavia's de- Russian, or the name might be a cover for thaws in ties between Belgrade and Mos-

But when the Germans attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Yugoslav Communists stirred into action, Tito escaped the terror with an assign- prompted by radioed instructions from

> mountains to form guerrilla units and fight the occupation forces of Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria, which had sliced up Yugoslavia like a cake.

> From the very start of their guerrilla activity, Tito and his colleagues saw the war not only as a struggle against the occupiers but also as an opportunity "to seize power and to seize it in such a way that the bourgeoisie would never regain it." As guerrilla commander, Tito urged a unified struggle by all the peoples of the country, Serbs and Croats, Slovenes and Macedonians, Montenegrins and Alba-

> This appeal for a common struggle found a wide response, causing many to quit the Croatian Ustashi forces or the Serbian Chetnik movement and join the guerrillas.

The Ustashi represented the separatist selves from backwardness, when young state in Croatia. The Chetniks were backpeople would at last have a chance in life, lers of the Serbian Royal Government. a chance to live in peace and happiness After the capitulation of Yugoslavia to the Axis invaders in April 1941, Col. Draja Mihailovich, a staff officer of the royal army, went into the Serbian hills and every effort and sacrifice to insure that it formed a guerrilla group known as the Chetniks, an old name for Serbs who re-Like Lenin in Russia, he believed that sisted the long domination by Turks.

The Chetniks sought to save Serbs who were being slain in Croatia. The Chetnik movement received the backing of the Royal Yugoslav Government in exile and Building the underground party to a of the British and Soviet governments. membership of 12,000, Tito created a The Soviet attitude toward the Chetniks leadership under his control, choosing was especially galling to Tito. For almost men noted for courage and common three years, the Chetnik resistance was sense. Among them were Aleksandar played up in the Allied press and, to Tito's Rankovic and Milovan Djilas, both of vexation, his own guerrilla raids were ini-

Chetniks Shielded the Serbs

The priority of the Chetniks was on savnist Party bore up under the shock of ing the Serbs. They disapproved of inef-His apprenticeship over, he took to the Stalin's pact with Hitler. When Germany fectual sabotage and guerrilla raids that opponents of Tito and Communism were invaded Poland on Sept. 1 and found itself did little but provoke enemy reprisals simply shot without trial. in war with France and Britain, the against civilians. The Chetniks, as back-Yugoslavs, like the Russians, denounced ers of the royal government, despised and the war as "imperialist." Even Hitler's feared the Partisans, as Tito's guerrillas planes taking a shortcut, killing five. In 1971, Yugoslavia was jolted to its way. In 1913 at the age of 21, when the ruthless assault on Yugoslavia in April were called, with their Red Star emblems

a committee or, according to one rumor, cow. The ties warmed in 1963 when Khru-Tito might be a woman.

The Partisans fought alone, aided by some captured equipment but with little food or medicine. The Russians made promises, but they had their own problems and sent no aid until late in the war.

In 1942, Tito formed a national liberation committee that was to develop ultimately as the Communist Government of postwar Yugoslavia. Later, to give himself greater standing with wartime leaders like Stalin and Churchill, Tito took the rank of marshal.

With the surrender of Italy in 1943, the Partisans were enormously strengthened by their capture of equipment and arms from Italian troops along the coast. As the territory under Partisan control expanded, the British and Americans parachuted in liaison teams to find out what the Partisans were doing and to oversee aid and supply efforts. On May 25, 1944, Tito barely escaped

capture by a German airborne force that . descended near his headquarters cave at Drvar. Tito went to Italy where he later met, in his new marshal's uniform, with Churchill. Soon after, he slipped away to Moscow to consult Stalin.

The talks with Stalin took place in what Tito later called "a very painful atmosphere."

Devastation at War's End

When the war in Europe ended in 1945, Yugoslavia was a devastated land. Its small industry was in ruins, railroads were destroyed, cities bombed and many farm areas lifeless. The country was torn by bitter memories of atrocities committed by Yugoslavs against Yugoslavs.

Tito's Marxist policies alienated many, especially the middle class. He angered Croats, and Catholics around the world, by ordering the arrest of Archbishop Aloysius Stepinac and having him tried for supporting the wartime state of Croatia. The archbishop was sentenced to 16 years in prison but was freed under residence restrictions in 1951.

