COMMUNIST STARDOM IN THE COLD WAR: JOSIP BROZ TITO IN WESTERN AND YUGOSLAV PHOTOGRAPHY, 1943-1980

by

Nikolina Kurtovic

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Art
University of Toronto

© Copyright by Nikolina Kurtovic 2010
Communist Stardom in the Cold War: Josip Broz Tito in Western and Yugoslav Photography, 1943-1980

Nikolina Kurtovic
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Art
University of Toronto
2010

Abstract

This dissertation examines the iconographic and ideological aspects of the public image of Josip Broz Tito, the communist leader of Socialist Yugoslavia and one of the major historical personalities of the twentieth century. By studying the specific historical, political, and cultural contexts of Tito’s changing iconography between 1943 and 1980, I considers a dynamic relationship between the Western and Eastern perspectives on his leadership style, personality, and role, as communicated in the idiom of Western photojournalism and celebrity photography, as well as the style of official presidential photography in Yugoslavia. I analyze photo-essays on Tito published in Life, Time, and Picture Post, and in the official Yugoslav magazines, Yugoslavia and Yugoslav Review, as well as his portraits by Yousuf Karsh and by Ivo Eterovic in his photo-book Tito’s Private Life. I engage the issues of image reception by studying fundamental stereotypes within the canon of Tito photography, exploring their relation to the popular and political discourses on war heroism, resistance myth, masculinity, leadership, communism, disease, romance, family, leisure and celebrity in the U.S. during World War Two and the Cold War. Tito’s photographs are compared with relevant examples in modern portrait photography, photojournalism, and European painting, thereby situating Tito’s example in the tradition of Western political image making, but also in relation to local traditions. My dissertation shows that the practical role of the cult of Tito in the American press during the Cold
War was to render him and Yugoslavia as examples for the satellite countries, and to enlist popular support for U.S. policy. It also helped Tito navigate a political crisis following his 1948 break with Stalin. The iconography created in this context contributed to the genesis and modernizing of Yugoslav presidential photography in the 1950s. Appropriating the rhetoric and formal devices of Western celebrity and glamour photography, Yugoslav photographs created a set of presidential stereotypes and their photographs were bearers of the conventional narrative of Tito’s presidency in Yugoslav magazines and books addressing Western audiences between 1960 and 1980. My dissertation underscores the role of cross-cultural contacts and contexts for developing, maintaining, and understanding of Tito’s publicity and celebrity in the West.
Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Professor Elizabeth Legge, and my committee members, Professors Mark Cheetham and Thomas Lahusen, for their academic guidance, critical suggestions and support in all stages of this project. To the thesis readers, Professors Annie Gérin and Luca Somigli, I thank for their insightful comments and time given to reading and evaluating my dissertation. For their assistance and help in conducting my research I am indebted to the staff and curators in public archives and museums including: the National Archive of Canada, Ottawa; University of Toronto Archives; the National Archives at College Park, Maryland; Archive of the Military Institute, Belgrade; Archive of Yugoslavia, Belgrade; Photo Collection of the Military Museum, Belgrade; TANJUG Photographic Archive, Belgrade; Politika Photographic Archive, Belgrade; and Filmske Novosti Archive, Belgrade. Andrea Cairone of The John and Annamaria Phillips Foundation, New York, kindly granted access to unpublished papers by John Phillips. My gratitude goes to the photographers Ivo Eterovic, Mirko Lovric, the late Stevan Kragujevic, and David Steen for sharing with me in personal interviews and correspondence their memories of photographing Tito. I am thankful to Goran Malic and Cedmila Marinkovic, two Serbian art historians and friends, for helping facilitate my research in Belgrade and for the years of stimulating intellectual exchange. Finally, special thanks go to my family, Borika, Dragan, and Dar, for their patience, understanding and love.
# Table of Contents

**Acknowledgments** ........................................................................................................ iv

**Table of Contents** .......................................................................................................... v

**List of Illustrations** ......................................................................................................... x

**List of Abbreviations** ..................................................................................................... xviii

**Introduction** ..................................................................................................................... 1

- Celebrity ......................................................................................................................... 1
- Tito’s Photography ........................................................................................................... 4
- Method Issues ................................................................................................................. 5
- Magazines and Books ...................................................................................................... 7
- Iconography, Stereotypes and Viewer ............................................................................ 9
- “And After Tito, Tito:” The Circulation of Tito’s Photography After 1980 .................. 15
- Yugonostalgia ................................................................................................................ 16
- The Studium and the Punctum of Tito’s Photography .................................................... 18

**Part I: Tito in War Photography** ...................................................................................... 20

**One  Allied War Propaganda in Yugoslavia – Finding Friends** .................................. 21

- The Initial Steps .............................................................................................................. 21
  - Allied Strategy in the Balkans 1943 and the Role of SOE and OSS in Yugoslavia ........ 22
  - British Policy in Yugoslavia pre- and post- Teheran .................................................. 23
  - Allied Propaganda in Yugoslavia: Structure and Agents ........................................... 25
  - The Initiators: Maclean, Randolph Churchill, and Lin Farish .................................. 27
  - Louis Madison: Sense of Urgency .............................................................................. 30

- The Bari Project ............................................................................................................... 32
  - Partnership: OWI and OSS in Yugoslavia ................................................................. 33
  - Partnership: The Americans and the Partisans in Bari .............................................. 35
  - Madison and Partisan Requests ............................................................................... 37
  - April 1944: MO Bari Takes Charge, U.S. Magazines Go To Partisans ..................... 39
  - OWI Magazines in Yugoslavia ................................................................................ 42

- Partisan Propaganda Objective in 1944 ...................................................................... 44
  - Daniel De Luce on Partisans: Time 18 October 1943 .............................................. 46

**Two  Tito and the Partisans in Allied Press 1943-1945: The Gaze of the “Good Camera”** 49

  - Stalin and USSR: From Enemy to Mighty Ally ......................................................... 50
  - Yugoslavs: The People Who Refuse To Be Beaten ................................................... 53

- Burns for Life: “Tito’s Partisans”, December 1943 ....................................................... 54
  - Tito’s Amazons Meet Rosie the Riveter and GI Jane ............................................... 56

- Stoyan Pribichevich for Life: “Tito the Peasant Marshal of Yugoslavia” ..................... 59
  - Cairo: Allied Sources and Support .......................................................................... 60

- Zorz Skrigin and Savo Orovic: Tito in Partisan Photography and Balkan Epic Tradition ......................................................................................................................... 62
  - Zorz Skrigin ................................................................................................................ 63
  - Savo Orovic ................................................................................................................ 64
Styling Tito: *Hajduci* and Rebel Peasants as Stereotypes.......................................................... 65

*Battling Anti-Partisan Propaganda in the West* .............................................................................. 67

*Allied Censorship in The Forbidden Land* ..................................................................................... 68

*Tito’s Interviews in Yank and Time: Who Is The First?* .............................................................. 69

“*Marshal Tito*” in *Life*: Building Tito’s Public Image in August 1944 ............................................. 71

*Life* and Censorship ...................................................................................................................... 73

Staging Tito the Hero: Hermit in The Cave ...................................................................................... 74

Tito and Tiger: The Masculine Warrior Ideal .................................................................................. 75

The Commander: Professionalizing Tito’s Image ............................................................................ 78

Tito the Military Strategist: War Is a Game of Chess ..................................................................... 80

Masculinity and Prestige: Tito vs. King Peter in Life ..................................................................... 81

*From Obscurity to the Allied Pantheon of War Heroes* ................................................................ 83

*Part II: Tito’s Political Stardom in The West: Leadership, Photography, and Cold War* .......... 85

Three  *Life* Behind the Iron Curtain: Seeing Eastern Europe in Cold-War Terms ............. 86

Setting the Stage, March 1946: The Iron Curtain Paradigm, Cordon Sanitaire, and the Fear of the Soviets ...... 87

“The Iron Curtain”: Editing Phillips, Rendering Communism in Europe, and Life’s Anti-Soviet Propaganda... 90

Blaming it on the Russians: Creating A Communist Look and Stereotypes in Life ....................... 91

Romania: The Communist Take-Over ......................................................................................... 92

Czechoslovakia: The Link Between East and West ......................................................................... 96

Hungary - People’s Misery: The Depiction of the Body Behind the Curtain .................................... 97

The Communist Puppets and Stalinist “Stooges” in Eastern Europe: Tito in Newsweek and Time .... 99

David Douglas Duncan in Bulgaria in 1947 ................................................................................... 101

Bulgaria: “A testing ground for Stalinist Communism” ................................................................. 103

*Four  Tito in Life in 1948. Figuring the Split* .............................................................................. 105

Political Context: Yugoslavia in the Cold War, the Split of 1948 and U.S. Policy ............................ 105

Walter Sanders on Yugoslavia in Summer 1948 ........................................................................... 107

MacLean: Tito the Nationalist ........................................................................................................ 108

Phillips in Yugoslavia 1948: Personalizing the Tito-Stalin Split in Life .......................................... 108

Chasing Tito: From Belgrade to Bled .............................................................................................. 109

Tito’s 1948 Cover: Into the Spotlight ........................................................................................... 111

Life’s Portraits of the Powerful and Rhetoric of Dignity and Heroism ........................................ 112

The Heroic Angle and the Symbolic Gaze ...................................................................................... 113

The Office or The Individual ......................................................................................................... 114

Dimitrov-Tito-Rockefeller: The Old and The New Image of Communist Leadership .................... 115

“A Visit to Tito:” *Life’s* Celebrity Photojournalism and Myth of Candid Photography ................ 116

Beyond Candid Photography: Wilson Hicks on *Life’s* Version Of Photojournalism .................. 118

The Editors: Joseph Thorndike Jr. and Edward Kramer Thompson .............................................. 119

Framing the Subject: Immoral Dictatorship or Embattled Leadership? ....................................... 120

The Photo-Essay: The Verbal and the Visual .................................................................................... 120

It is in the Title: Tito-Dictator ........................................................................................................ 121

*Time* Looks at the Communists: Ordering the Perception of International News Around the Iron Curtain Paradigm .................................................................................................................. 121

‘Liberation’: U.S. Policy in Yugoslavia in 1948 ............................................................................. 122

The Choice of the Establishment Shot: Symbolizing Crisis .......................................................... 123

*Life’s Tradition: Apollo and Mountbatten* ................................................................................... 123


The Symbolic Sites of Power: From the Cave to the Villa ............................................................... 125

The Sculpture: “Borec” .................................................................................................................. 126

Socialist Realism in Yugoslavia: Art As A Token of Party Purity in 1948 ...................................... 127
Evoking the Heroic Image of Partisan Struggle - Defining The Value of Tito’s Leadership in the Context of the Cold War ................................................................. 129
Deconstructing the Communist Appearance: Symbolism of Body and Costume ...................................................... 130
The Marshal’s Plump Body: The Transformation .................................................. 130
The Costume: Marshal in Mufti, Communists in Disguise .................................................. 130
The Resonances Between the Editorial and the Commercial Contents in Life’s Story ................................................................. 132
In the Company of the Dictator: Strolling the Guarded Gardens .................................................. 133
The Ingraham Sentinel Company Ad .................................................. 133
The Dictator’s Vista and Life’s View of Tito’s Dictatorship in Yugoslavia ................................................................. 134
The “Autocrat” Watch and the Watchful Autocrat .................................................. 135
Playing With Words: Catch Phrases in The Ad as The News Headlines .................................................. 135

Struggling to Define Tito’s Image - Neither A Friend Nor An Enemy ................................................................. 136

Five  Tito’s Stardom in the West and Countering Soviet Propaganda in 1949 ................. 138

The Disease Metaphor and Titoism in The Cold War Rhetoric of The Crumbling of Communism ................................................................. 138
Life’s ‘Good Camera’ Returns to Yugoslavia ................................................................. 144
1949 Cover: Tito the Defiant .................................................................................. 145
Life’s “House Style”: Photographic Portraits of Roosevelt, Ike, Senators, Aspiring Politicians and Tito ................................................................. 145
The Gaze: Tito the Defiant .................................................................................. 147
The Good-Looking Chap: Tito’s Sex-Appeal and American Post-War Male Ideal ................................................................. 147
The Communist ‘Gatsby’ .................................................................................. 150
Tito the Glamorous .................................................................................. 151
Life Puts Dictator on a Pedestal: The 1949 Photo Essay Monumentalizing Tito ................................................................. 152
Evolution of U.S. Policy In Yugoslavia: Tito the Heretic ................................................................. 153
The Military Concerns .................................................................................. 153
Body Language: Tito the Victorious Commander and Imperial Examples ................................................................. 154
Architectural Staging: Vila Jadranka as the Brioni Citadel ................................................................. 155
“Yugoslav Fortress”: Tito on The Battlements of Europe ................................................................. 156
Western Economic Aid To Yugoslavia and Keeping Tito Afloat: “Everybody Works For The State” ................................................................. 157
The Dictator’s Holiday: From a War Hero to a Political Celebrity (or Warriors at Home) ................................................................. 161
Between the Hard and the Soft: Gendering Communist Politician in the Cold-War Photography ................................................................. 163
The Big Three: The ‘Soft’ Life of Tito .................................................................................. 164
The Noble Rider and the Broncobuster .................................................................................. 165
Playing Billiards: Americanizing Tito’s Public Image ................................................................. 168
Billiards and Gender: Game as a Political Metaphor .................................................................................. 169
Who is the Best Fisherman? .................................................................................. 170
Speed boating .................................................................................. 171
Fit for Leadership: Masculinity, Sports and Body-image of Modern Politicians ................................................................. 173
Tito the Dad: Fatherhood and Post-War Masculinity Ideal in the U.S. ................................................................. 174
Domesticating Communism: Life’s Representation of Tito at Home and Time’s Notion of Home-Style Communism as Symbols of Containment Strategy ................................................................. 176
The Don Juan or the Puritan: Negotiating The Public Image of Tito’s Private Life in U.S. and USSR Press ................................................................. 178
Tito as Celebrity: Media Attention as Deterrence Strategy ................................................................. 180

Six  Communist Paradise in the Shadow of The Bomb: Tito and Yugoslavia in Life in 1951 183

Coloring Communism .................................................................................. 183
Recuperating Tito’s Public Image: Yugoslav Comments and Reader Reactions ................................................................. 185
No Time to Play: “Private Life of Tito is Calm but Guarded” .................................................................................. 186
From the Battlefields to the Office .................................................................................. 188
Man and McAvoy .................................................................................. 189
The British Example .................................................................................. 189
Tito at Work: “Keeping Busy” The American Way .................................................................................. 191
Tito’s Costume .................................................................................. 191
The Yugoslav President as ‘Businessman’ .................................................................................. 192
Seven  Tito’s Memoirs in Life, The Book and The Movie..........................209

Tito Speaks: The Memoirs Idea Takes Shape in 1949........................................209
Phillips’ Negotiations With Life: Content and Style ........................................211
Phillips’ Negotiations in Yugoslavia and the Implications of the Soviet Threat ..........212
Fall of 1951: The Deal With Tito ............................................................................215
The Original Plan: Tito, Phillips and Couglen ................................................................215
Topics For The Memoirs ..........................................................................................216
Tito Changes the Rules of The Game: Dedijer’s New Role in The Memoirs ...............217
The Memoirs As Anti-Soviet Propaganda and Yugoslav Reaction ................................217
Coughlan’s Case: Yugoslavs Resist Life’s Editorial Presence ....................................218
The Contract ............................................................................................................219
Preparing North American Readers and Their Reactions to “Tito Speaks” ....................220

Tito Speaks, American Edition ..................................................................................222
American Readership, Style, and Politics .....................................................................225
The Completion of Tito Speaks and Competition ....................................................227
Promotion in the U.S. ..................................................................................................229
Publishing and Serialization .......................................................................................229

The Tito Movie ...........................................................................................................231


Karsh’s Books: Historical Record and Selective Vision .............................................237
Portraits of Greatness (1959): “A Proposed Book by Yousuf Karsh” .........................239
Choosing Subjects for Portraits of Greatness: The Preliminary “Knopf’s List” .............240
Tito’s Place in The Book, A Karsh Choice? ...............................................................241

1954: Karsh in Yugoslavia ..........................................................................................242
Karsh’s Questions for Tito: Searching For the Twentieth-Century Man of Destiny ..........244
Karsh’s Tito: Man of the People or Hollywood Actor ..............................................246

Facing Destiny: Iconography of Tito’s 1954 Portraits and Faces of Destiny Template .........................................................246
The Assertive Leader .................................................................................................247
The Thinker ..................................................................................................................249
The Stately Image of Tito ............................................................................................251
Aristocratic Look and Personal Authority ....................................................................253
Not Like The Russian ..................................................................................................254
The Visit to Brioni of July 1954 ..................................................................................255

The Gaze of Love: Karsh’s 1962 Photographs of Jovanka as Tito’s Personal Gifts and Pendant Portraits ....256

Mirroring Western Greatness: Selective View of Modern History and the Editing Tito Out Of the Karsh Books by UTP ........................................................................................................260
Political Context: Tito, A Russian Friend? ....................................................................261
The Editorial View ......................................................................................................261
Selective Vision: Political and Cultural Bias in Karsh’s Books ....................................263

Nine  Tito’s Official Photography...........................................................................267

1940s: TANJUG and Presidential Photography ......................................................267
Danilo Kabic: The President’s First Photographer? ................................................268
Bachelor’s Vacation: Jovan Ritopecki’s Photographs in Newsweek (1952) ............... 269
The Brozes in The Western Press in 1950s ...............................................................270
Grbic (1951-1963) .......................................................................................................271
The Review: Marshalling Yugoslavia Globally and Championing the President .......... 274
1962: “At Home With Tito”.......................................................................................275
A Romance ..................................................................................................................276
Fatherly Love: Images of Tito as Family Man and Father of the Nation .....................276
The Turning Point: Mirko Lovric in the Photographic Department .........................278
Working With the Foreign and Domestic Press: Stereotyping Tito .........................281
The Presidential Performance and Tito’s Official Photographers As ‘Privileged Observers’ 282
Tito in Review (1963-1969)......................................................................................283
1963 “Bound for Latin America:” The Diplomatic Globetrotter and The Family Man .... 284
Tito in Colour .............................................................................................................284
The Globetrotter ......................................................................................................284
Straightening the Iconography of Tito’s Leisure: Metalworking and Reading .......... 285
The Brozes at Home: Mestrovic, Domestic Harmony and Matrimonial Romance ....... 287
Tito the Domacin ......................................................................................................289
“Fishing Story”: Presidential Endorsement of the Yugoslav Tourism Industry .......... 290
1969 “Josip Broz Tito”: Depicting Tito’s Private Life .................................................291
Cover: Tito Working .................................................................................................291
Essay: Tito At Leisure ..............................................................................................291
Tito the Photographer ..............................................................................................292
Tito the Hunter ........................................................................................................294
The Later Years of Tito’s Family Life ......................................................................296
Representational Consistency As A Strategy of Tito’s Image Management ................. 297


Cutting the Deal With Tito ......................................................................................299
The Kennedys Example ..........................................................................................300
The Book Idea, and The Contracts With Review and Paris Match ...........................302
Matching the Paris Match? ......................................................................................303
The Gender Paradigm in Tito’s Private Life and Stereotypes in Review’s “Tito at Leisure” (1976) 305
The Lovebirds: Previewing Tito’s Private Life in Review 1977 ..................................307
Snapshot Aesthetics as Alternative to Formal Aesthetic ........................................308
Pacifying the Image of Tito the Hunter ..................................................................310
Tito the Gentleman ..................................................................................................310
The Brozes: Royal Family? Not Exactly .................................................................311

Presidential Image Management as Performative Narrative ....................................312

Bibliography .............................................................................................................314

List of Archival Sources ...........................................................................................333

Illustrations ................................................................................................................334
List of Illustrations

Figure 1: Tomislav Peternek, “Tito and Burton,” 1973.
Figure 2: “Tito and A Photographer,” May 1962. From the private collection of Stevan Kragujevic.
Figure 3: Above left, Time cover “Stalin and Country,” (Time, 20 Dec. 1939); above right, Time cover “Dictator of the Proletariat,” (Time, 27 Oct. 1941).
Figure 4: Above left, Time cover “Man of the Year,” (Time, 4 Jan. 1943); above right, Stalin’s cover in Life (Life, 29 Mar. 1941).
Figure 5: Time cover “Man of the Year,” by Ernst Hamlin Baker (Time, 1 Jan. 1940).
Figure 6: “Tito’s Partisans,” by Lambton Burn (Life 15, no. 23 [6 Dec. 1943]: 88-90).
Figure 7: Picture Post cover, “The Girl From The Mountains,” (Picture Post [7 Apr. 1945]).
Figure 8: Photo essay, “Tito’s Nine Hundred,” (Picture Post [7 Apr. 1945]: 11-13).
Figure 9: Photo essay, “Tito’s Nine Hundred,” (Picture Post [7 Apr. 1945]: 11-13).
Figure 10: Photo essay, “Tito’s Nine Hundred,” (Picture Post [7 Apr. 1945]: 11-13).
Figure 11: “Tito the Peasant Born Marshal of Yugoslavia,” by Stoyan Pribichevic, (Life 16, no. 7 [14 Feb. 1944]: 96-97).
Figure 12: Above left and right, “Tito - Milinste portraits,” by Zorz Skrigin, 1942, (Illustrations from Zorz Skrigin, War and Stage, pages 58 and 59).
Figure 13: “Tito and his dog at Mliniste,” by Zorz Skrigin, 1942, (Illustration from Zorz Skrigin, War and Stage, page 56).
Figure 14: “Tito (reading) - Milinste,” by Zorz Skrigin, 1942, (Illustrations from Zorz Skrigin, War and Stage, pages 59 and 63).
Figure 15: Above left, “Tito reading a topographical map;” and above right, “Tito and his secretary;” by Savo Orovic, 1942, (from Savo Orovic-ratne fotografije, no pagination).
Figure 16: Above left, “Pokret,” by Savo Orovic, May 1944; above right, “Sutjeska,” by Savo Orovic, Summer 1943, (from Savo Orovic-ratne fotografije, no pagination).
Figure 17: “Tito and the Actors of the Partisan Theatre,” by Zorz Skrigin, 1942, (Illustration from Zorz Skrigin, War and Stage, page 55).
Figure 18: Tito in Yank magazine, Summer 1944, (in Walter Bernstein, “Interview with Tito,” Yank [16 June 1944]: 8-9)
Figure 19: Above left and right, Tito on the Island of Vis, Summer 1944, (From the Ceca Stojanovic Fonds, Military Museum, Belgrade).
Figure 20: Above left and right, Tito on the Island of Vis, Summer 1944, (From the Ceca Stojanovic Fonds, Military Museum, Belgrade).
Figure 21: Above left and right, Tito on the Island of Vis, Summer 1944, (From the Ceca Stojanovic Fonds, Military Museum, Belgrade).

Figure 22: “Marshal Tito,” by John Phillips, (Life 16, no.17 [14 Aug. 1944]: 35).

Figure 23: “Tito and his dog,” by Zorz Skrigin, 1943 c., (Illustration from Zorz Skrigin, War and Stage).

Figure 24: Picture Post cover, “Tito Takes a Day Off,” by John Phillips, Summer 1944, (Picture Post [4 Nov. 1944]).

Figure 25: Above, “Tito in his office,” and below, “Tito plays chess with Arsa Jovanovic,” in photo essay “Marshal Tito,” by John Phillips, (Life 16, no.17 [14 Aug. 1944]: 36-37.)

Figure 26: U.S. commanders Admiral Leahy, General Marshal and General Arnold shown inside the Joint Chief of Staff HQ, (Photo essay, “War Staff Room,” Life 14, no.8 [22 Feb.1943]: 72-73).

Figure 27: Emir Abdullah playing chess (Photo essay, “Arab Ruler of Trans-Jordan is No. 1 British Pawn in the Middle East,” Life 11, no. 22 [1 Dec. 1941]: 67-70).

Figure 28: Bottom right, Brigadier General Ralph Royce and his senior staff officer playing cribbage during a lunch break, (in “Second Front ?,” Life 13, no. 4 [27 July, 1942]: 27).

Figure 29: “Tito Playing Chess,” by John Phillips, 1944 (Time and Life Pictures, 1944).

Figure 30: Above left, “Movement,” by John Phillips, 1944, (in “Marshal Tito,” Life 16, no.17 [14 Aug. 1944]: 38); above right, “Muster of Dalmatian Units,” by Zorz Skrigin, August 1944 (Illustration from Zorz Skrigin, War and Stage, page 275).

Figure 31: Yugoslav King Peter in London, 1942, (in “King Peter of Yugoslavia” Life [2 Mar. 1942]: 49-52).


Figure 33: “Marshal Tito: he stands at the intersection of two empires,” Time cover, no. 15 [9 Oct. 1944]).

Figure 34: “The Iron Curtain, Dresden,” by John Phillips, 1946, (Life 20, no. 17 [29 Apr. 1946]: 27-35).

Figure 35: Above left, Romanian King Mihai and his dog; above right, Romanian Orthodox Patriarch Nicoldim; below left, King in his spare time; Below center, Romanian leading Communist politicians; below right, Liberal Party leader Dino Bratianu; by John Phillips, 1946, (“The Iron Curtain,” Life 20, no. 17 [29 Apr. 1946]: 27-35).

Figure 36: Above left, the Ploesti Oil-fields in Romania; below left, “The Bear Cure;” below center, Monument to Ion Bratianu and Pagini Istorie Movie Poster; above right, The Sinaia Palace Casino; by John Phillips, 1946, (“The Iron Curtain,” Life 20, no. 17 [29 Apr. 1946]: 27-35).

Figure 37: Russian bear in the U.S. political cartoons by Clifford Kennedy Berryman. Above left, cartoon showing Uncle Sam and Russian bear (Washington Star, 1918); Above right, “Lets have peace now!,” (Washington Star [30 Sep. 1939]); below left, “I did not say you could keep it!,” (Washington Evening Star [20 June 1941]); and below right, Russian bear and Hitler
fighting in the shop window, *Washington Evening Star* [September 1941]). All images form the Collection of Cartoon Drawings in the Library of Congress.

Figure 38: “The Iron Curtain, Czechoslovakia” photos by John Phillip, 1946, *Life* 20, no. 17 [29 Apr. 1946]: 27- 35.


Figure 40: “Tito,” cover in *Time* by Ernst Hamlin Baker, *Time*, 16 Sep. 1946).

Figure 41: Georgi Dimitrov, by David Douglas Duncan, *Life* cover, *Life* 22, no. 19 [12 May 1947]).

Figure 42: “Bulgarian Communist Youth Brigade Marching,” by Douglas Duncan, *Life* 22, no. 19 [12 May 1947]).

Figure 43: “Marshal Tito,” by John Phillips, cover in *Life*, *Life* 25, no. 11 [13 Sep. 1948]).

Figure 44: Admiral King, cover and close-up in *Life*, *Life* 11, no. 21 [24 Nov. 1941]).

Figure 45: Above left, General George C. Kenny, cover in *Life*, *Life* 14, no. 10 [22 Mar. 1943]); above right, Admiral Sir Max Horton, cover in *Life*, *Life* 15, no.5. [2 Aug. 1943]).

Figure 46: Above left, Montgomery Clift, cover in *Life*, *Life* 25, no. 23 [6 Dec. 1948]); above right, Nelson Rockefeller, cover in *Life*, *Life* 12, no. 17 [27 Apr. 1942]).

Figure 47: “Tito,” cover in *Life*, by John Phillips, *Life* [21 April 1952]).

Figure 48: Tito in the courtyard of his Bled Villa, an opening shot in “A Visit to Tito,” by John Phillips, *Life* 25, no. 11 [13 Sep. 1948]).

Figure 49: Unpublished photographs of Tito at Bled, by John Phillips, 1948, (Time and Life Pictures, Getty).

Figure 50: Lord Mountbatten and Family, (In “ Lord Louis Mountbatten,” *Life* 13, no. 7 [17 Aug. 1942]).

Figure 51: “A Visit to Tito,” by John Phillips, *Life* 25, no. 11 [13 Sep. 1948]).

Figure 52: “Marshal Tito,” *Life* cover by John Phillips, *Life* 27, no. 11 [12 Sep. 1949]).

Figure 53: President Roosevelt, cover in *Life*, by Harris and Ewing, *Life* 2, no. 4 [4 Jan. 1937]).


Figure 57: Above left, “President Truman,” by Eugene W Smith, cover in *Life* (Life [22 Nov. 1948]); above right, “Mr. President Eisenhower,” cover in *Life* (Life 19, no.1, [17 April 1950]).
Figure 58: “Yugoslavia’s Tito,” Time cover by G.H. Baker based on Phillips’ portrait, (Time no.23 [6 Jun. 1955]).

Figure 59: Tito on the Island of Brioni, opening image in “Tito defies the Kremlin,” by John Phillips, (Life 27, no. 11 [12 Sep. 1949]: 41).

Figure 60: Tito on the Island of Brioni, original photo, by John Phillips, 1949, (Time & Life Pictures, Getty).

Figure 61: Yugoslav workers and army, by John Phillips, (Life 27, no. 11 [12 Sep. 1949]: 44-45).

Figure 62: “Everybody works for the state under the Tito Five Year Plan,” photos by John Phillips, (Life 27, no. 11 [12 Sep. 1949]: 46-47).

Figure 63: “General Marshal at Home,” (Life 16, no. 1 [3 Jan. 1944]: 47-50).

Figure 64: “General Marshal at Home,” (Life 16, no. 1 [3 Jan. 1944]: 47-50).


Figure 66: “Mussolini Riding,” by Felix Man, 1931.

Figure 67: “Truman Fishing,” by George Skadding, for Time, 1945, (Time & Life Pictures, Getty Images).

Figure 68: “Tito Motor-boating,” by John Phillips, 1949, (Time & Life Pictures, Getty Images).

Figure 69: Above left “Face of Tito,” and above right “Private Life of Tito is Calm but Guarded,” photos by John Phillips, 1951, (Life 30, no. 3. [15 Jan. 1951]: 70-71).

Figure 70: “Stalin,” cover in Time, (17 July 1950).

Figure 71: “Mussolini in His Office,” by Felix Man, 1931 (Munich Illustrated Press [1 Mar. 1931]).

Figure 72: “Tito in His Office,” by Karl Hutton for Picture Post, 1950, (Picture Post 49, no. 7 [18 Nov. 1950]: 14.)

Figure 73: Dedićer and Tito in Tito’s Belgrade office, by Bert Hardy, 1953, (“A Message From Tito,” Picture Post [21 Mar.1953]: 13).

Figure 74: Cover page of Yank magazine, (7 Sep. 1945).


Figure 77: “A Girl From the Railway,” photo by Toso Dabac, (in Batric Jovanovic, “Railways,” Yugoslavia, no.1 [Autumn, 1949]: 38-39.)

Figure 78: “A Montenegrin Girl From Cetinje,” by Toso Dabac, (Yugoslavia. Life and Art, no.6. [1952]: 9).
Figure 79: “Cooperative Worker, Jelica Stjikovska, Sowing in the “Cerveni Proleter” Peasant Working Cooperative in Kacarevo, Serbia,” (*Yugoslavia*, no. 1 [Fall 1949]).

Figure 80: Posters for the movie *The Cat People* directed by Jacques Tourneur, 1942.

Figure 81: Posters for the movie *The Curse of The Cat People*, 1944.


Figure 85: Adriatic coast panoramas (in Jure Kastelan, “Svjetlost Dalmacije,” *Yugoslavia*, no. 4 [Summer 1951]: 3-19).

Figure 86: Above left, “The Dubrovnik Beach,” by M. Grcevic; above right, “Children at the Sea I and II,” by T. Stanojevic; and “In the Sand,” by B. Cikota, (in Jure Kastelan, “Svjetlost Dalmacije,” *Yugoslavia*, no. 4 [Summer 1951]: 3-19)

Figure 87: “Putnik” ad (*Yugoslavia*, no.4. [Summer 1950]: np).

Figure 88: Above left, Serbian peasant and landscape, photos by John Phillips (in “U.S. Helps in Drought,” *Life* 30, no. 3 [15 Jan. 1951): 74).

Figure 89: “Tito,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1954, (Courtesy of NAC).

Figure 90: “Tito,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1954, (Courtesy of NAC).

Figures 91 (left) and 92 (right): “Tito,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1954, (Courtesy of NAC).

Figures 93 (left) and 94 (right): “Tito,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1954, (Courtesy of NAC).

Figure 95: “Tito,” by Yousuf Karsh, in *Paris Match* (16 May, 1980).

Figure 96: “Tito,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1954, (Courtesy of NAC).

Figures 97 (left) and 98 (right): “Tito,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1954, (Courtesy of NAC).

Figure 99: “Jovanka Broz,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1962, (Courtesy of NAC).

Figures 100 (left) and 101(right): “Jovanka Broz,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1962, (Courtesy of NAC).

Figures 102 (left) and 103(right): “Jovanka Broz,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1962, (Courtesy of NAC).

Figure 104: “President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito,” Image 04209/1 possibly by Danilo Kabic, (The TANJUG Archive, Film Number 9016, Catalogue Card Number NA).

Figure 105: Above left, Tito in uniform, possibly by Danilo Kabic; above right, Tito wearing a suite (contact copies 1 and 11), possibly by Kabic; and “Tito Reading in His Library (contact copies 6 and 7),” (From file “President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito.” The TANJUG Archive, Film Number 9016, Catalogue Card Number NA).
Figure 106: “Vacation: Marshal Tito on the Island of Brioni, May 1952,” by Jovan Ritopecki, (TANJUG Photo Archive, Film Number 04343).

Figure 107: “Political Life: Dr. Karl Gruber, Austrian Foreign Minister Visits Marshal Tito on the Island of Brioni, 25 May 1952,” by Jovan Ritopecki, (TANJUG Photo Archive, Film Number 04348).

Figure 108: “The Titos,” Picture Post cover by Bert Hardy, (Picture Post 58, no. 12 [21 Mar. 1953]).

Figure 109: “Tito and Jovanka Broz,” Bert Hardy, (Picture Post 58, no. 12 [21 Mar. 1953]).

Figure 110: Tito and Jovanka Broz, Paris Match cover, 1956, (Paris Match no. 370 [12 May 1956]).

Figure 111: The Broz couple, Image “17,” (“From the Private Life of President Tito-reproductions, TANJUG Photo Archive, Film Number 06979).

Figure 112: Above left, Tito and Family (image 1); above right, Tito and Jovanka Broz at the Fish Fountain (images 9 and 10), and Tito and Jovanka Broz With Parrots (image 8), by Dragutin Grbic, c. 1952, (“From the Private Life of President Tito (reproductions),” TANJUG Photo Archive, Film Number 06979).

Figure 113: Tito and Jovanka Broz, by Dragutin Grbic, c. 1952, (“From the Private Life of President Tito (reproductions),” TANJUG Photo Archive, Film Number 06979).

Figure 114: Tito on the cover of the first issue of Review 1, no. 1 (March 1961). Caption: “President Tito Seeking for Direct Contact.”

Figure 115: “Tito and Nkruman - A Warm Embrace,” (Review 1, no. 2 [April 1961]: 29).

Figure 116: “Tito and Nasser,” (Review 1, no. 3 [May 1961]: 31).

Figure 117: “Tito in Africa,” (Review 1, no. 3 [May 1961]: 33).

Figure 118: Above left, “Tito and Jovanka in the Garden,” by Grbic; above right, “At Home With Family,” “Tito and Pioneers,” and “The Brozes on a Fishing Trip;” c. 1962, (in “At Home With Tito,” Review 2, no. 5 [May 1962]: 8-9).

Figure 119: “Tito Plays Piano” and “Tito and Jovanka Broz in the Company of Their Grandchildren,” (“The Life of Marshal Tito,” TANJUG Photo Archive, Film Number 690).

Figure 120: Tito and the Yugoslav Navy Cadets, by Stevan Kragujevic, 1965, (Courtesy of Stevan Kragujevic).

Figure 121: Front cover of the April 1963 Review: Yugoslav Monthly Magazine with a color photograph of the Old Bridge in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Figure 122: “Tito in His Free Time,” cover in Review, 1963 (Review: Yugoslav Monthly Magazine [September 1963]).


Figure 126: “President Tito Working at His Desk,” cover in Review, by Aleksandar Stojanovic, (Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1969]).

Figure 127: “Tito Reading,” cover in Review, by Mirko Lovric, 1967 (Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1967]).

Figure 128: Tito serving drinks at his home, by Mirko Lovric, (“Josip Broz Tito,” Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1969]: 10).


Figure 132: Marshal Tito and Jovanka Broz, cover in Review, by Ivo Eterovic, (Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine [May 1974])

Figure 133: President George Pompidou and Claude Pompidou, Paris Match cover, (Paris Match, no. 1301 [13 Apr. 1974]).

Figure 134: President Tito and Jovanka Broz, Review cover, by Ivo Eterovic (Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1977]).

Figure 135: Above left, “Tito Reading,” and above right, “Tito Photographing Jovanka,” by Ivo Eterovic, (in Ivo Eterovic, “President Tito in His Leisure Hours,” Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1976]: 4-8).

Figure 136: Above left, “Brozes Hunting” and above right, “Tito Metalworking,” and “Tito Cruising,” by Ivo Eterovic, (in Ivo Eterovic, “President Tito in His Leisure Hours,” Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1976]: 4-8).


Figure 139: Above left, “Jovanka Sewing,” and “In the Office;” above center “At a Barber;” by Ivo Eterovic, (in Vladimir Kolar and Ivo Eterovic, “Tito’s Private Life,” Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1977]: 24-25.)


Figure 141: Above left to right, “In the Workshop,” “The Host,” and “The Broz Family,” by Ivo Eterovic, (in Vladimir Kolar and Ivo Eterovic, “Tito’s Private Life,” Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1977]: 28-29.)
List of Abbreviations

AAMM – Anglo-American Military Mission
ALO – American Liaison Officers
CO – Combined Operations
Cominform – Communist Information Bureau
CPY – Communist Party of Yugoslavia
IAMM – Independent American Military Mission
METO – Middle East Theatre of Operations
MO – Morale Operations branch of the OSS
MoI – Ministry of Information
NAC – National Archives of Canada, Ottawa
NARA – National Archives and Research Administration, Washington D.C.
NLA – National Liberation Army
NLW – National Liberation War
OSS – Office of Strategic Service
OWI – Office of War Information
PRO – U.S. Army Public Relations Office
PWB/AFHQ – Psychological Warfare Branch of the Allied Force Head Quarters
PWE – Psychological War Executive
PWE ME – Psychological War Executive Middle East
R&A – Research and Analysis Branch of the OSS
RAF – Royal Air Force
RG – Record Group
SBS – Special Bari Section
SFRY – Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SOE – Special Operations Executive
TANJUG – Telegraphic and News Agency of New Yugoslavia
UTP – University of Toronto Press
Introduction

“Tito Is The Name, Photography Is The Game.”

Celebrity

Taken by the Yugoslav photojournalist Tomislav Peternek during filming of a Yugoslav war movie *Sutjeska* in 1973, a black-and-white photograph shows Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980), then president of Socialist Yugoslavia, in the company of the leading actor Richard Burton, playing the role of Tito as Partisan leader of the National Liberation War in 1943 (fig. 1). A somber Burton is dressed in a partisan uniform and a hat, his styling echoing war photographs taken of Tito by Zorz Skrigin in 1942. Tito’s own appearance, with dark sunglasses and a white summer hat and suit, is paradigmatic of the glamorous look appropriate for a Hollywood movie star appearing in public. Capitalizing on the opportune moment, the photograph addresses the erosion of any distinction in the media between the ‘serious’ world of politics and the ‘fun’ world of the entertainment industry. It brings to the fore the fact that the politician and the actor equally share the spotlight in a modern culture obsessed with individuality and celebrity. They live in ‘the public eye’ as their personalities are constantly mediated and constituted by the prolific gaze of the camera.

Transposing Walter Benjamin’s discussion of the effects of mass media and mechanical reproduction of images on the aura of the art objects, Stuart Ewen accounts for the role of media visibility in making celebrity from the “unknowns.” Ewen notes, “in their ability to magnify, and

---

to create near universal recognition, the mass media are able to invest the everyday lives of formerly everyday people with a magical sense of value, a secularized imprint of the sacred.”

While the camera confers the celebrity status and reinforces the celebrity aura by making them a preferred subject of photographic representation, at the same time it bridges the spatial and emotional separation or distance between celebrity and us in the constant proliferation of their images. According to Ewen, the celebrity addresses the common dream to rise above the masses; “In a society where everyday life was increasingly defined by feelings of insignificance and institutions of standardization, the ‘star’ provided an accessible icon to the significance of the personal and the individual.” The implication is that the celebrity photography functions as a fulcrum of intimate fantasy and projection on the part of the viewer. The same can be said of the royalty and modern leaders, who exploit the power of photography to mediate their leadership.

The scene is set in Paris of the 1850s, at the time of the public craze for collecting cartes-de-visite, the small and relatively cheap photographic portraits of contemporary dancers, politicians, writers, actors, and heads of state. Disderi’s cartes of the French monarch Napoleon III (whom he photographed in 1854), Mayall’s cartes of Queen Victoria and her family published in three sets between 1860 and 1863, and Mathew Brady’s famous 1860 photograph of Abraham Lincoln taken at the beginning of his presidential campaign, are relevant examples. The iconography of the cartes spanned both official portraits and images depicting ‘intimate’ moments and ‘private’ selves of the famous and powerful sitters, such as Mayall’s photographs of Queen Victoria in the company of her daughter and the prince or the image of Lincoln and his son. These images render a ‘universal/human’ content in political photography, and set an example followed by modern statesmen and politicians worldwide who hire celebrity and fashion.

---

6 Ewen, 92-93.
photographers and willingly submit their private life to the scrutiny of the camera.\textsuperscript{7} This is an attempt to control their public image and answer to the pressure of the “contemporary entertainment-political complex” where the politician’s persona “should be the embodiment of not only the political histories, issues, interests, and communities, but also of the ingredients of celebrity culture.”\textsuperscript{8}

Understanding the demand for an ongoing personalization of politics in the popular culture, and manipulating it, is central to the construction of modern leadership and its reception. The building and negotiating of Tito’s public image in its global dimension during the Cold War is a case in point. As a communist guerilla leader in occupied Yugoslavia, he was called “the mystery man of the Balkans,” in the 1943 \textit{New York Times}.\textsuperscript{9} Emerging from obscurity and gaining media visibility following the Teheran Conference in the fall of 1943, Tito became a war hero in the U.S. and a political icon of anti-Stalinism in the 1950s. His inclusion in the 1959 \textit{International Celebrity Register} among other famous names -- those “who once made by the news, now make news by themselves”--\textsuperscript{10} further registered his celebrity status from the Western perspective at the time. Tito got there by embracing photography as a readymade vehicle of self-promotion at the expense of the traditional visual media, such as painting or sculpture. During the war, Tito had the Partisan photographers Zorz Skrigin and Savo Orovic in his entourage. He co-operated with the established international press photographers who sought him as their subject, including John Phillips, Bert Hardy, Karl Hutton, David Steen, and Yousuf Karsh.

\textsuperscript{7} Photographic representation continues to have a major impact on the ways in which we perceive people in public offices and relate to the source of institutional and personal power they embody. Yet, there are very few academic studies demonstrating this, with the exception of David M. Lubin’s \textit{Shooting Kennedy: JFK and the Culture of Images} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); and Nicholas Mizroeff’s essay “Diana’s Death: Gender, Photography and the Inauguration of Global Visual Culture,” in \textit{An Introduction to Visual Culture} (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 231-254.
\textsuperscript{8} Leisbeth van Zoonen, \textit{Entertaining the Citizen. When Politics and Popular Culture Converge} (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 72.
Likewise Tito’s attitude towards his official Yugoslav photographers, Dragutin Grbic, Mirko Lovric and Ivo Eterovic was friendly. Hence, the snappy title of the Life article quoted above, “Tito is the name, photography is the game,” renders Tito’s strategic ability to sustain publicity, performing like “an actor a relevant ‘persona,’ a self as revealed to others” in front of their cameras (fig. 2).\(^{11}\)

**Tito’s Photography**

This dissertation examines the representational and ideological aspects of the public image of Josip Broz Tito, the communist leader of Socialist Yugoslavia and one of the major historical personalities of the twentieth century. In particular, I account for the construction and justification of Tito as a western ally during World War Two and the Cold War, as communicated in the idiom of Western photojournalism and celebrity photography, as well as the style of official presidential photography in Yugoslavia. The underlying theoretical question pertaining to my engagement with Tito’s photography addresses the power of photographic images to structure and configure our knowledge of the past. Issuing from Roland Barthes’s analysis of the structural “paradox” of photographic images “as the coexistence of two messages,” where “the connoted (or coded message) develops on the basis of a message without a code” (referring to a denotation of photography), the debate on the production of photographic meaning centers on the nature of photographic print as an analogue, or a trace, of the external referent.\(^{12}\) Also related to Barthes’s account, theory of photography warns us against the seeming transparency and the associated rhetoric of truth of the photographic image. Linda Hutcheon points out, “like writing, photography is as much a transformation as recording; representation is

---

\(^{11}\) Liesbeth van Zoonen, 72. Walter Benjamin also writes about the impact of radio and film on the public presentation of modern politicians in note 12 of his essay “Work of Art in The Age of Mechanical Reproduction.” Benjamin notes a change in the politician’s performance and his relation to audience. In the place of the live audience gathered in the parliament, the modern politician performs his ‘role’ for the camera, in a manner similar to that of the film actor. See, Walter Benjamin, 247.

always alteration, be it in language or in images, and it always has its politics.”