General Mihailovich, the Chetnik commander, was captured, tried as a traitor and shot along with fellow officers. Terror was felt throughout the nation. Many

In 1946 the Yugoslavs infuriated the United States by downing two transport

Soviet System Emulated at First

In the first years of rule, Tito, as Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, sought to transplant the Soviet economic and political system to Yugoslavia. Industry, trade and banking were nationalized. Collectivization of agriculture was tried, but abandoned under peasant resistance.

Tito turned to the Soviet Union for development assistance. According to Yugoslavs, the Russians were willing to help establish light industry but balked at larger projects. They wanted to centralize heavy industry in the Soviet Union while making use of Yugoslavia's raw materials.

Yugoslav bitterness over this, combined with other differences and resentments — over Trieste, Greece, a Balkan federation with Bulgaria, Tito's economic plan, and Soviet manipulation in Yugoslavia — all led to the dramatic break between Tito and Stalin. On June 28, 1948, the Cominform, successor to the Comintern, read the "Tito clique" out o the world Communist movement.

Shock and Bewilderment The break, the first in the monolithic

facade of Communism, shook and bewildered the world. Some people suspected that it was a Soviet trick to win Western military equipment and economic aid for Yugoslavia. Under threat of invasion from the

Soviet bloc and weakened by economic problems, Tito turned to the United States. After heated and anguished debate, Washington gave him more than \$1 billion in various forms of aid. Tito expressed gratitude but took a position of neutralism between the blocs.

Tito took the post of President in 1953, and after the death of Stalin in March 1953, relations with Moscow began to improve. In 1955, Nikita S. Khrushchev, the new Soviet party leader, and Prime Minister Nikolai A. Bulganin went to Belgrade, hats in hand, to apologize for 1948 and to entice Yugoslavia back into the camp. Tito could barely conceal his contempt.

Relations with Moscow worsened again the Hungarian revolution in 1956 and later executed Imre Nagy after having ports were never confirmed.

There were alternate freezes and shchev paid another visit and spoke warmly of Tito's worker self-management councils.

In 1968, a mood of crisis developed again in Yugoslavia when the Russians and their allies invaded Czechoslovakia to suppress the liberal movement in Communist rule. When Moscow made threatening gestures toward independentminded Rumania and Yugoslavia, Tito mobilized the armed forces, called up the militia and made it clear that Yugoslavia, unlike Czechoslovakia, would resist an invasion. The Russians backed away.

Tito worried about Soviet pressures on Yugoslavia after his death and sought to head them off by inviting Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, to Belgrade in 1971 and then going to see the Russian in Moscow in 1972. Tito returned to Belgrade with an Order of Lenin.

He formed a rotating Presidency, representing the various republics in succes-



He was a passionate hunter. Here he posed on an expedition in 1974.

sion, to take power after his death. In 1974 he was made President for Life. A new Constitution was adopted in 1974,

"restoring to the working class its rightful leadership role." Elected representatives were to retain their regular jobs and perform public duties in their spare time. This was to prevent the rise of a class of dreaded "technocrats and bureaucrats." Despite gains over the years, the econ-

omy as a whole suffered distortions and weaknesses from a crash effort to transform the rural land into an industrial society. As he advanced into his 80's, Tito dved

his hair, took long rests and, at intervals, demonstrated to the nation his vigor by going hunting and shooting a bear. He tended plants at his island retreat in

the Adriatic, dabbled in photography and made things in a machine shop, perhaps indulging nostalgia for his youth.

Tito and his Russian wife were divorced in the late 1930's. A son from that marriage, Zarko, was wounded in the Red Army and was later allowed to join his father. In 1940, in an obscure episode, Tito married, or lived with, a Slovenian revolutionary, Herta Has, and left her after the war. A son, Miso, was born of that relationship.

In 1952, when Tito was 60 years old, it was announced that he had married a strong-willed and beautiful Serb who had served in the Partisans, Jovanka Budisayljevic, 28. She became his constant companion, traveling with him around the world, acting as hostess to dignitaries and watching alertly over her aging hus-

The marriage broke aport mysteriously in 1977 when Jovanka was detected, it was rumored, engaging in political intrigue with Serbian generals. There were in the years after the Russians crushed | later reports that Tito had taken up with an opera singer or a masseuse. The re-

Pictorial Parade

In 1956, seeking to weld a third-world force, he welcomed Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and Jawaharlal Nehru of India to a meeting on Brioni Island.

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