At stake here is the social dimension of photographic images, their changing meaning, and their changing audiences.

**Method Issues**

How we account for this changing meaning of Tito’s photographic images, is a broad question that pertains to the methodology of art history. In this thesis, I integrate new archival research with the existing scholarship in the U.S. and British propaganda during World War Two, history and popular culture of the Cold War, art history, history and theory of photography, in particular photojournalism, and examples from the broader field of visual and popular culture, as well as conducting interviews with Tito’s official photographers and photojournalists to pursue the institutional framework for the production and distribution of Tito’s photographic image. That is, I reconstruct and interpret the historical, political, cultural, ideological, and representational aspects of Tito’s public image and its changing iconography between 1943 and 1980 in a multidisciplinary manner.

The point made by Georges Didi-Huberman in *Confronting Images* on the dangers of assumed closure of interpretation and the tone of certainty cultivated by the tradition of iconographic and contextual approach in art history is relevant. The historian’s claim to knowledge of the ‘specific’ meaning of artworks, derived from the patient reconstruction of their context is under question. It is perpetually frustrated by the fact that the world of these (art)objects has also “passed” and “crumbled,” and now exists only in the past to which the (art)historian’s gaze, like that of a “Sherloc Holmes who has arrived at the scene much too late to investigate,” addresses only from the position of the present. Conscious of the gap of time

---

between themselves and the world/objects of their study, art historians, such as Erwin Panofsky and Michael Baxandall, “marry” the past “in imagination” in order to “comprehend” their subject “completely,” but their project is by default incomplete as “everything past is definitively anachronistic: it exists or subsists only through the figures that we make of it; so it exists only in the operations of a ‘reminiscing present’.”

Thus their knowledge of the past is exposed rather as an intricate edifice of historical writing, re-constructing and re-presenting a narrative of a possible past. The gift of a historian is not in the authority of his absolute knowledge of the past, but in his skill to make the elusive subject of past vivid and felt, giving it a meaning in the present. “The historian is, in every sense of the word, only the fictor, which is to say the modeler, the artisan, the author, the inventor of whichever past he offers us.”

Likewise, my dissertation as it stands is only one of many possible narratives of Tito’s leadership and photography, and I make no claims to having answered all questions that can transpire from the scholarly engagement with this subject. As Didi-Huberman further notes in discussing the art historical method grounded in the categories of the past: “the past itself can screen out the past.”

This observation circumscribes my topic and research. Tito’s biography and history of Yugoslavia have been subjects of the institutional screening in the past, embodied in the official historiographies of Socialist Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Communist Party, as well as in their opposite, the anti-Yugoslav and anti-Tito screen of the official discourse of nationalism in the former Yugoslavia. Navigating between these two screens of the institutionalized past framing my view of Tito’s photography, I further evoke the screen of my memories of a personal past as a child of a mixed, middle-class Serbian and Croatian parentage, growing up in the Socialist Yugoslavia and raised in the spirit of secular multiculturalism and

---

16 Ibid, 38.
17 Ibid, 2.
18 Ibid, 41.
Yugoslavism. This is the terrain of Yugonostalgia, the creative and constructive screen of my interpretation, to which I return later.

**Magazines and Books**

While the dissertation is organized in chronological chapters, the question of what happens to and with Tito’s images in the various stages of their production, distribution, and reception underpins the approach to the vast collection of material presented and analyzed. The thesis establishes the institutional framework and the international and domestic agents of Tito’s image-building. Reflecting on Benedict Anderson’s thesis in *Imagined Communities* on the power of “print-capitalism” to shape modern nations by creating as sense of common purpose in otherwise disparate and heterogeneous groups of people, and conversely to render their ‘others’, my semiotic analysis of Tito’s political photography is selectively anchored in those photo-essays in magazines and the books, that were the major vehicles of distribution of Tito’s public image in the West.\(^1\) I examine photographic representation of Tito and Yugoslavia as a communist ally in the Western mainstream commercial illustrated magazines, including Henry Luce’s *Life*, issued weekly between 1936 and 1972,\(^2\) and the sister-publication *Time*; the British *Picture Post*, issued weekly between 1938 and 1957; and the French *Paris Match* (1949- ). These magazines were the leaders in the twentieth-century industry of illustrated press, with high circulation and pass-around rates and status as popular collectibles, engaging thus a large and varied audience over a prolonged period of time, as opposed to newspapers. Among the mentioned magazines, *Life’s* ambition was to command global audiences. It was operated in the North-American context from its “vast” Time Inc. bureau in the U.S. and Canada, and reached to the world from its “even vaster” Time-Life International.\(^3\) In contrast to *Life*, *Picture Post* was a


\(^2\) Restarted in 1978 as a monthly magazine, *Life* was published until 2000.

British weekly, and the *Paris Match* international edition started possibly in the late 1970s. These material conditions of news collection, production, and distribution in *Life* and *Time* Inc. justify my focus on the role of *Life* in pro-Tito propaganda, originating in the U.S., but representing the Western press in the larger international context.

Accounting for Tito’s international ascendance after Teheran Conference in 1943, I refer to the coverage of the Yugoslav Partisan War in the U.S. Office of War Information (OWI) illustrated propaganda magazines, *Victory* and the *US*, and the U.S. Army magazine *Yank*. These magazines targeted the civilian population of occupied Europe and the Pacific, and the Allied army and their allies including Tito’s partisans, establishing an official view of the U.S. war effort. Acting on the OWI Magazine Bureau directive in October 1943 on the depiction of Yugoslavia as “people who refuse to be beaten,” *Victory* and *Yank*, alongside *Life*, *Time*, and *Picture Post*, supported the official discourse and dissemination of Tito’s wartime image as a heroic leader of the Partisan resistance. These war stories established ideological and representational tradition in western journalism that was later recalled by *Life* to justify Tito as an ally in the Cold War U.S.. I also refer to related news photography or short news items on Tito and Yugoslavia from the German *Signal*, *Harper’s Bazaar*, *Newsweek*, *New York Times*, *Economist*, and the *Soviet Literary Gazette*, to clarify the context. These serve as comparative visual material in further situating my analysis of *Life* photographic images, their iconography, themes, and possible meanings.

Pursuing the construction of Tito’s image in *Life*, I focus on the individual contribution of the magazine photographer John Phillips, while also acknowledging the position of authority of *Life* editors, Daniel Longwel, Joseph Thorndike Jr. and Edward Kramer Thompson in authoring the magazine stories on Tito, Yugoslavia, and Eastern Europe. The tension between the point of view of the photographer and the editor is also discussed in my account of the executive role of
Marsh Jeanerret, the Director of the University of Toronto Press, overseeing the publication of Yousuf Karsh’s photo books.

Seeking the dialogue between the Western and Yugoslav perspective in negotiation of Tito’s public image through photography, I examine the Yugoslav government magazines: Yugoslavia, edited by the Serbian art historian Oto-Bihalj Merin between 1949-1958; Yugoslav Review, published by the Yugoslav Information Center in New York between 1949 and 1978; and Review: Yugoslav Monthly Magazine published by Turisticka stampa in Belgrade between 1961 and 1979. The photographs of Tito published in these magazines were taken by the Yugoslav photographers employed in the Photographic Department of the Presidential Office. I compare their iconography of Tito and Yugoslavia with Life’s to determine points of common aesthetic and visual rhetoric, while also highlighting the Yugoslav interpolation of socialist references to Tito’s overtly westernized public image. I also account for the representation of Tito’s private life and romance with Jovanka Broz, in the 1977 book “Their Days” by Tito’s private photographer Ivo Eterovic.

**Iconography, Stereotypes and Viewer**

A detailed visual analysis of the iconography of Tito’s photographs is pursued in relation to other relevant examples in modern portrait photography, photojournalism, and European painting, thereby situating Tito’s example in the tradition of Western political image making, but also in relation to local traditions. I approach various works in the portrait tradition, both painterly and photographic, as culturally coded visual texts.22 Coined by Roland Barthes in relation to the production of meaning in literary works, text “is seen in not as an ‘object’ but rather as a ‘space’ between the object and the reader/viewer – a space made up of endlessly

---

proliferating meanings which have no stable points of origin, nor closure."23 Similarly, paintings and photographs (while existing as separate objects made by individual agents in specific circumstances) also constitute a repository of available visual references. These can be quoted, emulated, deconstructed and engaged with by artists, public, critics, and scholars in numerous ways and in differing cultural or social situations, structuring our perception of Tito’s leadership and personality. Tito’s public image as a renegade revolutionary and a luxe celebrity at once, thus, becomes a focal point around which various narratives are constructed by the viewer/reader.

These narratives are related to the culturally specific perceptions about gender, race, class and ethnicity, shaping the meaning of Tito’s photography. In this regard, I establish that various popular U.S. stereotypes of masculinity and individual success, for example that of a heroic warrior, of the 1950’s male movie stars and the American businessman, the myth of a self-made man, and the post-war ideal of the ordinary family man, were grafted onto Tito’s image in Western photojournalism, and later by Tito’s official photographers in the 1960s and until his death. These stereotypes emerge in my study as being the main conceptual tools facilitating public engagement with, and justification of, Tito’s leadership abroad. Linked to the Western policy of containment, particularly in the United States, and the official and popular Cold War discourse of anti-Communism, Tito’s official image as an anti-Stalinist heretic, facilitated anti-Soviet propaganda, addressing the U.S. and British public, the Soviet leadership, and Eastern European countries under Soviet control, while also serving his and Yugoslavia’s promotional needs in the critical period between 1948 and 1953, and later.

Part One, “Tito in War Photography,” accounts for the initial steps made in constructing Tito’s image as a war leader in photographs by the Partisans as well as by accredited Western photo-journalists in the period following the Tehran conference ratification of the Allied commitment to Tito in November 1943. Chapter One, “Allied War Propaganda in Yugoslavia – Finding Friends,” considers political, historical, and ideological dimensions as well as sorting through the major players of the so-called Bari project. It takes into account the combined U.S.-British effort to introduce Allied propaganda (including illustrated magazines, films, and radio broadcasts) into Yugoslavia. Projecting future national interests, the U.S. officials in Bari idealistically conceived this project as “a golden opportunity to cement the friendship and mutual understanding between us and the Yugoslav people.”

The chapter is based on documents from the RG 226 Office of Strategic Service (OSS) in the U.S. National Archives and Research Administration (NARA) collection. What emerges from this research is a realization that the Yugoslav officials in Bari capitalized on the well-disposed Allied presence there, making lasting personal contact with Western journalists, such as John Phillips and Stojan Pribichevich, and immediately engaging the international community with nascent Partisan propaganda. The main objective was to bring down the censorship blockade in Yugoslavia and to profile Tito in the Western press. Indirectly, this goal was facilitated by the Office of War Information (OWI) Domestic Magazine Branch, which instructed the U.S. press, through the Monthly Magazine War Guide and the Magazine Guide Supplement (September and October 1943), to render allied nations, including Yugoslavia, as exemplars of anti-fascist resistance. This institutional framework is established in Chapter Two, “Tito and Partisans in The Allied Press 1943-1945: The Gaze of the ‘Good Camera.’” In this chapter I discuss the heroic rendering of Yugoslav Partisans, especially Yugoslav female fighters, in the U.S. and British photo-journalism in 1943-1944, and Life’s 1944 seminal photo-story on Tito the allied commander.

24 Madison to Fiestere, 23 March 1944, RG 226, Box 80, NARA.
The creation, function, and reception of Tito’s public image during the early Cold War (1946-1953) are examined in Part Two: “Tito’s Political Stardom: Leadership, Photography, and Cold War.” Following a period of negative reception in 1945-1946, the major U.S. and British magazines, *Life*, *Time*, and *Picture Post*, rehabilitated Tito as a war hero and ally, and rendered him a communist celebrity and a tool of American anti-communist propaganda simultaneously. Chapter Three, “Life Behind the Iron Curtain: Seeing Eastern Europe in Cold-War Terms,” examines the aesthetic and ideological aspects of the magazine’s official “look of communism” as created by the editors in their photo-stories on the Soviet satellite countries and their leaders in 1946-1947. This chapter provides a necessary backdrop to understanding the propaganda aspect of *Life’s* counter-image of Tito “the good communist,” which presented Yugoslavia as a communist paradise and tourist haven. This image was gradually created in the climate of mounting antagonism between the Western allies and the USSR. Chapter Four, “Tito in *Life* in 1948: Figuring the Split,” accounts for the initially ambivalent iconography of Tito as neither enemy nor friend, while it also notes the importance of Tito’s ascent to promotional media attention in the same year that he was defamed by the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), and that Yugoslavia was abruptly expelled from the brotherhood of communist states. Chapter Five, “Tito’s Stardom in the West and Countering of Soviet Propaganda,” and Chapter Six, “Communist Paradise in the Shadow of The Bomb: Tito and Yugoslavia in *Life* in 1951,” unpack *Life’s* visual rhetoric of ‘domestication’ and ‘starification’ of Tito and Yugoslavia. Special attention is given to the grafting of popular Western stereotypes of leadership, family, leisure, and Hollywood ideals of masculinity, onto his popular image as the communist heretic in Phillip’s photographs of Tito, which were moulded to the expectations of the U.S. audience. Next, *Life’s* 1949 and 1951 empowering representation of the Yugoslav landscape and people is rendered as a visual metaphor of Titoism as ‘convalescent’ communism, attached to the U.S. policy of supporting Tito. Finally, I pursue *Life’s* use of colour photography
as a tool of political marketing of Yugoslavia, engaging the register of desire in the U.S. viewers. I assert that in the context of escalated Soviet attacks, the U.S. media attention and Tito’s celebrity status in the West were a form of deterrence strategy.

In Chapter Seven, “Tito’s Memoirs in Life, The Book and The Movie,” a solidification of Tito’s public cult in the West is examined by reconstructing the political, commercial, and reception issues pertinent to the publishing of Tito’s memoirs in Life in 1952 and the book Tito Speaks published by Barnes and Nobles in February 1953. Testifying to the vision of John Phillips and Tito’s biographer, Vladimir Dedijer, who had teamed up in these projects, the chapter ends with a brief discussion of a Tito movie. The movie was discussed in 1952-1953 between Phillips, Dedijer, and the American director and producer Louis De Rochemont. Existing only on paper, this project is relevant as it underscores the peculiar willingness of Tito’s propaganda apparatus to engage Western audience and ‘outsource’ filmic representation of Tito’s political role into the hands of the supportive U.S. professionals. This trend set already in Tito’s war photography, it speaks to the essential role of cross-cultural contacts and contexts for developing and understating of Tito’s publicity. The attention of the major players in the Western media world was lasting, and it involved Tito’s engagements with the Canadian celebrity photographer Yousuf Karsh, as discussed in Chapter Eight, “A Canadian Interlude: Yousuf Karsh and Tito in 1954 and 1962.” This chapter demonstrates that Tito’s image-building in the Cold-War West is best understood in terms of an ongoing strategic negotiation of his role as an independent communist leader, a process that sometimes resulted in a public relations ‘failure’, as when the decision was made by the University of Toronto Press not to include Tito’s images in Karsh’s books Portraits of Greatness (1959) and Faces of Our Time (1971). This overrode the photographer’s own enthusiasm, evident not only in his flattering photographs, but also in his letters and related documents in the Karsh Fonds in the National Archives of Canada (NAC). My account of Karsh’s assignments with Tito reintegrates his celebrity photography
within the original institutional context of international affairs, implicitly questioning Karsh’s status as the sole author.

Despite the disappointing experiences with the De Rochemont’s movie and Karsh’s books, Yugoslavs gained many valuable insights into Western-style political and celebrity image management. How they utilized these lessons is the subject of Part Three: “Presidential Photography in Socialist Yugoslavia 1945-1980.” While the practical role of the cult of Tito in the American press during the Cold War was to render him and Yugoslavia as examples for the satellite countries, and to enlist popular support for U.S. policy, the iconography created in this context contributed to the genesis of presidential photography in Yugoslavia. If, in the 1940s, Tito’s domestic cult was an aspect of Agitprop culture, in the 1950s his public image was modernized in domestic photography by appropriating the rhetoric and formal devices of Western celebrity and glamour photography.\footnote{25} In particular, John Phillips’ photographs, and \textit{Life}’s rendering of Tito’s private life, as well as Karsh’s sleek images, provided a model for Yugoslav photographers. They established a set of key presidential stereotypes, to which could be added a socialist inflection in order to ‘rectify’ any overtly Western idiom. In the period between 1960 and 1980, their photographs were bearers of the conventional narrative of Tito’s presidency in Yugoslav magazines and books. In the process, the Yugoslav public relations returned and disarmed the gaze of the Western media demanding representations of private lives.

\footnote{25 After 1945 Tito’s personal authority, championed by the CPY, grew in Yugoslavia. Between 1945 and 1948, his personality cult co-existed with other official party cults celebrating Stalin as the leader of international communism and the USSR as a friendly socialist nation. Displayed on banners and posters in public spaces, Tito’s larger than life iconic official portraits in uniform were common props of the regime’s revolutionary festivities and parades, fostering Yugoslav unity and communist power. Todic has analyzed socialist spectacles in Yugoslavia and the role of photography in creating the sense of the all-encompassing nature of these events, but she does not address the theme of presidential representation. See: Milanka Todic, \textit{Fotografija i propaganda 1945-1953} (Photography and Propaganda 1945-1953) (Banjaluka: Knjizevna zadruga, 2005). For photography of the period see: Goran Malic, \textit{Pojava socijalistickog realizma u srpskoj fotografiji, njegovo trajanje i nastanak 1948-1956} (The Phenomenon of Socialist Realism in Serbian Photography, Origins and History 1948-1956), a paper presented at the symposium, Socialist Realism in Serbian Fine and Decorative Arts, Architecture, and Design, held at the Museum of Decorative Arts in Belgrade between the 25 and 26 October, 2006; the text of the paper is available at \url{www.beotel.yu/~fotogram/stranica/GM_bibliography}.}
of public personalities, evidenced in the examples of the Kennedys in the 1960s or the Pompidous in 1970s Paris Match.

“And After Tito, Tito:” The Circulation of Tito’s Photography After 1980

I end my discussion of Tito’s photography in 1980, the year of his death, but the issues around the role of photographic images and their circulation in the official and popular narratives of Tito’s leadership have resonated in the following years. The laws passed in 1977 and 1984 by the Federal Assembly regulated the appropriate usage of Tito’s name and image in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). The laws state that Tito’s name and image cannot be used in a manner detrimental to Tito’s “reputation and dignity;” impose a ban on their use as a corporate seal, logo, and model, and in advertisement; while allowing for their “free” appropriation in art and for educational purposes, on the condition that these practices do not contradict “socialist moral norms” nor undermine Tito’s legacy.26 At issue here is the propaganda dimension of Tito’s image (and his personality clout) as a symbol of Yugoslav unity in the late 1980s in the climate of rising ethnic nationalism. Thus, photographs amassed in various institutional archives during Tito’s lifetime, from Life and Time Inc. archives, to the TANJUG archive, and the Tito Archive were re-used posthumously in the themed photographic monographs and exhibitions celebrating Tito’s political career from the official point of view. The same federal laws of 1977 and 1984 prescribing the modes and content of the circulation of Tito’s image, including photography, effectively erased the possibility of a critical and creative engagement with Tito’s legacy in the visual arts, advertisement, and popular culture of Socialist Yugoslavia until the dissolution of the country in 1991. The installation piece Anatomy Lesson

26 Zakon o upotrebi grba, zastave i himne Socijalisticki Federativen Republike Jugoslavije i o upotrebi lika i imena Predsjednika Republike Josipa Broza Tita [The law about the use of the coat of arms and national anthem of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and of the name and image of the President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito]; and Zakon o upotrebi imena i lika Josipa Broza Tita [The law about the use of the name and image of Josip Broz Tito], in Sluzbeni list Socijalisticke Federativen Republike Jugoslavije, no. 21 (22 April 1977): 777- 781; no. 51 (28 September 1984): 1179-1181.
(1999) consisting of the fragments of Tito’s dismantled public sculpture rescued from a city dump by the Belgrade artist Dragan Srdić, and a documentary movie by Zelimir Zilnik, Tito Among the Serbs For the Second Time (1995), appropriated the Yugoslav state iconography and probed the public memory of Tito’s leadership. These works can be considered in the light of scholarship on the counter-narratives in visual arts and the cultural memory in post-communist Eastern Europe, and more specifically, on the phenomenon of Yugonostalgia centering around the personal and collective accounts and memories of the common past and lived lives in the Socialist Yugoslavia.

**Yugonostalgia**

“Yugonostalgia” cuts across the forms of traditional arts and literature, film, popular culture and music, and communications media in the six former Yugoslav republics. It extends into the public arena, involving various collective manifestations of attachment to Tito’s legacy, and into cyberspace, involving online projects such as “Tito’s Home Page,” and YouTube blogs and videos collaged from the Partisan movies scenes, Yugoslav TV programs, pop music, and Tito speeches. Drawing on Svetlana Boym’s Future of Nostalgia, Nicole Linstorm distinguishes two forms of Yugonostalgia. The restorative Yugonostalgia is “an

---


29 For example, the preservation of Tito’s home in the Old Village of Kumrovec Etnographic Museum provided an institutional framework for sustaining a public memory of Tito in Croatia in the 1990s, even as the idea of ‘Tito’s Yugoslavia’ was negated in the surge of official Croatian nationalism. The example of the Bosnian capital Sarajevo, where the city’s main street is still called “Titova Ulica,” the Tito Street, is peculiar case of a public display of Yugonostalgia. When the city officials proposed to rename the street after Alija Izetbegovic in the spring of 2004, in a gesture simultaneously reflecting the rejection of the common Yugoslav past and commemorating the late Bosnian leader, the citizens wrote disagreeing petitions and took it to the streets, carrying Tito’s images and protesting the idea.

30 Tito’s Home Page has a stable URL. [http://www.titoville.com](http://www.titoville.com).
expression of reconstructive longing for an essential Yugoslav past,” taking as its subjects the “fantasies” of multiculturalism of the Yugoslav state, the ideology of brotherhood and unity, the nation’s international renown, and Tito’s charismatic leadership. 31 If these interests and feelings are not by any account universally shared by all individuals who at one point lived in the Socialist Yugoslavia, many “ex-Yugoslavs” now living in Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and Macedonia, view their present state(s) and identity in the light of ‘Tito’s Yugoslavia.’ 32 The Yugoslav past and community evoked in the nostalgic discourse are perpetually perfected and idealized. David Lowenthal notes, “nostalgia is memory with the pain removed […], less memory of what actually was than of what was once thought possible.” 33 The reflexive Yugonostalgia “is self-consciously ambivalent and critical, recognizing the always elusive, inconclusive, and fragmentary nature of memories and fantasise of the Yugoslav past.” 34 Both forms of Yugonostalgia are valuable as they challenge the “symbolic geography of disunity that has dominated political discourse in former Yugoslavia for the last two decades,” 35 therefore helping indirectly regional integration and establishing paths of cultural communication and rapprochement between the nations hostile during the Yugoslav Wars of 1991-1995. 36

My work is related to the phenomenon of Yugonostalgia, both of its forms tangled. Engaging the photographic ruins of Yugoslav past and Tito’s leadership dispersed in various publications and archives after the country’s demise, I recuperate the subject of Yugoslav official

34 Lindstorm, 239.
35 Lindstrom, 233.
36 Andreas Huyssen writes about the importance of engaging cultural memory and “reading the traces of the past” for our understating and accepting of personal and national differences, and for defining present and imagining the future. See: Andreas Huyssen, Twilight Memories. Making Time in a Culture of Amnesia (New York: Routledge, 1995).
and popular culture from the oblivion imposed by the nationalistic discourses in the former Yugoslavia. But, I write about this culture from a critical perspective, thematizing the photographic construction of Tito’s leadership and the effects of his public image on the viewers. It is however true that my critical look at photographs of Tito is underscored by the unspoken sense of longing for the lost country of Yugoslavia, married to a recollecting of self-affirming memories of a time in was - that time of a luminous childhood and peace. The memories of that past transform my critical gaze posed with respect to Tito photography, converting my subject into a nostalgic look at Yugoslavia as a country of childhood. This imparts an undeniably personal dimension to my scrutiny.

**The Studium and the Punctum of Tito’s Photography**

This co-presence of the critical and personal modes of looking at and writing about photography is recognized by Roland Barthes as inherent to the medium’s address to the viewer. In *Camera Lucida*, Barthes distinguishes between the ‘studium’ and the ‘punctum’ of photography.³⁷ The studium is the socially coded meaning of photography. To write the studium of photography is to situate photography as the signifying practice, to account for its “common ground of meaning - whether it concerns the emotional, the practical, [or] the historical” knowledge.³⁸ The production of this thesis can be described as pursuing of the studium of Tito’s photography in the narrative of its ideological, cultural, and social dimensions and meaning.

Barthes describes the punctum as the power of photographs to “animate” the viewer, imparting an uncalculated effect – something felt rather than understood. “It is this element which rises from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces me […] this wound.”³⁹ The ‘wound’ of punctum is related to the dimension of time as inscribed in photographs and

experienced by the viewer.\textsuperscript{40} While photographs give temporary solace by arresting the passage of time, they also exacerbate the sense of melancholy and loss, as they are the “trace[s] of irrecoverable past” to which we have no access, but in memory and through reminiscence.\textsuperscript{41} Thus the punctum summons the private and unexpected meanings attached to the photographic image by the viewers, registering in the realms of memory, desire, and personal narrative. My punctum of Tito’s photography resides in the ‘death’ of Yugoslavia in 1991-1995, opening up the open sore of Yugonostalgia.

Although my dissertation is circumscribed by related feeling of a loss of the country that was once called home by the generation of “Happy (Yugoslav) Children,”\textsuperscript{42} I do not wish to rehabilitate Tito’s personality cult in any way. Rather I examine Tito’s photography as a vehicle of popular myth-making, a notion defined by Barthes as “giving an historical intention a natural justification, and making contingency appear eternal [so that] in it things lose memory that they were once made.”\textsuperscript{43} The meandering paths of interpretation in this study, direct us through and engage with the fields of social and political history, art history, cultural studies, and photographic history, and offer a preliminary model for further scholarship in the fabrication and management of political and cultural icons in modern history. This is its general value. It is my hope, on a more personal level, that this study will provoke new questions and stimulate studies and conversations about popular and official culture in Socialist Yugoslavia, facilitating understanding of Yugoslav history, culture, and identity.

\textsuperscript{40} On punctum as “Time,” see: Ibid, 94-97.
\textsuperscript{42} The “Happy Child” is a title of a book by Croatian journalist on Yugoslav rock music and popular culture of the 1970s and 1980s, experienced today as one of the surviving common identity denominators for the generation of ex-Yugoslavs. See: Igor Mirkovic, \textit{Sretno Dijete} [Happy Child] (Zagreb: Faktura, 2004).
Part I: Tito in War Photography
One  Allied War Propaganda in Yugoslavia – Finding Friends

The Initial Steps

Held under the code name “EUREKA” from 28 November to 2 December 1943, the Teheran Conference between Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin and their diplomatic and military advisors represented a major crossroads in the history of World War Two. Meeting for the first time since the outbreak of the war, the Allied leaders agreed to coordinate their military actions against Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia, laying out a plan for a full-scale offensive against the Axis powers in 1944. There, Churchill and Roosevelt announced plans for Allied landings in France in May 1944, and, coinciding with them, Stalin agreed to unleash a major offensive against Germany. Stalin also promised to enter into war with Japan once Germany was defeated in Europe.

For the jubilant western media, including Life, the opening of the Second Front in Europe with the invasion of Normandy in the summer of 1944 was long awaited, and the Teheran Conference answered, folding “the three great forces of Russia, Britain, and America into one great fist,” destined to deal the last blow to the Axis and win the war. Thus, the magazine’s coverage of the conference was extensive, including the full text of the Teheran Declaration signed on 1 December 1943 by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin; the chummy photos of the three taken at Churchill’s birthday party in the British embassy; and an editorial more generally celebrating world peace and unity. Most importantly, the military alliance forged there amongst the U.S., Great Britain and Russia at Teheran, Life optimistically remarked, changed “the nature of the war overnight from a communist or a New Deal or Empire war into something above and

---

beyond them all, into a war to give the peoples of the world free lives untouched by tyranny." On a micro scale, the Teheran Conference was a turning point in the Allied strategy and policy in Yugoslavia.

**Allied Strategy in the Balkans 1943 and the Role of SOE and OSS in Yugoslavia**

In the context of the preparations for the operation “Overload”, the Allied invasion of France in June 1944, Anglo-American strategy in the Balkans intended to disrupt German access to the Ploesti Oilfields in Rumania, its main supplier, and to cut off its communication lines with Greece that stretched across occupied Yugoslavia. The success of these plans depended now on securing the co-operation of the various guerrillas and resistance groups in Yugoslavia. This task was assigned to the Allied intelligence and special operations missions planted inside Yugoslavia by the Special Operations Executive (SOE), a British secret intelligence and commando organization, and by the Office of Strategic Service (OSS), its American counterpart.

Designed to “co-ordinate all actions by way of subversion and sabotage against the enemy overseas,” SOE penetrated local resistance groups in occupied Europe, supplying them with materials and arms, with an eye on their usefulness to the Allied war effort. A large regional SOE headquarters in Cairo was responsible for all SOE special operations and liaison officers in the Middle East Theatre of Operations (METO), gradually becoming preoccupied with the missions it had sent to the Balkan Guerrilla groups, including those in Yugoslavia. As early as September 1941, SOE dispatched Captain Duane Hudson to occupied Yugoslavia, establishing a British presence there. He contacted both, Colonel Draza Mihajlovic, the leader of the royalist Četnik guerrilla in Serbia and the appointed Minister of War for the Yugoslav government-in-exile in London, and his bitter rival, Josip Broz Tito, a communist leader of the Partisan units there.

As the Balkans was traditionally considered within the British sphere of influence, the presence of the OSS in Yugoslavia had to be negotiated with the SOE officials, in two separate agreements signed by the OSS director William Donavan in June 1942 and July 1943. The OSS agents entered Yugoslavia for the first time in August 1943, but they were attached to the existing SOE missions with Tito and Mihajlovic, as the London arrangement between SOE and OSS gave the upper hand to the British. Considered initially a junior partner to SOE, the OSS asserted its independence from the British by setting up the Independent American Military Mission (IAMM) with Tito under Col. Ellery Huntington in August 1944. Together, the SOE and OSS played a major role in gathering and providing their governments with intelligence information from Yugoslavia, contributing significantly to the formation of Anglo-American policy during war.

**British Policy in Yugoslavia pre- and post- Teheran**

Initially, the British official policy in Yugoslavia in 1941 and 1942 was to support Col. Mihajlovic and his Četnik guerrilla in Serbia. By the summer of 1943, however, Churchill was seeking to establish closer ties with Tito and the Partisans instead, acting upon a growing number of reports filed in by the SOE and OSS intelligence officers in Yugoslavia which questioned the

---

49 The Office of Strategic Service, an American intelligence organization, was established by the Presidential Military Order of June 13 1942. Under the directorate of General William J. Donavan, the OSS was in charge of “the collection, analysis, and dissemination of information bearing on national security,” (IEP 832) and it was also entrusted with a task of “plan(ning) and operat(ing ) such special services” in all theatres of war under the command of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). The HQ of the OSS were in Washington DC, but the organization had its offices and missions established in all major war theatres overseas where it worked in close co-operation with and was made subordinate to the commanding military authorities. The OSS was organizationally structured into four intelligence branches, including the Secret Intelligence (SI), Counter-Intelligence (X-2), the Foreign nationalities Branch (FN), and a Research and Analysis Branch (R&A). Its two operational branches were the Special Operations Branch (SO) and the Morale Operations Branch (MO).


conduct of Mihajlovic’s units and their actual contribution to the Allied cause. Thus, Captain William Deakin, an intelligence officer for the Yugoslav desk of SOE Cairo, who had been a literary secretary to Churchill before the war, was parachuted into Yugoslavia on 28 May 1943 as a member of the “TYPICAL” mission, arriving to Tito’s HQ in the midst of a fierce German offensive against the Partisans in Montenegro. Shortly afterwards, Churchill upgraded the British representation to Tito, sending Brigadier Fitzroy Maclean to Yugoslavia on 17 September 1943 as his personal representative and commander of the now official British Military Mission attached to Tito’s HQ. Deakin and Maclean’s opinions and reports were instrumental in the shaping of the British pro-Partisan policy in Yugoslavia. Both men were personal friends of Churchill, and he valued their advice. In their reports made available to Churchill prior to the Teheran conference (and in their conversations with him in Cairo after the conference), Deakin and Maclean confirmed that Tito’s personal determination and the courage and fighting power of his Partisan army were second to none, clearly superior to Mihajlovic and his forces in Serbia. Deakin, who later became one of the foremost authorities on the history of the Partisan movement in Yugoslavia, believed that Maclean’s arrival at Tito headquarters marked a “de facto recognition of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army as a military force fulfilling a significant role in South-East Europe.”

The full reversal of the British policy was made official in November 1943 at the Teheran conference, Churchill dropping Mihailovic and offering instead British military support solely to Tito and the Partisans in Yugoslavia, a proposition that Roosevelt and Stalin supported (but with

---


some reservations on the U.S. side). This was a crucial decision, having a major effect on the conduct of Allied war and propaganda in the region. Most importantly, Tito was propelled to prominence in the international political circles and, in the long run, Teheran gave impetus to his rise to power in post-war Yugoslavia.

**Allied Propaganda in Yugoslavia: Structure and Agents**

Following Teheran, Allied propaganda activities in Yugoslavia intensified. The administrative organization of the U.S. and British propaganda during the war was divided along the jurisdictional lines between the agencies in charge of ‘white propaganda’ and those in charge of ‘black propaganda’, sometimes also called psychological warfare or subversive propaganda. ‘White propaganda’ or ‘open’ propaganda originated from an acknowledged source, often an official information agency created by the government such as the Office of War Information (OWI) in the U.S. and the Ministry of Information (MoI) in Britain, targeting in principle the domestic and foreign civilian population. ‘Black propaganda’, on the contrary, originated from an undisclosed source or a source disowned by the country’s government. Its main objective was to support Allied military operations only, by misinforming the enemy troops and their supporters in occupied Europe. The favourite methods of black propaganda were specially...

---

54 The Americans bowed to the British lead in Yugoslavia in 1943, but the U.S. leadership and the OSS executives were nevertheless antagonized by the growing prospect of the Allied intervention on Tito’s side in the civil war against Mihajlovic. For this reason the U.S. policy in 1944 was built around an impossible paradox of sticking alongside the British and giving Tito military support, all the while entertaining a belief that somehow it would be possible for them to maintain neutrality in the matters of complicated Balkan politics.

55 For the British, this was not only a military but also a political decision. Protecting their own interests in Yugoslavia and the region, the British sided with Tito whom they saw not only as a more effective military ally during the war but also as the stronger contender for power in the post-war Yugoslavia. Stafford, 167.

56 While there exists no ultimate definition of the term propaganda, an entry from the *International Encyclopaedia of Propaganda* mirrors the versatile and all-encompassing nature of Allied war propaganda conceived as “systematic attempt to influence opinion on a wide scale . . . a form of communication that seeks to promote or discourage attitudes as a means of advancing or injuring an organization, an individual, or a cause.” It was planned, seeking “calculated effects,” addressing masses and “special audiences,” deploying mass media and other tools in shaping “mass opinion” on matters of war and peace. *International Encyclopaedia of Propaganda*, 606.
designed leaflets, broadsheets, rumours, and black radio broadcasts. During the war, Allied subversive warfare was handled jointly by the Morale Operations (MO) branch of the OSS, created in early January 1943, and by the Psychological War Executive (PWE), the British secret service created in September 1941.57

A straightforward distinction between ‘white’ and ‘black’ propaganda, its audiences, tools, and effects, however, must be recognized as essentially artificial, since Allies used both forms simultaneously to influence the civilian populations and German forces in the occupied Europe. Allied propaganda in Yugoslavia, in particular, is a true example of the heterogeneous, multifaceted and unpredictable nature of the battle for opinions raging during World War II. It was handled by the various, and often competing, British and U.S. intelligence and propaganda agencies, including the British SOE and PWE, and the American OSS and OWI, managed in their joint effort by the Psychological Warfare Branch of the Allied Force Head Quarters (PWB/AFHQ).58 These agencies shared personnel, resources, information and means of communication, orchestrating their presence in Yugoslavia from their large regional headquarters in Cairo. Preparing for the Allied invasion of France in 1944, General Eisenhower was instructed in October 1943 by the Combined Chief of Staff to “give maximum possible assistance” to the Balkan guerrillas.59 The new directives for the region necessitated a major reorganization inside the OSS and SOE Cairo as well, and the commanding centers of their

57 Garnet, xiii.
58 General Eisenhower established the Anglo-American Psychological Warfare Branch of the Allied Forces Headquarters (PWB/AFHQ) in October 1942, in the eve of the Allied invasion of North Africa, in order to coordinate the propaganda activities of the OWI, OSS, PWE, and the British and American Army and Navy Intelligence services. The PWB also continued to function as co-ordinating body for the psychological warfare in the Mediterranean Theatre of Operation during the Allied campaigns in Sicily and Italy. It seems, however, that the conduct of the Psychological Warfare and Allied overseas propaganda remained for the duration of the war de facto in the hands of the individual propaganda and intelligence agencies which maintained a considerable degree of organizational independence but were subject to a military approval in their assigned theatres of war.
59 Stafford, 119.
operations for Yugoslavia were accordingly moved to Bari, the coastal city in Italian Adriatic, following the surrender of Italy in September 1943.

Under the supervision of OSS Cairo, the Special Bari Section (SBS) was created in the fall of 1943, and put in charge of intelligence, special operations and morale operations in Yugoslavia. The SOE Cairo opened its advanced headquarters in Bari, so-called Force 133, in October 1943, in charge of special operations and liaison officers attached to the Balkan guerrilla groups in Albania, Greece, Italy, and Yugoslavia. And, the PWE Cairo dispatched its sub-mission to Bari in December 1943, handling political warfare in the Balkans from the new base.

**The Initiators: Maclean, Randolph Churchill, and Lin Farish.**

In the wake of the Teheran Conference, Allied propaganda activities in Yugoslavia were initiated by the highest-ranking officers in the Anglo-American Military Mission (AAMM) attached to Tito’s HQ: Fitzroy Maclean, the commanding officer of the AAMM; Major Randolph S. Churchill and Major Lin Farish. Fitzroy Maclean made a direct request to Randolph Churchill to arrange for his various Missions to receive regularly propaganda material so that partisans could be kept up to date with the war effort of “the United Nations and in particular of that of Great Britain and the United States.”

Clearly, for Maclean, it was necessary and appropriate to use the personnel in the AAMM missions in Yugoslavia not only for the usual intelligence and special operations tasks, but also as a conduit for the Allied propaganda targeting the Partisans.

Acting upon Maclean’s orders, Randolph Churchill arranged for the first shipment of Allied propaganda material, including photographs, magazines and literature, to be sent from Bari to all existing Allied sub-missions in Yugoslavia by 14 January 1944. A symbol of the

---

60 Major R.S. Churchill, 14 January 1944, RG 226, Entry 144, Box 80, NARA.

61 Projecting regular shipments of propaganda material to all British sub-missions in Yugoslavia, Churchill advised them to contact Mrs. Tamplin, of the Adv. HQ. Force 133 in Bari, with further requests detailing the quantities and type of the desired propaganda material, weather photographs or magazines.
British Prime Minister’s goodwill towards Tito, on 20 January 1944 Randolph Churchill joined Maclean’s Mission. His responsibility was propaganda issues relating to the British presence in Tito’s HQ. At this time, however, Randolph Churchill did not have any official ties with the British PWE, a fact resented by the PWE personnel in Cairo officially in charge of British subversive propaganda during the war. Although PWE delivered on Churchill’s requests from his January 1944 letter, the Director general of PWE installed Major Lord Birkenhead as the official PWE representative to Maclean’s mission soon after.

Next to Maclean and Randolph Churchill, Major Lin Farish, the highest-ranking American member of the AAMM to Tito and an OSS intelligence officer with a background in foreign relations, was instrumental in the set-up of the Allied propaganda inside the Partisan HQ. In general, the Americans were supportive of the recent British initiative, of which Farish, Major Robert Koch, Commanding Officer of the SBS, and Lt. Col. Paul West, Chief Operations Officer of the OSS Cairo, learned previously at a meeting with Randolph Churchill in Bari. But, in January 1944, Farish was writing to the two men seeking American immediate engagement with Yugoslav propaganda, something he obviously held very important after witnessing the British organizational expediency in Bari and Cairo. The very first British packs for Yugoslavia, Farish reported, contained photographs of the Cairo and Teheran conferences. It was Randolph Churchill’s idea to prepare themed photo-exhibits in Allied HQ, encouraging the partisans to

Mrs. Tamplin, on her part, kept in touch with Lt. Col. William Deakin, SOE Cairo, whose task was to ensure the steady supply of OWI and MiO propaganda material. Ibid.

63 Garnett, 325.
64 Garnett, 325-326.
65 Major Lin Farish was added to MacLean’s mission in September 1943. Farish shared Maclean’s profound fascination with Tito and the Partisans, and his first report from Yugoslavia, written on 9 November 1943, was instrumental in convincing Roosevelt and State Department in the overall usefulness of supporting Tito in Yugoslavia. General information on Farish is from Ford.
66 Farish to West and Koch, 14 January 1944, RG 226. Entry 144, Box 80.
arrange similar displays in their HQ with remaining extra copies of available photographs.\textsuperscript{67} These photos were largely “United Nations in character . . . showing all personalities concerned quite impartially;” but the literature sent into Yugoslavia, on the contrary, was predominantly about the \textit{British} war effort, covering such topics as the battle of Britain, various CO (Combined Operations) and RAF operations.\textsuperscript{68} In Farish’s opinion, it was necessary to diversify the Yugoslav reading material in the future, properly reflecting on the American participation in the Allied war effort and the war in the East.

Finally, with some concern, Farish also wrote to West that the British were already broadcasting News Bulletins to Yugoslavia from Bari, jumpstarting the Americans who were only in the planning stages for a similar News Service for the Balkans.\textsuperscript{69} Churchill’s letter to his submissions on 11 January 1944 confirmed this.\textsuperscript{70} Staffed with highly trained PWE ME officials and having access to stockpiles of the British propaganda material amassed in Cairo in the early 1943, the PWE ME submission in Bari had its first Balkan broadcast produced by 16 December from the Bari studio.\textsuperscript{71} While the British already had both their receivers and operators in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{67} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{68} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{69} Ames, the Chief of the OSS-MO Cairo, sent a “most secret memo” to Major Farish informing him that the OSS Cairo was proposing to establish the ‘black’ News Service for the Balkan countries, intended for the editors of the underground papers there who were to be contacted by the MO agents and offered a service. The news containing Allied “bulletins and summaries, and condensations of important speeches” of the Allied leaders and government officials were to be written in the local language. Ames was projecting translations in Serbo-Croatian and was also contemplating the idea of sending “any special news tailored especially for General Tito” in case Farish approved. Ames to Farish, 28 December 1943, RG, 226, Entry 144, Box 80.
\item \textsuperscript{70} Major R.S. Churchill, 14 January 1944, RG 226, Entry 144, Box 80.
\item \textsuperscript{71} Producing broadcasts of news bulletins and ‘selling’ them to the resistance press in conquered Europe was one of the key strategies of the psychological war against Germany deployed by the PWE, PWB, and OSS-MO branch during World War Two. Many experts, including Garnett, O’ Donnell, and Winkler considered it the most effective way of keeping the population of Europe in occupied areas abreast the most recent developments and successes of the Allied war effort. The American PWB captured the radio transmitter and a printing press at Bari when the Allies took over the city in October 1943. Most of the radio propaganda for the Balkan region in late 1943 and 1944 was prepared and transmitted from the Bari studio. Until the end of 1943, the American PWB, Algiers, and the PWE, Cairo, shared the Bari facilities, including the transmitter and the printing-press. A comprehensive history of the Allied Radio Bari and the scholarly analysis of its contribution to the Allied psychological war operations in the Balkans are yet to be written. The best account of Radio Bari so far is one by David Garnett. Garnett, 161-162, and 322-323.
\end{itemize}
Yugoslavia, readily picking up the Bari Broadcasts, for the American side to establish a similar set-up in the country Farish thought “was very difficult, if not impossible at least for some time.”\textsuperscript{72} For these practical reasons, he rejected Ames’s idea of the independent American News Bulletin to Yugoslavia, instructing instead MO Cairo to supply American news of relevance to the British in Bari, and pressuring the content of the News Bulletins be “truly Anglo-American” in character.\textsuperscript{73}

The Radio Bari exemplifies a set trend: the strong presence and superior organization of the SOE and PWE in Bari made the city a hub of British intelligence, giving them the upper hand in the Allied psychological warfare in Yugoslavia and Tito’s HQ in late 1943 and early 1944. Although Colonel John Toumlin, the newly appointed Director of the OSS Cairo, was hoping to open “a new market” for OSS intelligence and operational activities in the Balkans, sending an MO man to Tito’s headquarters in order to carry out subversive propaganda inside Yugoslavia, the British in Bari took a lead in getting the printed matter into Yugoslavia as well.\textsuperscript{74}

\textbf{Louis Madison: Sense of Urgency}

This was a matter of concern to Louis E. Madison, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Lieutenant in the U.S. Army Quartermaster Corps (QMC), and Research and Analysis (R&A) OSS officer, witnessing the scope and techniques of the British propaganda executed from the PWE sub-mission in Bari. According to his letter to the MO and R&A sections of the OSS Cairo, of 1 February 1944, Force

\textsuperscript{72} Farish to West, 14 January 1944, RG 226, Entry 144, Box 80.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{74} In December 1943, a plan to “sell an MO man or mission to Tito” was approved by Col. J.E. Toulmin, Director of the OSS for Mediterranean. He instructed Major Farish, American liaison officer in AAMM to Tito’s HQ, to do all he could to make this mission a successful one, stating that the goal of the OSS-MO in Yugoslavia was “supporting the military operations and prosecuting the war against the common enemy in every way other than physical.” Insisting that the only work OSS-MO had to do in Yugoslavia was fighting the common enemy, Toumlin expressly stated “OSS-MO cannot work against other factions in Yugoslavia with whom USA is not at war.” Rather, the goal of MO mission to Yugoslavia was demoralizing the German forces and garrisons in the Yugoslavia, and the projected tasks of the MO agent were to “create terror, friction and demoralization among the enemy military personnel and among their collaborators.” His tools were classic of the PW, including dissemination of “rumours, black radio broadcasts, underground newspapers, poison pen letters, pamphlets, photos, etc.” J.E. Toumlin to Farish, 20 December 1943, RG 226, Entry 144, Box 80.
133 started disseminating weekly packets of propaganda material containing copies of the British military magazine *Parade* and photos of Tito to all American Liaison Officers (ALO) in Yugoslavia.\(^\text{75}\)

Edited by Lieutenant-Colonel Harold Ruston, previously Cairo correspondent of the *Morning Post*, and Arthur W. Parsons, subsequently New York correspondent of the *Sunday Dispatch*, *Parade* was published in Cairo, between 17 August 1940 and 28 February 1948, in English, Polish, Greek, Turkish and Arabic. Generously illustrated in black and white photography with a catchy cover page, entertaining and informative, *Parade* was modeled on the *Picture Post*, a popular British illustrated magazines of the 1930’s. It was sold or distributed to the British forces and domestic population in the Mediterranean and the Middle East countries where the British had established military presence.\(^\text{76}\) With wide circulation and multi-language editions, *Parade* was a potent carrier of Allied propaganda in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.\(^\text{77}\) It is quite probable the Cairo English edition of *Parade* made its way into the hands of the Partisans in Yugoslavia, passed on by Allied officers there. As to what photographs of Tito they received from the PWE, it is hard to tell at the moment, although we know that the British correspondents and photographers were present at Tito’s headquarters in Jajce, in November 1943.

In a follow up letter to Paul West, Madison wrote: “I consider this a matter of importance for our own PW people to consider—but quickly. The British are getting all sorts of

\(^\text{75}\) Madison to OSS Officer, 1 February 1944, RG 226, Entry 144, Box 80.

\(^\text{76}\) A tradition of publishing newspapers and magazines for the British forces was established in the Great War. The Mobile Printing sections of The Army Printing and Stationary services issued a number of army magazines during World War Two, including such famous titles as *The War Illustrated*, *Union Jack*, *Crusader*, *Blighty*, and *Parade*. See: Dr. G. M. Bayliss, *Union Jack. A Scrapbook. British Forces’ Newspapers 1939-1954* (London: The Imperial War Museum, 1989).

\(^\text{77}\) The magazine was regularly sold in the countries of the region, including Egypt, Cyrenaica, Cyprus, Eritrea, Iraq, Iran, Italy, Lebanon, Malta, Palestine, Sicily, Sudan, Syria, Transjordan, Tripolitania, and Turkey. Ibid.
stuff into the Balkans but we are not.” 78 Thus, he alerted the OWI and OSS Cairo, and asked Ben Ames, MO Cairo, to establish a steady supply of American material acquired from OWI in Washington to the SBS base. 79 His urgent tone echoes that of Lin Farish, both men manifestly concerned with the apparent imbalance between the British and U.S. involvement in what was supposed to be the Allied propaganda in Yugoslavia in early 1944. 80 According to Madison the British side was interested in receiving variety of American items for the weekly ALO packs: “We are at liberty to add any item of our own—such as leaflets, copies of Life or any other magazine clippings—and they will be glad to include them in the packet.” 81

The Bari Project

Acting upon the requests made to them by Lin Farish, Louis E. Madison and the British PWE mission in Bari at the beginning of 1944, the MO Cairo took charge, putting in place the organizational structure necessary to facilitate U.S. contribution to the Allied propaganda in Yugoslavia. 82 A progress report sent on 7 March 1944 by Ben Ames, the Acting Chief of the MO Cairo, to Paul West, indicates that the MO Cairo was now busy with stockpiling and supplying of U.S. propaganda material, including magazines, to the PWE operations already running from Bari. 83 But, with an eye on further independent MO projects for Yugoslavia, MO Cairo was working on a “Bari Project,” the establishing and staffing of the permanent MO office in the city

78 Madison to Paul West, 3 February 1944, RG 226, Entry 144, Box 80.
79 In the same letter, Madison also advised that each item in the PWE packet go to Washington regularly “for their edification.” Ibid.
80 Farish to West, 14 January 1944. RG 226. Entry 144. Box 80.
81 Madison to West, 3 February 1944. RG 226. Entry 144. Box 80.
82 Archival sources for the history of MO operations in Yugoslavia and for MO’s participation in the Allied propaganda in Yugoslavia in 1943 and 1944 are found in the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) Maryland, Record Group 226, entry 144, boxes 78, 80, and 81 containing documents from the OSS-MO Section, Field Station in Cairo. The date scope of the documents included is: Box 78, Mar 24, 1944 – May 22, 1944; Box 80, Dec 20, 1943 – April 11, 1944 Box 81, Mar 7, 1944-July 15th, 1944.
83 In February 1944, John Fistere, MO officer in Cairo, requested from Capt. Charles Holt “15 copies of Yank, TIME, and the War Map,” to be sent to MO Cairo on a weekly basis. Holt to Fistere, 10 February 1944, RG 226, Box 80.
due to open in April 1944.\textsuperscript{84} Organizationally under the authority of MO Cairo, MO Bari was responsible for all activities in Yugoslavia, including spreading of rumours and leaflets with the help of the Partisan officers returning there from Italy, cooperating on the PWE projects, and establishing a black radio broadcasts for the Balkans under Major Charles Vanda.\textsuperscript{85} In the interim period, between February 1944 and the opening of the MO Bari, MO Cairo was in charge.

**Partnership: OWI and OSS in Yugoslavia**

The U.S. war propaganda amounted to a comprehensive effort prepared in collaboration between the MO Cairo and the Office of War Information (OWI), setting the old rivalries aside. The OWI was funded by the American president Roosevelt, by an Executive Order, with the mandate to:

> formulate and carry out, through the use of press, radio, motion picture, and other facilities, information programs designed to facilitate the development and understanding, at home and abroad, of the status and progress of war effort and of the war policies, activities, and aims of the Government.\textsuperscript{86}

It was organized in two divisions; the Domestic Branch headed by Elmer Davis, the agency’s Director appointed by the President, with headquarters in Washington D.C.; and the Overseas Branch, in charge of U.S. foreign war propaganda. Based in a more cosmopolitan New York, the main office of the Overseas Branch was staffed with a liberally minded group of broadcasters, journalists, artists, and writers lead by the playwright Robert Sherwood, who had been Roosevelt’s close personal friend and speechwriter during the campaign of 1940.\textsuperscript{87}

\textsuperscript{84} Ben Ames to West, Chief of Operations, OSS, Cairo, “MO projects-Current and contemplated,” 7 March, 1944, RG 226, Box 81-A1, Folder 825.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{86} NARA, RG 208, copy of the Executive order 9182 dated 13 July 1942.
\textsuperscript{87} Allan M Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda. The Office of Information 1942-1945* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978). OWI opened up a number of overseas outposts, including its London office, in 1942, under the directorship of Wallace Carroll. Following the reorganizations of OWI that took place in the late 1943, Wallace became the deputy director of OWI with his main responsibility being the propaganda to Europe.
Initially, the jurisdiction over the area of subversive propaganda overseas was left unclear between the OSS and OWI, prompting an aggressive competition between Donovan and Sherwood. To improve the organization of “Psychological Warfare” and to prevent further obstruction due to the inter-agency struggles, the presidential act of 13 June 1943 defined domestic and overseas ‘white propaganda’ as the provenance of the OWI, and the OSS became responsible for ‘black propaganda’ handled by its MO branch. Furthermore, both agencies were placed under the command of military authorities in their respective theatres of operation, synchronizing their activities overseas.

Traditional rivalries checked, but felt nevertheless, the MO and OWI officers worked together in Cairo and Bari, mindful of their common task. For example, Ben Ames wrote to Harold Queen, OWI Cairo, for approval in 1944:

> We realize that distribution of such material is clearly within the province of OWI and not OSS. We can turn these books over to you for distribution, but it is probable that we have channels for actually introducing them into Yugoslav territory, so unless you have objections we shall undertake to do so.\(^88\)

A pattern was emerging: OWI Cairo supplied the books, magazines, movies, and other material for the Yugoslav market; and the MO Cairo and its agents operating inside Yugoslavia, within Tito’s headquarters, and in Bari were in charge of distribution. As early as 7 February 1944, John Fistere, MO official in Cairo, asked Mr. Paul Radin of the OWI for his assistance in “cabling the necessary people in U.S. in order to obtain the release of 2, 3, or 4 feature films for immediate use to entertain the Yugoslav Partisan soldiers and their families.”\(^89\) Fistere believed that showing American feature films to the estimated audience of about two million men, women and children living inside the liberated territories in Yugoslavia was “an important contribution

\(^{88}\) Ames to Harold Queen, 11 April 1944, NARA, RG 266, Box 80, File 822.

\(^{89}\) Fistere to Radin, 7 February 1944, RG 226, Box 80. At the present time, we do not know with certainty which American movies were shown in Yugoslavia.
to the morale of those harassed people."\textsuperscript{90} And, in early March 1944, MO Cairo, with the help of OWI and PWE, was “sending copies of Time, Yank, USA, Victory, Readers Digests, and specially prepared Y-S posters into Partisan HQ.”\textsuperscript{91}

**Partnership: The Americans and the Partisans in Bari**

The OSS personnel of the MO and R&A, and the Yugoslav Section of the Secret Intelligence (SI) branch in Bari, established close ties with the representatives of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army (NLA) in Bari,\textsuperscript{92} creating a partnership necessary to streamline and maximize the effects of the Allied subversive propaganda operations targeting German forces inside Yugoslavia. For example, on 24 March 1944, the joint meeting between the representatives of the OSS, PWB and PWE was held in Bari where setting up a liaison with Tito’s propaganda men and plans for a joint Partisan-Allied leaflet operations inside Yugoslavia in preparation for the D-day were discussed.\textsuperscript{93} Despite of the obvious importance of closer ties with Tito’s men, some critics were wary of the partisan influence in Bari. Their strong presence was especially felt inside the Yugoslav Section (Y-S) of SI branch of SBS during the appointment of Major Francis Arnoldy as a chief of the Yugoslav Desk between December 1943 and July 1944.\textsuperscript{94} Arnoldy regularly recruited partisans from Italian camps for the service in OSS.

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{91} Ames to West, 7 March 1944. RG 226.
\textsuperscript{92} The Yugoslav NLA established its base in Bari in early 1944 and the Agit-prop Department of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia run a printing press in Bari in the summer of 1944.
\textsuperscript{93} The preparation of the propaganda material and planning of the operations was entrusted to MO-OSS and PWE men in Bari, while the Force 266, staffed with both SOE and OSS officers in Bari, was assigned to the project as a “distributing agent” in charge of turning the material over to various partisan HQ. According to the plan, the OSS-MO and PWE Bari developed together the “policy and concrete ideas for the black operations aimed at the enemy.” Tito’s representative in the Partisan office in Bari would approve the PW material for Yugoslavia, making sure the existing partisan “PW organizations” distribute the Allied black material inside Yugoslavia in a most effective manner. SBS-Bari Memorandum, 24 March 1944, RG 226.
\textsuperscript{94} Arnoldy’s bias towards the Yugoslav communists would eventually be a reason for his removal from the post in Bari in July 1944.
cementing the SBS reputation of harbouring pro-communist views to the extent that it was dubbed “Little Kremlin” by OSS personal with less-friendly attitude towards Tito.  

Furthermore, some of the best OSS officers in Yugoslavia and in the MTO were the veteran members of the famous Abraham Lincoln Brigade, sponsored by the American Communist Party to fight on the side of the Republican Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939); Their common experience and communist associations before the war made them favour Tito’s movement.  

An especially strong pro-leftist current existed inside the R&A and MO branches of the OSS. With headquarters operating in Washington D.C. under the leadership of William Langer, a Harvard Historian, R&A was staffed with approximately nine hundred American scholars and academics from various disciplines, including a large number of historians, political scientists, economists, geographers, psychologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and diplomats. Many of them New Dealers with liberal political views, they, as well as their fellow MO officers in Bari, were inclined to see the war in rather idealistic terms as a fight between democracy and fascism deciding the fate of humanity. In this context, Tito’s Partisans exemplified the popular heroism of anti-fascist resistance they cherished. The growing admiration of Tito inside OSS was interpreted as a clear sign of a pro-communist bias, if not an outright treason against the interests of the U.S., by the political conservatives running the agency in Washington and Cairo, increasingly concerned with the political reverberations of the Allied policy supporting him over Mihailovic. For example, on 12 June 1944, Lieutenant Colonel McDowel lashed out, “the Research and Analysis section of OSS here (Bari) is controlled by two Americans of Yugoslav origin who are frankly and outspokenly pro-

95 Ford, 82.  
96 R. Harris Smith, OSS: The Secret History of America’s First central Intelligence Agency (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 1-35.  
97 Ibid.  
98 R&A was in charge of “producing analytical reports on economic, political, geographical, and cultural topics pertaining to all theatres of operation,” shared internally between all the existing OSS branches, and with the U.S. military and government as a source of background intelligence information. See: OCWWII, 832.
Partisan.” The two officers mentioned are the brothers Alexander and Wayne Vucinich, who were both actively involved in an MO Bari project for Yugoslavia designed by Louis Madison in the spring of 1944.

Madison and Partisan Requests

Approached on a number of occasions by Tito’s men in Bari, Madison first tried to get “a few carefully selected histories, books on American literature, English grammars in Serbo-Croatian, and songs” into Yugoslavia in January 1944. With Lin Farish, Madison was instrumental in acquainting the OSS officials in Cairo and OWI in Washington with the British propaganda effort in Yugoslavia in its nascent stages in February 1944. Strongly believing in the importance of American participation, Madison complained to John Fistere, MO Cairo, in March 1943, pushing for American magazines and literature to get into Yugoslavia.

I’ve stated my opinion on this subject many times, so once more won’t bring the percentage up much: The British are filling as many requests as possible for the Partisans along these lines in the British field.

Following his “discussion with Partisan leaders—particularly the propaganda people” in Bari, Madison put together and forwarded to his superiors in Cairo a list of books and magazines for the Partisans: Ludwig Lewisohn’s history of American literature; collections of American poetry and short stories; books by William Sydney Porter, whose penname was O’Henry; Mark Ford, 88.

Wayne Vucinich was born in Butte, Montana in 1913. Their parents and uncles dead from the flu pandemic in 1918, Wayne and Alexander Vucinich were sent back to Bileca, Herzegovina to live with their relatives there. Wayne returned to U.S. in 1928, and earned his doctorate from the University of California at Berkeley. After his service in OSS during the war, Wayne Vucinich came to Stanford University History Department in 1946. During his long academic career at Stanford, he was one of the most respected experts and inspiring teacher of Balkan, Eastern European, and Russian history. See: Memorial Resolution Wayne S. Vucinich (1913-2005), [http://facultysenate.stanford.edu/memorial_resolutions/Vucinich_Wayne_SenD6020.pdf](http://facultysenate.stanford.edu/memorial_resolutions/Vucinich_Wayne_SenD6020.pdf). Although Madison’s personal views on Tito’s leadership remain unknown, R&A OSS Cairo was often blasted as “leaning strongly towards communism and had openly declared so” by its critics inside the agency. Ford, 86-89.

Madison to Fistere, 23 March 1944, RG 226, Box 80.

Ibid.
Twain; Carl Sandburg and Sinclair Lewis; Herman Melville’s *Moby Dick* and Walt Whitman’s “poems on democracy;” and books on the American Revolution, the Civil War, and Thomas Jonathan “Stonewall” Jackson. In addition to this, the Partisans had asked for books on English grammar, bilingual dictionaries of Serbo-Croatian English, Slovenian English, and English French; army songs, sheet music, and folk songs; GI radios for the use of the Partisans in Bari and Yugoslavia; clothes, school supplies and material for newspapers. They wanted to:

(a) to keep abreast of American thought, (b) to teach courses in American history, literature, etc., (c) to learn American songs (they have a large chorus in the Bari area), and (d) to learn English.


The magazine list from Madison’s letter was originally compiled and given to him by Colonel Vladimir Dedijer of the Partisans. Born to a family of intellectuals in Belgrade, Dedijer had lived in England in the inter-war period. Before the war, he was a foreign correspondent of the Belgrade independent daily *Politika*. During the war, Dedijer became one of Tito’s closest associates, serving in Bari as Tito’s personal representative in all matters related to Allied propaganda in Yugoslavia. The youngest Yugoslav foreign correspondent for the influential

---

103 Ibid.
104 The PWB provided the Partisan newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija* with printing paper, sent to them from Bari on supply boats “Makarska” and “Bakar.” The Americans in charge of this suggested Partisans include in the issues an acknowledgment note thanking the PWB for their help. Reg. 19/1, Folder 8, Box 2091, Archive of the Military Institute in Belgrade.
105 Madison to Fiestere, 23 March 1944, RG 226, Box 80.
106 Ibid.
daily *Politika* posted in London in the mid 1930s, Dedijer was an excellent candidate for this job because of his fluency in English and keen interest in international relations.\(^{107}\)

**April 1944: MO Bari Takes Charge, U.S. Magazines Go To Partisans**

By 3 April 1944, the MO base in Bari headed by V.J. Lazovic was established, handling the distribution of U.S. propaganda material, books and magazines, to Tito’s Partisans there and in Yugoslavia.\(^{108}\) On 3 April 1944 Lazovic acknowledged the receipt of the fifty copies of 6 March 1944 issue of *Time* translated in Serbo-Croatian, sent to him from MO Cairo, which he then forwarded to Major Ivanovic, Head of the Yugoslav section of the PWE and PWB, in charge of the magazine distribution to the liaison officers in the Partisan territory inside Yugoslavia.\(^{109}\) Regarding it “the most effective kind of pro-Allied propaganda, since it tells the truth about the war,” MO Cairo also prepared the *Time Digest*, a 2000 to 3000 word long translations of magazine stories in Serbo-Croatian; together with *Time*, it was shipped to the Partisan HQ on a weekly basis starting in March 1944.\(^{110}\) In addition to *Time*, Lazovich advised that a larger distribution in Yugoslavia of the illustrated U.S. magazines, *Life* and *Victory*, and *News-Maps*, colourful posters produced by the Information and Education Division of the Army Service Forces. In his view, *Life* and *Victory* gave “an excellent picture of American life,” making these magazines a significant propaganda tool among the local population, even those who did not speak English. Likewise, he found *News-Maps* suitable for exhibitions in Bari and in

---

\(^{107}\) For Dedijer’s upbringing and early career as a *Politika* journalist in the inter-war period, including his reporting on the Spanish Civil War, see: Vladimir Dedijer, *The Beloved Land* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961).

\(^{108}\) Correspondence between MO-SBS Bari and their superiors in the MO-OSS Cairo are held in the RG 226, Entry 144, Box 78, Folder 765: Cairo-MO-OP-1. Prior to the MO Bari being established, all U.S. material was gathered by MO Cairo and sent directly to Force 266, a distributing agent for the PWE. A document produced at the meeting held in Bari between the members of the integrated PWE-PWB, SOE, and SBS postulated that following the opening of the MO Bari, Lazovic was in charge of all MO OSS contribution to PWE. See letter from SBS dated 24 March 1944. RG 226. Entry 144. Box 78. Folder 765.

\(^{109}\) Lazovic to Ames, 3 April 1944, RG 226, Entry 144, Box 78, Folder 765.

\(^{110}\) Ames to Lt. Col. Paul West, 7 March 1944, RG 226, Box 81-A1, Folder 825.
Yugoslavia, as these posters presented in a “very picturesque way the Allied war effort.” In a follow up letter to Ames, Lazovic added that the American illustrated magazines were "very popular among the Partisans" eagerly awaiting new and larger shipments.

Reorienting U.S. propaganda among the Bari Partisans and in the Partisan territories in Yugoslavia towards more visual means made sense. As an integral aspect of Partisan administration and propaganda in Yugoslavia, touring exhibitions of Partisan photography, revolutionary newspapers, and drawings were circulated in the liberated territory and beyond, celebrating the achievements of the NLA. The first such Partisan exhibition of drawings, photography, newspapers and craft was organized in the town of Otocac, on 11 June 1943, honouring the First Session of the Anti-Fascist Committee of Croatia convention. It travelled to the towns of Senj, Crikvenica, and Novi inside the Partisan territory in Croatia. Major William Jones, a British officer parachuted into the Croatian partisan territory in May 1943, described the exhibition in his pamphlet Twelve Months with Tito’s Partisans:

111 Lazovic to Edward Green, Operation Officer and Commanding Officer, SBS Bari, and to Ames, MO Cairo, Weekly report, 7 April 1944, RG 226, Entry 144, Box 78, Folder 765.
112 Lazovic to Ames, “American and Yugoslav Publications,” 7 April 1944, RG 266, Entry 144, Box 78, Folder 765. Lazovic also requested the subscription for the following Yugoslav magazines published in U.S. and Canada including “the anti-fascist” Slobodna rijec, Narodni glas, Zajednicar, Hrvatski svijet, and the “pro-fascist” Amerikanski srhobran, Nasa nada, Ujedinjeno srpsstvo. Canadian “anti-fascist magazines” Kanadski glas and Novosti were on the list as well. We believe Lazovic intended these magazines to be used primarily by his Bari office personnel, so that they can keep abreast the contents of Yugoslav propaganda originating in the Yugoslav emigration circles in USA and Canada, but it is quite probable that the same magazines were made available to Partisans in Bari for the same purpose.
113 Croatian art historians and curators have thoroughly documented the history of the Partisan exhibitions in Yugoslavia during the war in catalogues that were produced in conjunction with a number of exhibitions of Partisan art from the collections of the Museum of Revolution of Croatia and the Croatian History Museum. For a further discussion see: “Likovna umjetnost u NOB-i Hrvatske,” catalogue for an exhibition organized by the Arts Pavilion and the Museum of Revolution of Croatia in Zagreb between 21 June and 29 July 1974; Dolores Ivanusa, “Hrvatska likovna umjetnost u narodnooslobodilackom ratu (crtezi i grafika)” exhibition organized by the Museum of Revolution of Croatia in Kraljevo in October 1987; “Partizanska karikatura 1941-1945,” catalogue text by Mr Lucija Benyovsky, exhibition organized by Museum of Revolution of Croatia in Zagreb between 2 February –2 April, 1989; Dolores Ivanusa and Jasna Tomcic eds., “Umjetnost hrvatskog antifasisistickog otpora,” exhibition organized by the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb in between 25 June and 24 July 1994.
One room contained an exhibit of Partisan historical records. Collections of photographs that were taken at various times since the earliest days of the Movement were particularly interesting. The keen interest which Partisans have always shown in cultural matters was reflected in many publications, including pamphlets of twenty and thirty pages, compiled by different units long since famous for their outstanding deeds in battle. Photographs of victims of enemy atrocity crimes, and in many cases bearing the statements of eyewitnesses; scenes of enemy ravishings, burned-out areas and homeless people attested to the brutality and ruthlessness of the occupier.\(^{115}\)

It is possible that some Allied photographs, *News-Map* posters, and even cut-outs from illustrated magazine, were added to these Partisan exhibits effectively representing the Allied war effort to the Yugoslav people.\(^{116}\) The Dalmatian refugees in Egypt organized similar exhibits in 1944 in Cairo and Alexandria presenting the Partisan movement abroad.

As per Lazovic’s requests, Ben Ames and Bob Knapp of the MO Cairo cleared the shipment of American literature and magazines with the OWI Cairo, adding thirty sets of the Council of the Month Books and some 100 American army songbooks to the Partisan packs.\(^{117}\) Shortly after, following his collection trip Camp Huckstep in the company of Mr. Petrovich, an MO Cairo officer, on 15 April 1944 Madison informed Lazovic and Wayne Vucinich in Bari that the two boxes of “about 500 pounds” of literature were shipped to them under Airway Bill NO. 272746.\(^{118}\) Musical instruments; army kits; six Funk and Wagnall English dictionaries; ninety different titles published by the Council on Books in Wartime, including popular novels by American authors and biographies; books published by the *Infantry Journal* on the Civil War; and American magazines *Life*, *Time*, *Infantry Journal*, *Air Force*, and *Popular Mechanics* were

---

116 Joyce to Toulmin, 22 May 1944, RG 226, Box 14, Folder 191.
117 Initially, on 11 April 1944, Ames wrote to Mr. Harold Queen informing him of the requests for American literature made to Cairo by SBS, and asked for the OWI cooperation on this matter. The Army Educational Division in Cairo provided a few books on American history for distribution among the Partisans. See: Ames to Lt. Col. J. M. Roche, Commanding Officer at Camp Huckstep. RG 226. Box 80.
118 Madison to Lazovic and Vucinich, 15 April 1944, RG 226, Enery 144, Box 81 A-1, Folder 833.
in the shipment.\textsuperscript{119} Although this particular shipment did not contain \textit{Victory} and \textit{USA}, OWI Cairo was preparing Serbo-Croatian translations of \textit{Victory} “in its entirety,” despite encountering “translating difficulties,” and \textit{Life} was scheduled to “regularly” go to the Partisans “very soon.”\textsuperscript{120} In addition to Madison’s shipment, MO Cairo was sending “10 separate bundles of magazines to go into Yugoslavia” to Major Gordon Fraser, of Force 133, via his man in Cairo.\textsuperscript{121}

**OWI Magazines in Yugoslavia**

Getting the Cairo packs in, Lazovic and Vucinich were advised by Madison to turn “one complete set of everything” over to the ALO’s and Partisan HQ at the island of Vis, while the SBS received two and the Partisans in Bari four sets. Material to the Vis HQ was sent from Bari on 22 April 1944, and Dedijer was informed of its contents.\textsuperscript{122} The “Schedule of Magazines and Posters Shipments to Bari” gives details of the distribution of the U.S. magazines to Partisans, testifying to the scope of the operation.\textsuperscript{123} As requested by the Partisans, \textit{Time} was the most widely distributed mainstream American magazine inside the Partisan HQ, followed by the \textit{Reader’s Digest} and the U.S. military magazine \textit{Yank}.\textsuperscript{124} Next, the OWI magazines \textit{USA} and


\textsuperscript{120} M.B. Petrovich, MO-OSS, U.S. Army Forces in the Middle East to Lazovic, “Material to Bari and Report,” 22 April 1944, RG 226, Entry 144, Box 81 A-1, Folder 833. Lazovic’s request for Yugoslav newspapers from U.S. and Canada was at this time forwarded to Washington.

\textsuperscript{121} Ames to Lazovic, 20 April 1944, RG 226, Entry 144, Box 78, Folder 765.

\textsuperscript{122} Vuchinic and Lazovic to Dedijer, “Books, magazines, and leaflets for NLA,” 22 April 1944, RG 226, Entry 144, Box 81 A-1, Folder 833.

\textsuperscript{123} Tito’s HQ inside Yugoslavia was scheduled to receive 80 translated copies of Time and 5 copies of Yank magazine on a weekly basis; and 20 copies of Reader’s Digest, 20 copies of USA., 10 Posters and 10 copies of Victory magazine monthly. The OSS personnel in the SBS were to receive 15 copies of Time and 5 copies of Yank weekly, and 5 copies of Rider’s Digest monthly. About 40 additional copies of translated Time magazine was intended for a weekly distribution among the Partisans in Bari. The Y-S Bari was also to receive 2 copies of Victory, 5 copies of USA and a few posters on a monthly basis. “Schedule of Magazines and Posters Shipments to Bari,” RG 226, Entry 144, Box 81 A-1, Folder 833.

\textsuperscript{124} The Army Information Branch of the Information and Education Division of the Army Service Forces unit within the War Department published \textit{Yank} between 17 June 1942 and December 1945. The main editorial office was in New York, where the U.S. and Alaska editions were published. It appeared in
Victory, published by the separate branches in the OWI Overseas Publication Bureau, received a wide distribution.\textsuperscript{125} Issued between September 1942 and August 1945 in many world languages Victory\textsuperscript{126} and USA\textsuperscript{127} projected a favourable view of the American war effort, the American nation, and its lifestyle abroad. As these magazines do not initially appear on partisan lists, we can assume that their inclusion in the Yugoslav packs reflects the choice made by the OWI and MO Cairo. Thus, the MO Bari magazine project was an initial step in establishing OWI propaganda in Yugoslavia, which continued after the liberation of Belgrade in October 1944.\textsuperscript{128}

In March 1945, the OWI representatives in Belgrade reported to the OWI Rome that demand for U.S. magazines, including Victory and USA, as well as commercial magazines, was large, asking

\textsuperscript{125}International editions, printed and published by the overseas offices in London, Rome, Paris, Spain, Cairo, Calcutta, Honolulu, Tokyo, Okinawa, Puerto Rico and Panama. At the height of its popularity, Yank was one of the most read military newspapers ever with a circulation reaching 2,600,000 copies of each issue worldwide. Yank editorial staff, including writers, correspondents, photographers, and illustrators, were enlisted U.S. soldiers stationed at the various theatres of war across Europe, Africa and Asia and in training camps in the U.S. While some of them were experienced newspaperman with established peacetime careers in the major national newspapers and magazines, ordinary U.S. soldiers contributed poems, stories, cartoons and drawings, giving Yank its peculiar flair. Conceived as a morale-booster for American soldiers, Yank was strongly patriotic and idealistic, celebrating the American war effort and sacrifice globally. See: Steve Kluger, Yank, the Army Weekly: World War II From the Guys Who Brought You Victory (Arms and Armour, 1991).

\textsuperscript{126}The OWI Overseas Branch was organized in four media bureaus including the News and Features Bureau, the Radio Bureau, the Motions Picture Bureau and the Publication Bureau, producing combat leaflets, pamphlets, booklets, cartoons, maps, and magazines for overseas markets. Victory, The U.S.A: A portrait in miniature of America and Americans in wartime and the Photo Review represent the most ambitious aspect of the U.S. foreign propaganda in printed form during World War Two. Despite their obvious importance, there is no scholarly research written yet on the production, content, message, and distribution, or the reception of the OWI magazines. The only exception is a short discussion of Victory in A. Wnikler’s book and the short entries in the NARA founding aid for the OWI Record Group. See: Winkler, 67.

\textsuperscript{127}The chief editor for the OWI overseas publications was Harold Ginzburg, on leave from the Viking press. Kan W. Purdy was the magazine’s editor, and Jess Corkin was the picture editor. Staff photographers for Victory were Ralph Amdursky, David Eisendrath, Dorothea Lang Taylor, and staff writers were Mercedes de Acosto, Ruth Branchor, Ernestino Evans, Leo Martin, Daniel S?, Katherina Sullivan. Both Victory and USA were published in English, Afrikaans, Arabic, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Czech and Slovak languages. See Victory 3, no.1.

\textsuperscript{128}The USA was published between January 1943 and October 1945 in two volumes and 22 issues, and the Photo-Review was published between 1944 and 1945 in 36 issues. These magazines were similar in form and content to Victory, but their use of colour and black-and-white photographs was comparatively more modest.

\textsuperscript{128}The Propaganda department of Tito’s GHQ repeatedly kept asking the representatives of the IAMM in Yugoslavia for new supplies of American magazines to be sent to Yugoslavia in the fall of 1944. Thayer to Joyce, 30 November 1944, RG. 226, Entry 121, Box 39, File A1.
for their “widest circulation, in Yugoslav towns,” where they could be sold in bookstores as it was already done in the country’s capital.\textsuperscript{129}

In view of these facts, the persistence and energy with which the SBS and OSS Cairo answered to Partisan requests for American magazines and other material in 1944 laid the foundation of American propaganda in Yugoslavia in the immediate post-war period. Conceived ideationally by Luis Madison as “a golden opportunity to cement the friendship and mutual understanding between us and the Yugoslav people,”\textsuperscript{130} MO operations among Tito’s partisans reached beyond the most immediate military concerns associated with the traditional notion of psychological warfare into the sphere of foreign relations and international politics, matching in scope the nascent Soviet cultural propaganda in the region.\textsuperscript{131}

\textbf{Partisan Propaganda Objective in 1944}

When we compare Dedijer’s magazine list given to Madison with the contents of the Bari Schedule, the overlaps and discrepancies in the Allied and Partisan propaganda interests become transparent. The Partisan side was most interested in receiving a regular supply of the major American magazines, \textit{Life} and \textit{Time}, followed by a whole array of other influential national magazines and newspapers such as \textit{The New Yorker}, \textit{Harpers}, \textit{Scrabners}, \textit{Nation}, \textit{The New

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{129} Read, OWI Belgrade, and Thayer, to Grimm and Goldstein (PWB), 18 March 1945, RG 226, Entry 121, Box 39, File A1.
\textsuperscript{130} Madison to Fiestere, 23 March 1944, RG 226, Box 80.
\textsuperscript{131} In 1944 when the Americans were starting to get their films, books, and magazines inside Yugoslavia, the Russians were doing the same. The Agit-Prop department of Tito’s HQ, with Djilas at its head, made repeated requests through the NLA Base in Bari for the Soviet movies, including “Rainbow”, “She protects the motherland”, “Battle for Ukraine”, “One Day of the New World”, “Cooperative”, “Secretar rajkom”, “Kutuzov”, “People’s Avengers”, “Teheran Conference”, and “The defeat of the Germans at the gates of Moscow”. The movies were planned for entertaining among the partisan forces in Bari, and in Yugoslavia, including the fighters of the V Corps in Banja Luka, and of the III Corps in Tuzla, both in Bosnia, and the units active in Croatia, Visa, and Serbia. Furthermore, in view of the approaching Partisan liberation of Belgrade, Djilas was asking the NLA representatives in Bari to send the Russian cameraman Nikolaj Leoncin, who was with Tito’s HQ in Drvar prior to his wounding, from the hospital in Italy to the Partisan HQ in Serbia, in order “to film the people’s uprising in Serbia,” documenting the event for the CPY. See the correspondence between the Milovan Djilas and the NLA base in Bari, in the fonds of the National Liberation War, from the Archive of the Military Institute in Belgrade: Reg. 18, Folder 4/I, Box 15A; Reg. 21, Folder 4/I, Box 15A; Reg. 29, Folder 4/I, Box 15A; Reg. 41, Folder 4/I, Box 15A; Reg. 43, Folder 4/I, Box 15A.
\end{flushleft}
Republic, Colliers, and The New York Times Overseas Weekly. This was not an arbitrary selection, nor was Dedijer’s request singular. Dr. Josip Samodlaka, foreign affairs envoy for the National Liberation Committee of Yugoslavia, a communist government founded in November 1943, had the Allied papers, Army News, Union Jack, La gazetta del Mezzogiorno and the army weekly newspapers Crusader, on his daily reading list, requesting their shipment from the NLA representatives in Bari. Finally, the request for regular supplies of the Basra Edition of New York Times and New York Magazine, and 36 copies of the air editions of the Time and Life magazines were sent from the Partisans via Major Churchil, to the PWE men and the Yugoslav Section of OSS.

The Partisan comprehensive interest in the American and British press, including commercial, government, and military magazines, was clearly motivated by the need to assess the ways in which their contribution to Allied war effort and Tito’s leadership were represented in the west following the official change of policy at Teheran. In the fall of 1943, the Allied Military Command for the Mediterranean was keeping western journalists out of Yugoslavia, and their censorship was stringent. Thus, Yugoslav war news and reports were rather short and speculations about Tito’s identity and character grew out of control. Tito, called “The Mystery Man of the Balkans” in the New York Times, was essentially still unknown to the world audiences, while Draza Mihajlovic was made into a hero of the Balkan resistance in the British media in 1942. While at Partisan HQ in October 1943, Major Louis Hout, OSS officer, paraphrased Tito seeking ways to suppress his rival in Allied media:

---

132 Dr. Samodlaka to the NLA representatives in Bari, 7 January 1944, Archives of the Military Institute, Belgrade, Box 2092, Folder 1, d.6/1. Translation mine.
133 Joyce to Toumlin, 22 May 1944, RG 226, Box 14, Folder 189-193.
Why, they asked, do the CBC and the BBC credit the Chetniks for victories won by the Partisans? . . Why do not the United States and England send men to see for themselves what is happening in the land?  

**Daniel De Luce on Partisans: Time 18 October 1943**

Tito’s concerns were initially met by Associated Press war correspondent Daniel De Luce, who was one of the first western journalists to get into Yugoslavia from Italy. The Allied OSS officers in Bari operating supply missions to the Partisans probably helped De Luce’s unauthorized entry. His article, “Yugoslavia: Red Star and Clenched Fist,” in the 18 October 1943 issue of *Time* was favourable:

Tito has welded his guerrillas into a tightly disciplined and hotly idealistic force that shows more enthusiastic determination than any outfit I’ve seen . . . It’s a people’s army . . . but its spirit is amazing and exhilarating.

For his groundbreaking story about Yugoslav Partisans, De Luce was later awarded the Pulitzer Prize. At the time, his tribute to Tito’s movement was potentially controversial, given the pre-Teheran Allied policy in Yugoslavia of supporting Draza Mihajlovic, the Minister of War of the Yugoslav government in exile and the leader of the Chetnik forces in occupied Serbia as their principle military ally. De Luce’s article, to the contrary, was echoing the reports by Allied officers attached to both the Partisan and Cetnik units inside Yugoslavia, extolling the contribution of Tito’s guerrilla to the Allied war effort, and increasingly sceptical of the reluctant Mihajlovic.

In the article, *Time* published a crude bust portrait of Tito, dressed in a simple uniform with no insignia of his rank in the Partisan army. Possibly a work of the partisan photographer

---

135 Hout Report, page 8, RG. 226, Box 99.
136 This is not explicitly stated in the article, where his journey on “the little vessel” is only mentioned. See: “Inside Yugoslavia,” *Time* (18 October 1943): 58.
138 Although the British sent their military mission to Tito’s headquarters already in the summer of 1943, the young Yugoslav King Peter in London and the Yugoslav government in exile in Cairo were still officially recognized by the Allies, including Russia, as the only legitimate government in Yugoslavia.
Zorz Skrigin, it had already gained an iconic status among Tito’s enemies and friends alike; the Germans used it on a ‘wanted’ poster issued in the summer of 1943 and distributed throughout Yugoslavia.139 Displayed defiantly in Tito’s headquarters, the same “large poster showing his picture and the offer of one hundred thousand marks in gold as reward for his capture, dead or alive,” caught the attention of Major Benson, OSS officer on a mission with the Partisans.140 Turned into a piece of pro-Partisan propaganda, the hateful poster reinforced the view that Tito and Partisan army, not Mihajlovic, were causing major damage to the Axis forces in the Balkans.

Solidifying Tito’s image as a heroic commander and image of the Yugoslav NLA as the principal Balkan resistance group in the Western press was the paramount goal of Partisan propaganda in the post-Teheran period. Working towards it during his service at Bari and Cairo in early 1944, Dedijer befriended the Life photographer John Phillips and got a fuller picture of the U.S. press industry. Their life-long friendship enabled Dedijer to perform a major intervention in the U.S. media machine in favour of Tito for many years to come.

139 According to Skrigin, some of his first photographs of Tito and his staff that he took in the fall of 1942 were later ‘captured’ by the Germans and published in their propaganda magazine Der Signal in the summer of 1943. See: George Skrigin. War and Stage (Belgrade: Turisticka stampa, 1968), 57. Other, however, question the authorship of this iconic early image of Tito. See: Predrag Aleksijevic, “Tragom okupatorskog plakata,” Politika (no number and year available), 18-19. Copy from Predrag Milosavljevic’s private archive of Politika clippings.
140 See Benson’s report, 22 June 1944, submitted to Deputy Director, OSS, covering Benson’s experience during his stay at Tito’s HQ. RG 226, Box 99, p. 7.
Two Tito and the Partisans in Allied Press 1943-1945: The Gaze of the “Good Camera”


As was the case with all U.S. media during the war, American newspapers and magazines were the integral part of the government information project headed by the OWI. The OWI Magazine Section was created on 6 May 1942, starting services to domestic magazines on 8 June 1942. Dorothy Ducas, the Chief of the Magazine Division of the Domestic branch of OWI, addressed the propaganda relevance of the magazines in a memorandum:

The Magazines are an important medium of war information because:

a) They reach millions of readers with each issue

b) Magazines are read and saved, referred to and clipped, as newspapers are not, thus the effect of material in magazines has a longer life span

c) They reach audiences not reached by newspapers, radio, or even motion picture—

d) Subtle information about our war program is possible in both articles and fiction.141

The OWI Magazine Bureau was a national liaison body between various government information agencies in Washington DC and the domestic magazines, creating the official framework for the public dissemination of information related to and in support of the U.S. war effort. Managing a “consistent, all-time information program,” the duties of the Magazine Bureau were to “interpret Government war information policies for editors, publishers, writers, agents; to supply editors and writers with ideas based on information objectives of the Government far enough in advance of publications to make possible for their effective use; to assist Government people in placing ideas with magazines.”142 Its principle tool was the Monthly Magazine War Guide, sent out each month to 548 magazine editors, publishers, and writers, “highlighting the war subjects desirable for coverage by all magazines three months from the

---

141 Dorothy Ducas, “What about the Magazine section,” Memorandum, 4 August 1942, NARA, RG 208 OWI.
142 “Magazine Section,” Memorandum (no date or signature), NARA, RG 208.
date of issue.” Each issue of the *Monthly Magazine War Guide* was structured around “six basic themes that point the way toward a better public understanding of the war.” The thematic category four, addressing “The United Nations—Our brothers-in-arm” and reasons “why we need them,” is especially important. The aim of the stories in this thematic category was to:

d) Make your readers understand the aspirations and philosophies of the other United Nations, no matter how different historically, socially and economically; show their relation to the things for which this country stands. Understanding cements friendship.
e) Awaken appreciation and admiration for the feats of heroism of our allies—the incredible accomplishments of the Chinese, the Russians, the British peoples in the face of superior strength, and the stubborn resistance of the conquered peoples, who carry on even to this day.

**Stalin and USSR: From Enemy to Mighty Ally**

This directive had a profound impact on the representations of Stalin and Soviet Russia in the mainstream magazines, *Time* and *Life*, instantiating a cardinal shift in their iconography after 1942. A look back is in order to illuminate this. In the prewar period and before the U.S. entered the war, Stalin’s role as the leader of world communism represented an antagonizing issue for the western press. Thus, we often see him in a dual role of the head of the Russian state and aggressive leader of the world proletariat, as on the *Time* cover of 20 December 1939 (fig. 3). With the headline “Stalin and Country,” it shows a serious Stalin dressed in a gray-green uniform in front of a bright red map of the Soviet Russia in the background. Echoing the conventional iconography of Western paintings representing emperors and military leaders, and of other *Time* covers featuring important statesmen of the day with maps – (a traditional attribute of sovereign

143 Ibid, 2. The magazine *War Guide* was sent each month to 548 magazines, 970 writers, 237 Government information officers. The Magazine section also kept track of all magazine stories that were published as a result of the magazine *War Guide* suggestions.
145 Ibid.
146 Ibid, 2.
power) – in the background, this image certainly represents Stalin as the Soviet head of state, while it also metaphorically alludes to his imperialistic ambitions to ‘enlarge his domain’ and to spread communism into Western Europe. These fears were intensified following his signing of the pact with the Nazi Germany in August 1939, and the subsequent Soviet invasion of Poland and Finland.

Two years later, a *Time* cover showed Stalin and Soviet Russia in the throes of the world war, with the ominous headline: “Dictator of the Proletariat: Lenin built it; Hitler broke it” (fig. 3).\(^{147}\) Stalin’s profile drawn in gray appears against a flamboyant red background, alluding to both the official color of the communist flag and the inferno engulfing the USSR, following the German invasion of June 1941 and culminating in the siege of Leningrad and the movement towards Moscow in October 1941. With the image of communism in peril on its cover, *Time* was not sympathetic to Stalin and the Soviets, to say the least. The ideological differences, however, became secondary in the U.S. press as the practical importance of an alliance with the Soviets in a common front against Fascism and Nazism took center stage later.

Coinciding with the Russian counter-offensive against German forces on the Eastern Front and the entrance of the U.S. into the war after the Pearl Harbor bombing in December 1942, Stalin’s iconography changed. Voted a second time around “A Man of the Year,” he was now a mighty ally, heroized by *Time* on the 4 January 1943 cover in the guise of a super-natural being causing havoc among the German forces, miserable under pressing Soviet attacks (fig. 4). A godlike apparition, Stalin’s disembodied head looms threateningly large from the tar-like, hostile darkness of winter over the four miniscule desperate ‘Huns’ buried behind the snow dunes and chilled by the strong winds sweeping across the Russian steppes. Monumentalizing his wartime leadership, the *Time* cover credited Stalin personally for the defeat the German Army

---

\(^{147}\) *Time* cover (27 October 1941).
was experiencing on the Eastern Front and presaged their surrender at Stalingrad on 31 January 1943.

As an aspect of this celebrating of the Soviet leadership, we finally see Stalin’s portrait by Margaret Bourke-White on the front page of a special issue of *Life* dedicated to the friendly and courageous Soviet people, published on 29 March 1943 (fig. 4).\(^{148}\) Taken in Moscow in July 1941, it unmistakably gives expression to the pun in Stalin’s name;\(^{149}\) The ‘man of steel,’ he stands as unapproachable and moody as in an earlier cover drawn by Ernest Hamlin Baker for 1 January 1940 issue of *Time*, voting Stalin the man of the year (fig. 5).\(^{150}\) Although we cannot ascertain the source of Baker’s portrait, it could be that he used one of the James Abbe’s photographs of Stalin taken in April 1932.\(^{151}\) Describing her meeting with “the dictator of all Russia” inside his well-guarded Kremlin office, Bourke-White impressions of him in person perpetuate the popular view of Stalin’s stoicism and withdrawal, conveyed in earlier Abbe’s photographs, while also adding an air of heroism:

Stalin is a different looking man from what I had expected...he looks like a completely strong person, immobile and unemotional, but through it all one gets the distinct impression of a person with a great deal of charm and a magnetic personality...Otherwise, he stood like a stone, like a piece of granite.\(^{152}\)

\(^{148}\) For Stalin’s cover in *Life* and related stories on Soviet Russia see *Life* 14, no. 13 (29 Mar. 1943).


\(^{150}\) Ernst Hamlin Baker (1889-1975) joined the team of *Time* magazine illustrators in 1939 and worked for the magazine for the next seventeen years, creating more than three hundred illustrated covers. He also designed cover pages for *Fortune* between 1929-1941. Baker used photographs to compose his signature covers in *Time* according to a formula combining a naturalistic depiction of the sitter’s features and a symbolic background summing up the subject’s ‘newsworthiness.’ For Baker see: Walt Reed, *The Illustrator in America 1860-2000*, 3rd ed. (New York: Society of Illustrators, c. 2001).

\(^{151}\) For Abbe’s sitting with Stalin and his photographs see: Bodo van Dewitz and Brooks Johnson, eds., *Shooting Stalin: The “Wonderful” Years of Photographer James Abbe (1883-1973)* (Göttingen: Steidl, c.2004.), 40, 214-225. A letter to the editors of *Life* from Abbe and one of his photographs of Stalin from 1932 were published in *Life* 11, no. 9 (1 September 1941).

Stalin officially recognized as a heroic Allied leader in Life, the sixteen top generals in the Soviet Army, including Marshal Voronov on the cover, were next profiled in the magazine in 1944. Following the Magazine Bureau directives, alongside the Soviets, Life also celebrated the British leaders. Notable example includes Yousuf Karsh’s 1944 essay “The Leaders of Britain,” and Cecil Beaton’s glamorous and kitschy photos of the young Princesses Margaret and Elizabeth. Withdrawn in their own dreamlike, feminized world, they wear long gowns, while soft light in Beaton’s photographs evokes the conventions of the eighteenth-century British painterly portraiture. The Chinese leaders, mentioned in the War Guide, also received prompt coverage.

**Yugoslavs: The People Who Refuse To Be Beaten**

In addition to the War Guide, a Magazine Supplement containing relevant additional information for the stories suggested in the Guide was also sent to the U.S. magazine editors and writers. Significantly, the Yugoslav people and history before the war were profiled in the “Unconquered” series of the Magazine Guide Supplement XI (September and October 1943) providing “background stories about the people who refuse to be beaten,” and, thus, helping American writers depict “the nature of the enemy and those he cannot conquer.” The stereotypes set in: the Yugoslav people and guerrillas, both Partisan and Chetnik at this point, were made examples of the people’s will to freedom in occupied Europe. On the strategic value of the Yugoslav struggle against the Axis in the larger context of the U.S. war effort, the supplement instructed: “And when the United nations at last launch their inevitable drive to re-

---


154 “The Leaders of Britain,” Life 16, no. 6 (7 Feb, 1944): 87-95; Life cover with Princess Elizabeth and “Their Royal Highnesses, The Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret,” Life 14, no. 7 (15 Feb. 1943); For Beaton’s style see: Willfried Baatz, Photography. An Illustrated Historical Review (New York: Barron’s Crash Course Series, 1997), 118-119.

155 See Close-up on Chiang Kai-Shek, Life 12. no.6 (2 March, 1942):70-80.

156 Magazine War Guide Supplement XI for September and October 1943, published by the Magazine Division of the Office of War Information, 12-19, NARA, RG 208 OWI.
conquer Europe, they will find in Yugoslavia armies-in-being that will aid them immensely towards victory.”\(^{157}\) Roosevelt’s letter to the Yugoslav Ambassador, Constantin Fotich, was quoted:

But the valour, persistence and military resourcefulness of the Yugoslav people responding to a courageous leadership have shown that their destiny has not been thwarted (by the Axis occupation in the spring of 1941). Their sacrifice and their continued striving to regain their independence are a part of the common struggle against the forces which would bring ruin to all free people.\(^ {158}\)

It is clear therefore that the Magazine Bureau of the Domestic Branch of OWI set the official interpretative context, including dates, for the stories about Tito and the Partisans appearing in the U.S. magazines.\(^ {159}\) Following the juncture they became officially a popular symbol and embodiment of the resistance myth in the Occupied Europe, and Tito’s popular canonization into a heroic figure in the West took shape, validating his leadership internationally and domestically. American and British media, including the key players in the industry – *Time*, *Life*, *Picture Post*, *Yank*, and *Victory* magazines - answered the OWI call eagerly. The military censorship on the ground complicated their task to some extent, but the challenge of the flamboyant anti-Tito German propaganda in *Der Signal* magazine was met.\(^ {160}\)

**Burns for *Life*: “Tito’s Partisans”, December 1943**

Although on the surface, *Life* was all about sensationalism, consumerism and entertainment,\(^ {161}\) it fully supported the American war effort, serving as a “force in creating a

\(^{157}\) Ibid, 18.
\(^{158}\) The letter was dated 5 October 1942. Ibid.
\(^{159}\) As the *Magazine War Guide* was customarily sent out three to four months in advance, Yugoslav resistance appears as one of the suggested topics for the stories in the U.S. magazines with publication dates falling roughly between December 1943 and February 1944.
\(^{160}\) Giselher Wirsing, “Romantic of the Bosnian Woods?,” *Signal* 6 (1944): 4-7, 34+
\(^{161}\) In the words of Henry Luce, the mission of *Life* was “to see life; to see the world; to eyewitness great events; to watch the faces of the poor and the gestures of the proud; to see strange things…to see things thousand miles away, things hidden behind walls and within rooms, things dangerous to come to; . . . to
sound, practical Psychological Front in the common, united effort to with this war and world-wide freedom.”¹⁶² Between December 1943 and February 1944, thus, the magazine was at the forefront of a pro-Partisan publicity campaign in the U.S., echoing official policy made at the Teheran Conference.¹⁶³

The first in a series, on 6 December 1943, Life published a short story, “Tito’s Partisans,” about “guerrilla warfare in Yugoslavia.”¹⁶⁴ Despite many misconceptions in the magazine’s account of the Partisan movement history, including a quite problematic stereotyping of Croatian people as “more citified” than the Serbian “war-like people of the mountains” fighting with Mihajlovic, the main objective was to establish the fact that the “partisans are fighting Germans” alone in Yugoslavia.¹⁶⁵ The article was illustrated with a number of black-and-white photographs of Tito’s army, taken by the British Navy Lieutenant Lambton Burn during his visit to the HQ of the Partisan units in Dalmatia in October 1943; Life exclaimed this was “the first time the good camera has been pointed at the mysterious fighters in Yugoslavia.”¹⁶⁶

As mentioned previously, in December 1943, the Yugoslav partisans were more a secret well-kept by the military censors than a mystery, but Burn’s camera was indeed a ‘good’ one, idealizing Tito’s army through the prism of popular republicanism, fostering common sentiments of sympathy with the suffering people of conquered Europe. Publicized as “the first visual proof of the existence of the Partisan Proletarian Brigades of the Croat Fighter, Tito,” Burns’s photographs in Life captured the popular front nature of Tito’s army in Yugoslavia, as children

¹⁶³ Most significantly, reflecting on a new Teheran policy, comparative stories about Mihajlovic’s Chetniks were scraped from Life, magazine’s view of the Balkan issue thus remaining univocal for the duration of the war.
¹⁶⁴ “Tito’s Partisans” Life 15, no. 23 (December 6 1943): 88-90.
¹⁶⁵ Ibid.
¹⁶⁶ “Tito’s Partisans” Life 15, no. 23 (December 6 1943): 88. (emphasis mine)
and women fought side by side with men.\textsuperscript{167} These images symbolically outweigh those of the male fighters in the layout of the story (fig. 6).

A large photograph on the first page of a group of Partisan children from the Dalmatian coast, smiling at the camera, their fists clenched in a Partisan salute, takes the ideological edge away from the public image of Tito’s army as a communist-organized. Although some among them wear white pioneer caps with an embroidered red star, their bright faces and unpretentious smiles radiate the naivety and purity associated with idealistic representations of children and youth in popular culture. Their youthful zeal is equated with general patriotism; as the caption implies: “Communist movement among them (Croats) is nationalistic…the communists are only one of the anti-fascist groups fighting together.”\textsuperscript{168} Likewise, the presence of the women in Tito’s army, making up for “about a quarter of the partisans,” was taken as a token of the truly patriotic nature of the Partisan war in Yugoslavia, gender serving as a springboard for a favourable contrast with the “all male” Chetnik army of Mihailovic.\textsuperscript{169} This image of Tito’s guerrillas projected a republican ideal, venerated in the American political culture since the Wars of Independence.\textsuperscript{170} Here was a ‘national army’ of civilians rising to arms regardless of class, race, ethnicity, gender, or age in a pursuit of a common goal - their freedom.

**Tito’s Amazons Meet Rosie the Riveter and GI Jane**

Furthermore, in publicizing the indispensable role of women in Tito’s army, *Life* established an important stereotype of Tito’s “Amazon” – the attractive, young, and brave heroine fighting selflessly for a greater good. Most of the women partisans were of a working class or peasant origins, but some came from the upper class, as was the case with Olga Dedijer, Vladimir Dedijer’s wife and a doctor, and Olga Nincich, Tito’s secretary. Regardless of their

\textsuperscript{167} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{169} Ibid, 89.
social status and class, they joined the NLA by will, continuing the Yugoslav tradition of the woman fighter and the woman activist established in the nineteenth-century.\textsuperscript{171} Part of the attraction was the Communist appeal to the equal rights between men and women in a postwar Yugoslavia. Their photographs appeared in war reports from the Balkans in the U.S. and British press in 1944. Like Life, Time celebrated these Yugoslav women “marching and fighting like men” as an embodiment of the female ideal of patriotic sacrifice and stoicism.\textsuperscript{172} The British Picture Post cemented the stereotype toward the end of the war, publishing a black and white photograph on its 1945 cover of an anonymous, but proud partisan fighter, “The Girl from the Mountains,” gazing symbolically into the distance (fig. 7).\textsuperscript{173}

This heroic rendering of the Partisan women fighters was significant for the morale of American women in wartime. Although the U.S. women were primarily encouraged to support war effort on the home front by entering the workforce and taking on ‘male jobs’ temporarily—hence the legend of Rosie the Riveter -- and those serving in the U.S. Army were not allowed into active combat, they could certainly emotionally identify with Tito’s female fighters.\textsuperscript{174} This stereotype furthermore provided a progressive contemporary example of a greater gender and social emancipation for those domestic women seeking it. Independent, courageous, and capable, Yugoslav women warriors were possibly associated with the pioneer heroism of the western women and popular stereotypes of them as hardworking, stoic homesteaders and as competitive

\textsuperscript{172} See a photograph of Stana Tomasevic, in “Area of decision,” Time (9 October, 1944): 38-43.
\textsuperscript{173} There is no comparative cover in Life.
“hell-raisers.” Their active combat role and personal heroism also resonated with the history of female warriors in the American Revolutionary War and the Civil War.\textsuperscript{175}

The appeal of the woman combat soldier ideal was not universal, however, as the criticism by some allied officers among the Partisans show. Evoking depreciatingly sex and class stereotypes Temple H. Fielding, an officer in the IAAM, wrote about women in Tito’s army as “husky, hairy peasants girls” that “fight, eat, and sleep with the men.”\textsuperscript{177} His rhetoric echoed the words of the Earl of Birkenhead, a British PWE officer in Randolph Churchill’s mission, describing Tito’s female soldiers as “unlovely Amazons” and “stevedores,” “manhandling” the mission’s “heavy baggage” and “tossing it from hand to hand.”\textsuperscript{178} Their disparaging sexist remarks perpetuated stereotypes of U.S. female soldiers as “camp followers,” “mannish women,” lesbians or prostitutes, related to the traditionalist views of war as a male domain and of a ‘true’ woman as physically, psychologically, and emotionally not suitable for combat.\textsuperscript{179}

The emotional impact of the sympathetic rendering of the Partisan army in the Allied press was later heightened by portraying Yugoslav women and youth not only as the victorious heroes but also as the victims of Nazi aggression. In 1944, \textit{Life} and \textit{Victory} published charged stories depicting the brute reality of war and suffering of the Yugoslav refugees, mostly children, women, and elderly, gathered in Allied camps abroad.\textsuperscript{180} And, an article “Tito’s Nine Hundred” in the \textit{Post}, showed in 1945 graphic photographs of Partisan women amputees and wounded


\textsuperscript{176} Skaine mentions these women in her a book, 49-52; also see, Elizabeth D. Leonard, \textit{All the Daring of the Soldier: Women of the Civil War Armies} (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1999).

\textsuperscript{177} Temple H. Fielding, “Tito: A portrait from life,” \textit{Harper’s Magazine} 191 (October 1945): 322; His article was also published in \textit{Rider’s Digest} in December 1945.

\textsuperscript{178} David Pryce-Jones, 143.


children, “brave and stoic,” waiting to be transported with the help of the Balkan Air Force to Allied hospitals in Bari, Italy (figs.8-10).\(^{181}\) Clearly, these photo stories fitted the official Magazine Section agenda. The evil of the Nazi regime in Europe was condemned and the Partisan cause in Yugoslavia embraced, moving American readers to take a moral stance, regardless of gender, class, or political orientation; the same holds for the British examples.

**Stoyan Pribichevich for Life: “Tito the Peasant Marshal of Yugoslavia”**

The sympathetic rendering of Partisan movement in *Life* set up a favourable context for a heroic portrayal of their leader in Stoyan Pribichevich’s article “Tito the Peasant Marshal of Yugoslavia” published in February 1944 (fig. 11).\(^ {182}\) As a rule, the subjects profiled in the “Close-up” were the key men in the Allied forces, such as Admiral Eric James King, General Douglas MacArthur, Admiral Sir Max Horton, Jimmy Byrnes (Assistant President), Sir Anthony Eden (Britain’s secretary of state for Foreign Affairs), and Tonny Biddle (U.S. ambassador to six exiled European Governments) to mention only a few examples.\(^ {183}\) A typical “Close-up” in *Life* was a fully researched biographical narrative embellished with trivial details from the subject’s civilian and wartime life, illustrated with photographs from various sources, including private family albums and official portraits done by the magazine and other photographers. Its main objective was to symbolically close the gap up separating the featured officials and general public at these difficult times, rendering the former as moral examples and national role models.

---

\(^{181}\) These photographs are the stills from a documentary feature, *The Nine Hundred*, filmed in Dalmatia, Yugoslavia, by the Ministry of Information during the operation. The *Post* also carried images of youth in Tito’s army, commenting on their bravery as army observers and messenger runners. See: “Tito’s Nine Hundred,” *Picture Post* (7 April 1945): 11-13.


Cairo: Allied Sources and Support

At the time Pribichevich wrote his close-up about Tito, he was still in Cairo waiting to be accredited as the representative of the Allied press inside Yugoslavia.184 This, however, was a nearly impossible task, as a letter written by him to Tito on 29 January 1944 clearly demonstrates:

1) The U.S. military authorities in Cairo told me: a) that I have done everything in my power in placing my request with the British authorities in Cairo, and that I was not successful, but the American authorities cannot do anything in order to help me b) that I should therefore go to Italy, which is closer to Yugoslavia and where the American influence is stronger….

3) U.S. military authorities here have told me confidentially that I will get their full support, and the support of the war Ministry in Washington D.C. to go to Yugoslavia, but you should personally request, and agree, that I come to Yugoslavia as a war correspondent. In other words, Americans could not take up the initiative in this matter, but they would support your initiative.185

In these circumstances, it is almost certain that either the Partisan or British sources knowledgeable about Tito and the Partisan movement provided the raw intelligence material for Pribichevich. In particular, it is possible to imagine Partisan Col. Dedijer, at the time hospitalized in Cairo, and Col. Deakin of the Yugoslav section, SOE Cairo, in the role of his willing “official

184 A son of Svetozar Pribicevic, a minister in the first government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Stoyan Pribichevich arrived at Cairo in late 1943. He wrote for Life, Time, and Fortune magazines. His assignment was Yugoslavia. But, it seems that from the late fall of 1942 and in the first-half of 1943 Pribichevich was also associated with the OSS, as the Classified Sources and Materials reports in the File series “Sources and Methods Files,” from NARA all mention him among sources of intelligence information. According to a 5 March report sent to the Director of SI, British Empire section, Pribichevich did not “join the SI London organization actively until May 1,” but the arrangement was contemplated on both sides, the OSS “giving him a some kind of job in the mean time…until such time as he becomes a fulltime employee of SI London.” His case is interesting, as here we have a case of an Allied journalist also being an unofficial source of intelligence information from Yugoslavia at the time. See reports for 21 November and 5 December 1942, and for the period between January and July 1943 in NARA, RG 226/Entry 211/Box 33/Folder 24794. For Time’s short bio of Pribichevich’s see: “Letter from publisher,” Time (29 May 1944). Accessed online (14 September 2009) http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,850887,00.html?id=chix-sphere?artId=850887?contType=article?chn=us.

185 Pribichevich to Tito, 29 January 1944, Reg. 1-1, F. 4, Box 15A, Archive of the Military Institute, Belgrade. Translation mine.
sources.” Both men had personal ties with Tito and were invested in the Partisan cause. Thus, Pribichevich wrote with a solid understanding of the overall situation in Yugoslavia and of the Partisan movement origins in Serbia in 1941, including Tito’s meeting with Mihailovic and their coming apart. His intimate account of Tito’s character, life and roles as the Marshal of Yugoslav, the President of the National Committee of Liberation, and the Supreme Commander of the National Liberation Army (NLA) and Partisan Detachments challenged the “nonsense” created abroad that he

was a woman, that it (his name) stands for the initials of four separate commanders, that the letters are cabalistic sign for the Italics of Tajne Internacionalne Teroristicke Organizacije (The Secret International Terrorist organization), that in Serbo-Croatian they mean “You-There.”

The pictorial component of Life’s close-up on Tito, however, differed from the norm as it featured six black-and-white photographs of general interest, with Yugoslav Partisan marching units, peasants offering food, the Yugoslav flag, field radio-operators, an American doctor attending to the wounded, a woman killed by German raids over Tito’s HQ in Bosnia, and only one unremarkable photograph of Tito (fig. 11). Stuck at the bottom of the page, this stern image of Tito in a simple Partisan uniform seemed anticlimactic after Pribichevich’s passionate description:

This unknown Croat with the high-lifted head and inspired face has unified masses of mutually embittered Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; liberated nearly half of Yugoslavia . . . set up the first free government in Hitler’s European fortress; and has a first-class fighting army of over 200,000 without a dime’s worth of Land-Lease . . . Tito is one of three modern Slavs who have thrown holy terror into German hearts, the others being Stalin of Russia and the Bulgarian Dimitrov of the Reichstag fire.

---

186 Pribichevich, 96-97.
187 Ibid.
As if offering an excuse for this Pribichevich explained: “Although the Liberation Army has fine photographic units, there are very few pictures of Tito.” Only half-true, this statement was either a sign of unfortunate misinformation, or a covering up for the consequences of the Allied censorship of available Partisan sources.

**Zorz Skrigin and Savo Orovic: Tito in Partisan Photography and Balkan Epic Tradition**

The Partisan leadership in Yugoslavia invested a considerable organized effort in chronicling the National Liberation War (NLW) in written and visual form. Established and promising Yugoslav artists, photographers among them, were recruited for the membership in the CPY ranks and Partisan units; the task given to them was creating poems, novels, diaries, plays, photographs, and short films inspired by the partisan struggle. Almost every partisan brigade had its own Agit-Prop and cultural sections, handling partisan propaganda, entertainment, and education. Mentioned in *Life*, the Partisan film and photo sections, staffed with amateur and professional photographers, meticulously recorded their war, creating the official revolutionary narrative from the CPY point of view. And, Tito’s public image created in this context was, therefore, an aspect of the CPY propaganda, targeting local population and, ultimately, the Allied missions in the country. The work of two Partisan photographers, Zorz Skrigin and Savo Orovic, is especially important.

---

188 Pribichevich, 105; emphasis mine.
189 Partisan war photography fulfilled this ideological purpose in the post-war Yugoslavia, where if was displayed in permanent and touring exhibits in numerous Museums of Revolution. Following the break-up of Socialist Yugoslavia in 1991, country’s museums, including those with photographic funds containing Partisan photography, experienced organizational and financial difficulties. Despite the circumstances, archivists and historians of photography working in the Croatian History Museum have done an exceptional work in preserving, documenting, and interpreting Partisan photography in their collection. The collection of World War II photographs from the Military Museum in Belgrade, on the contrary, has only the basic Fining Aid developed, and the photo collection of the former Museum of Revolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is now in storage in the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with access to it limited. For a thorough discussion of various practical and theoretical issues pertinent to Yugoslav Museums of Revolution and NLW, their exhibits and role as educational and commemorative institutions, see a special issue of *Informatica Museologica* 1-4, nos. 74-77 (Zagreb: 1986).
Zorz Skrigin

Before he joined the Partisan movement in the spring of 1942, Zorz Skrigin was a member of the Zagreb ballet and a professional photographer with an impressive record of international exhibits and awards. Assigned to a battalion serving as the escort unit to the Partisan GHQ, Skrigin photographed Tito in all major events during the war, creating the heroic image of the commander. Given the scope and the creative results of his work, he could probably be given the title of Tito’s first official photographer.

Skrigin first photographed Tito immediately upon his arrival to the Partisan GHQ in Mliniste on 14 September 1942. At Mliniste, Skrigin produced a series of black and white portraits executed in the tradition of pictorialist photography that characterized his work in the 1930s as a portraitist. These portraits are carefully composed against a neutral background, with symbolic distribution of ‘rembrandtesque’ light and shadow across Tito’s face reinforcing a sense of inner absorption (fig. 12). He also took a number of less formally composed photographs, flirting with the idea of snapshot photography, allowing the viewer to get a glimpse of Tito’s more spontaneous and immediate environment. In one of these, Tito is shown resting, casually seated on a wooden log, his legs crossed and a cigarette holder in one hand. He is dressed in a simple dark uniform and the Partisan hat with a red star pin attached to it (fig. 13).

---

191 For Skrigin’s account of his Partisans years, including excellent reproductions of his work before and during the war, see George Skrigin, War and Stage (Belgrade: Turisticka stamalica, 1968).
192 “Portret u zoru,” Politika, in author’s possession.
193 Stylistic aspects of Skrigin’s ‘artistic’ photography before the war have been studied and written about by a Serbian historian of photography, Goran Malic who sees a continuity of formal devices in his work as a prominent member of the Zagreb Photo Club and after the war. See: Goran Malic, “Majsto prostora i svetlosti,” Politika (8 November, 1997): 29.
194 Skrigin and Vjekoslav Afric developed these photographs shortly afterwards in Jajce, a picturesque town in Bosnia and Herzegovina where the GHQ, always on the go during the war, moved to on 25 Sept 1943. Tito gave one of his photographs autographed on the back of it and stamped with a seal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CC CPY) to one of the partisans in the escort battalion. See: Miroslav Mladenovic and Savo Krzavac, U pratnji vrhovnog komandanta. Prateći bataljon Vrhovnog staba NOV I POJ, 2nd Edition (Belgrade: Narodna Armija, 1977), 119.
Tito’s dog, Lux, lurks behind his master, staring alertly in the direction of the photographer. The wolfish look of the dog, Tito’s relaxed pose and the rugged landscape of the impenetrable Bosnian forests in spring combine to create an idyllic image of Tito’s revolutionary leadership. Compositionally, it is resonant of the idealized representations by Camille Pissaro of resting vagabonds as “the incarnation of individual freedom” and an icon of anti-bourgeois non-conformity, typically pursued in the anarchist literature and Neo-Impressionist circles. The stereotype of the heroic trimardeur figure - “the quasi-mythical anarchist agitator, independent and free-spirited” - was in particular accessible to the Yugoslav interwar cultural elite, including Skrigin, which traditionally looked up the French for artistic inspiration and guidance. The symbolic vagabond iconography potentially appealed to their taste and to ideals of social reformers and progressives among them while neutralizing the overtly revolutionary and military content in Tito’s early portraiture. There are also two more photographs from the same session, showing the pensive Partisan commander seated at a simple wooden desk, reading in the thick shadow of a tall tree (fig. 14).

**Savo Orovic**

Also from this period, in one photograph Tito lies on the ground and examines a topographical map. This was possibly taken on the eve of one of long Partisan marches through the mountains of Bosnia in 1942, by Savo Orovic, a general in the NLA and amateur photographer (fig. 15 left). About this photo Orovic later wrote: “I have shown comrade Tito

---


196 Ibid, 298. Tito’s biography resonated with this type of the rebellious wonderer to the extent that he spent his early years as a itinerant labourer in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and later, in the interwar period, travelling the major European cities as a revolutionary agitator, but his loyalties were to the Communist Party then.

197 Savo Orovic was one of the first generals of Tito’s army and a member of the Partisan GHQ with a whole range of duties. He was the first commander of the Partisan Military Academy organized by the NLA GHQ during the war, and a CO of the first Military School in liberated Belgrade in 1945. As an amateur photographer, Orovic photographed Tito and Partisan commanders throughout the war. The
in the pose of a gifted military commander.”¹⁹⁸ His photo is resonant of the conventional iconography of military leaders - the map, the binoculars, the uniform – found in similar portraits of Allied commanders in Victory and Life, and before.¹⁹⁹ In a related photo, Orovic photographed Tito dictating to his personal secretary, Davorjanka Paunovic, both seated on the ground inside an improvised shelter made up of tree branches and leaves that served as the Partisan HQ (fig. 15 right). Embedded in the moment, understudied, and close in spirit to a snapshot aesthetic, Orovic’s photographs render Tito as commander of the people’s army in a conventional manner; but also, as an ordinary human, ‘first among equals,’ down to earth, close to his comrades, and essentially connected with the people and sharing their fate. Examples are many; from the epic Tito leading the Partisans (Pokret), with men, women, and children following in a long mach through Bosnia (fig. 16 left); to the iconic image Tito at Sutjeska, taken in the aftermath of his wounding in the summer of 1943 (fig. 16 right); and Tito and the actors in the HQ Drama Section (fig. 17).

**Styling Tito: Hajduci and Rebel Peasants as Stereotypes**

Local traditions of representing the heroic figures provided the Partisan photographers with a relevant source of iconographic content. During the Ottoman Empire in Serbia between the fifteenth and nineteenth century, *hajduci* were the local peasant rebels, a sort of the anti-ottoman guerilla. Having fled their homes in villages in fear of Turkish reprisals, they lived in the *hajduk* lairs scattered in the interior of the Serbian forests, attacking merchant caravans and wrecking havoc with the local Ottoman administration. Idealized in folk culture and celebrated in

---


¹⁹⁹ Some examples include a portrait of General Somervell’s on a Life cover, colour photograph of Admiral William F. Halsey and of General Arnold, standing by the globe, in Victory. See: *Life* 14, no. 10 (8 Mar. 1943); *Victory* 2, no. 4 (10): 8-10; and *Victory* 1, no. 3, page 9.
Romantic epic poetry, they were the prototypical national heroes, the embodiment of the Serb indomitable resistance to the foreign rule. In Croatia, likewise, there existed a similar epic tradition celebrating local peasant rebellions against the feudal lords of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. One of the key figures of the Croatian heroic tradition was Matija Gubec, a kmet, “the serf”, and a leader of the 1573 peasant rebellion. Partisan propaganda men systematically exploited both the Serbian myth of the hajduk and the Croatian unruly peasant leaders of feudal times, making references in their agitation speeches to the heroes of popular folk songs and stories. Their aim was to win popular support by suggesting the continuity between the Partisan movement and communist uprising, and the heroic traditions of the Serb and Croat peasantry.  

Similarly, Tito was represented as a new embodiment of popular heroism in early Partisan photography. Although born of two very different approaches, ranging from pictorial in Skrigin’s to documentary in Orovic’s, Tito’s public image incorporated the epic stereotypes of the hajduk and rebel peasant, tailored in this way to the Yugoslav peasant population and resonating with their cherished patriotic traditions. Thus, Tito’s iconography includes conventional cues to these stereotypes; he is often photographed in informal settings, living in improvised shelters, dressing in a simple uniform with no special insignia of his rank, and enjoying the company and trust of the men he commands, both his Staff and ordinary soldiers. 

In view of Skrigin’s and Orovic’s work in 1942 and 1943 alone, one thing is certain: the poor selection of photographs in Pribicevic’s story could not be explained by an apparent lack of available Partisan photography, as stated in Life. We can imagine, however, that for the Life editors, Partisan photography would have had a strange kind of appeal. In comparison to the magazine’s aesthetics, Skrigin’s pictorialism was old-fashioned, while Orovic’s amateurish approach was the opposite, offering too little in view of a personal style and formal polish.

---

Furthermore, the anti-hierarchical aspect of Tito’s army transpiring from these photographs was equally redundant, by February 1944. But the reasons were more complex than that.

**Battling Anti-Partisan Propaganda in the West**

In the late 1943, CPY leadership was especially troubled by the strong anti-Partisan propaganda in the U.S. media, organized by the pro-royalist Yugoslav expatriates and supported in the Congress and Senate.\(^{201}\) Gaining public support in the U.S. was especially important to Tito: “groups of Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, etc. in America, *if accurately informed* about the Partisan movement in Yugoslavia would give material support as well as moral.”\(^{202}\) From the Partisan point of view, one of the major obstacles of 1943-44 was the lack of international recognition, exacerbated by the Allied military and political censorship. Their major goal was, thus, finding the means to change this and gaining visibility in the Allied HQ in Cairo and, possibly, in friendly Allied press.

Accordingly, Partisans made their photographs available to the Allies at every possible occasion. Major Louis Hout, an American OSS officer in Bari who made an unauthorized visit to Tito’s HQ in Jajce in October 1943, wrote about his farewell with the Partisans:

>Tito and his entire staff came out to see us off. There were presents, an *autographed photograph from Tito* and a handsome new German luger pistol and holster from the Chief of Staff, and many invitations to return.\(^{203}\)

These activities intensified in November 1943, when the new provisional government in Yugoslavia, with Dr. Ribar as its first president and Tito as the Minister of War was created in

\(^{201}\) Deakin, 110-111.

\(^{202}\) Benson’s report, 22 June 1944, submitted to Deputy Director, OSS, page 6 (emphasis mine). RG 226, Box 99.

\(^{203}\) Louis Hout arrived in Tito’s HQ on 23 October, and had a conference with him on 25 October 1943. His report is quite entertaining to read, especially the sections describing Tito’s character and appearance. Major Louis Hout, “Report of Organizations and Activities of Special Operations Branch, OSS-ME, Advance base, Bari, Italy (Copy no.20),” 8 November 1943, page 9. NARA, RG 226, Box 99. (emphasis mine).
Biding farewell to the First NLA Military Mission leaving Tito’s HQ on the eve of this historic event to go to the Allied Military HQ in Cairo, the Partisans in Jajce packed the material for the first photo-album representing the NLA, prepared by Mosa Pijade, Alexander Tepavcevic, and photographers Vilim Simunov Barba and Zorz Skrigin to be taken along. Finally, in June 1944, the editor of the Partisan newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija*, Serif Sehovic gave Major Benson, the first American liaison officer to arrive at Tito’s headquarters on 22 August 1943, a collection of 98 photographs taken by Partisan photographers. Benson turned the photographs and 4 additional rolls of film with the photographs he personally took in Bosnia “including several shoots of Tito” to Louis Hout for delivery to OSS Cairo. While the Partisans were forthcoming and attitude friendly, the Allied censorship was unrelenting, causing Pribicevic and other journalists in the region a great trouble.

**Allied Censorship in The Forbidden Land**

As late as May 1944 Yugoslavia remained a “Forbidden Land” out of reach for the western journalist. Correspondents were in general refused accreditation to enter the country, and when they did, their “Forbidden Stories” about Tito and the Partisans were victims of the political censorship exercised by General Sir Henry Maitland of the Wilson’s Mediterranean Command, and by the British censors in Cairo. For example, although he had Tito’s written approval for an interview in late 1943, the military refused Daniel De Luce permission to enter Yugoslavia. In the best-case scenario, the dispatches written by those very few accredited

---


206 See Benson’s report from 22 June 1944 which he submitted to Deputy Director, OSS, covering Benson’s experience during his stay at Tito’s HQ. RG 226, Box 99.

207 Appendix 4 and 6 to Benson’s report.

journalists in Yugoslavia were either heavily censored or delayed for an indefinite period of time.

The conflict between the U.S. press and the official censors reached a critical point in early May 1944, when the British in Cairo suppressed the exclusive letter interview with Tito obtained by the Associated Press (A.P.) correspondent Joseph Morton. In the words of Edward Kennedy, the A.P’s Mediterranean chief, the existing situation with the censorship of news from Yugoslavia was “a scandal ten times more important than suppression of the Patton incident, and if accepted by us can only lead to permanent Allied political censorship in Europe.”209 For the representatives of the U.S. press, “which for the most part has squirmed silently,” the fact that the British censors from Cairo and London “were deciding what Balkan news are fit for the U.S. eyes to read” was no longer acceptable.210 The same holds of their deliberate iconoclasm targeting Tito’s public image. In spite of the repeated efforts made by the Partisans in 1943 and 1944, placing their war photographs, including Tito’s portraits, in Allied hands, nothing got through to the American press.

Tito’s Interviews in Yank and Time: Who Is The First?

Shortly after the OWI and commercial U.S. magazines started getting into Yugoslavia through Bari in early 1944, plans were finally being made to bring foreign correspondents into the country with the aim of creating a serious profile of the Partisan movement and Tito in the Western press.

Walter Bernstein, a staff journalist for the U.S. military magazine Yank, made an unauthorized trip to Yugoslavia to interview Tito in the spring of 1944.211 His past as a member

209 Ibid, 60.
210 Ibid.
211 Walter Bernstein “who probably beats every Yank correspondent when it comes to globe trotting,” left U.S. in the early spring of 1943, travelling during war to Australia, Persian Gulf, Iran, Cairo and Algiers. He joined the 45th and 3rd division, reporting on the invasion of Sicily in November 1943, and later returning to Cairo to cover the Cairo conference between Churchill, Roosevelt, and Chian Kai-shek. For
in the American Communist Party during college years at Dartmouth, might have helped him win Partisan trust.\(^{212}\) Having made the arrangements with the Yugoslav representatives in Cairo and Italy, Bernstein was transported from Italy, probably from Bari, to Vis, and then by boat to the Adriatic coast in Yugoslavia. From there, Partisans escorted him to Tito’s HQ in Jajce through the German occupied territory in Dalmatia and Bosnia. He described his journey and visit with the editors of the Partisan underground newspaper *Dalmatia* in an article, “Yugoslav Diary,” published in the 23 June 1944 issue of *Yank*.\(^{213}\) Hailing it as “The First Interview With Marshal Tito, in Yugoslavia” on the cover page, the magazine published Bernstein’s main feature story on 16 June 1944 (fig. 18).\(^{214}\)

It must be noted, however, that the Military censors in the MTO initially delayed the release of Bernstein’s story.\(^{215}\) In the meantime, the Allied Military Command in Cairo made all the necessary arrangements for the official representatives of the combined British and American press to enter Yugoslavia, including John Talbot of Reuter, Stoyan Pribichevich, American photographer Chief G.E. Fowler, and Max Slade of the British Army Film Photographic Unit. They were in Tito’s HQ in Jajce between 6 and 10 May 1944. The Cairo censors approved their interview with Tito, and the British Ministry of Information (MOI) in London and the OWI in Washington released it for use in British and American newspapers. *Time* magazine published their story, “Tito’s Yugoslavia,” on 22 May 1944, signalling the lifting of the information blockade in Yugoslavia.\(^{216}\)

---


\(^{215}\) According to the *Time* article on censorship in Mediterranean Theatre of Operations, “Two reporters (not A.P. men and not identified) had been arrested by the Allied soldiers for trying to enter Yugoslavia.” It is possible that these two officers were actually Bernstein and his photographer. See: “Jumbo Censorship,” *Time* (22 May 1944): 60.

\(^{216}\) See “Jumbo Censorship,” *Time* (22 May 1944): 38.
In comparison with the *Time* article, Bernstein’s story stands as picturing Tito’s personality in terms of cultural stereotypes, as well discussing his achievements as a war commander. A Hollywood screenplay writer after the war, Bernstein’s prose is fast-paced; and his staging of the Partisan leader in his HQ, in a nocturnal landscape penetrated by the roaring sound of the near-by waterfalls, is rather dramatic. A lonesome figure awake deep into the night, Tito is a force to reckon with, “a man of high intelligence and sensitivity, dedicated with his people to the job of freeing his country.” To make this singular person closer to his readers - the ordinary U.S. soldiers - Bernstein mobilized various popular stereotypes all embodying American cult of individuality in different ways, comparing Tito to a businessman, an artist and an actor at once. In this, his article presaged the popular iconography of Tito in *Life* photography.

**“Marshal Tito” in *Life*: Building Tito’s Public Image in August 1944**

Asked in an interview with John Loengard in 1993 which one of his many photographs he would choose to bring along if he were to face St. Peter at the Gates of Heaven, John Phillips answered:

> I suppose the most important one is Teheran. But it’s not the most interesting as a picture. Tito in his cave is a historic document. In my book I wrote that I started off as a press photographer. I wound up as a historian.

In retrospect, the high regard Phillips had of his war photographs of Tito, is justified as in them he rendered the transformation of “the peasant-born marshal of Yugoslavia” into a major historical figure.

---


In 1936, Time Inc.’s office in London hired Phillips to cover the events in Europe for *Life*. Phillips was officially on *Life* staff between 1936 and 1950, contributing to the magazine as an independent journalist until the 1990s. During the war, he was stationed in Cairo, as one of the accredited Allied journalists for the Balkans. He kept in touch with captain F.W. Deakin, in charge of Yugoslav affairs at the British G.H.Q in Cairo. In November 1943, Phillips was present at Teheran Conference as a member of the Churchill’s company, photographing the historic event. He returned to Cairo and shortly afterwards, and was moved to the SBS in Italy, in anticipation of his new assignment in Yugoslavia.

Accredited to the Partisan forces as the representative of the American press and transported from Bari to the Dalmatian island of Vis on 13 July 1944, Phillips joined the staff of Maclean’s Allied Military Mission in Tito’s New HQ. The timing was not a coincidence. Phillips arrived to Vis at the moment when “any representation to Partisans headquarters had some political implications.” In the summer of 1944, it was bursting with activity. It was at this time that Allies recognized Tito as de facto the leader of the new Yugoslav government; Churchill and Tito met in Naples in August to discuss the future of Yugoslavia, and the American Independent Military Mission (IAMM) under the command of Col. Ellery Huntington, arrived to Tito’s HQ in the same month. Handling Tito’s public relations, Mitar Bakic was appointed the Head of the newly established Cabinet of the Supreme Commander in August

---

221 Phillips describes the circumstances of his visit to Vis in, John Phillips, *Yugoslav Story* (Belgrade: Jugoslovenska Revija, 1943-1983), 30-31, 39.
222 Ford, 82.
223 Following the capitulation of Italy in the fall of 1943, the Partisans took over the part of the Dalmatian coast and the number of islands in the Adriatic, including Vis. During 1944 the Allies had their base on the island, and various operations against German garrisons in Yugoslavia as well as a distribution of supplies to partisans inside Yugoslavia were run by the OSS and SOE officers from Vis. Following the German aerial assault on Tito’s HQ in the Bosnian city of Drvar, on 25 May 1944, Allies in Bari mounted a full scale operation in retaliation of German attacks and flew Tito, his staff, and the representatives of the AAMM from Yugoslavia, via Bari, to Vis in the first week of June 1944. This was the first time Tito and his HQ were actually separated from the Partisan units inside Yugoslavia.
224 Huntington was introduced to Tito by Donovan, the OSS Director, on 11 Avgust 1944. Ford, 94-96.
One aspect of it was the press, as foreign journalists were now allowed to the island.
Eleven black-and-white photographs showing Tito in his Marshal’s uniform in various poses, now in the photographic collection of the Military Museum in Belgrade, testify that at the time it was a part of Tito’s routine to make himself available to accredited foreign and partisan photographers swarming the island (figs. 19-21). It is quite possible that some of these images are by Phillips, who took over 127 photographs for his Life assignment, later sent to Tito via OSS Bari in September 1944. The fact that Life published his story on 14 August 1944, furthermore, is related to the change in U.S. policy, now taking Tito and his communist government seriously, despite opposition from the Senate and Congress.

**Life and Censorship**

In the spirit of general Eisenhower’s maxim that ‘public opinion wins wars’ the censorship of American press during the WW II was tough. As was customary, Life photojournalists provided photographs and notes to the editorial desk, to be submitted to various levels of censorship. On the front lines, the Army Public Relations Office (PRO) was responsible for accrediting war photographers, organizing picture taking, developing and transmitting photos to the OWI censorship desk in Washington. The army censors in the OWI in Washington carefully inspected the content of all American newspapers and magazines during the war. They first looked at the raw material, including captions, the text of the story, and individual photographs. Once the magazine editors put together the visual and textual components of the photo-essay, the OWI censors re-checked the final layout one more time before giving their

---

225 *U pratnji vrhovnog komandanta*, 256. The Office of the Supreme Commander will later be renamed the Cabinet of the President of Yugoslavia.
226 The photographs in question have the inventory numbers 2334, 2346, 2347, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2358, and 2359. Judging by the clothes Tito is wearing, the background, and the consistent framing with a focus on Tito only, these images seem to belong to one or two shooting sessions in June and August 1944. The dates are inscribed in handwriting on the back of the photos. The photographs were transferred to the Military Museum in 1968 from the files of the Yugoslav State Police. (SUP)
227 Mary Alves, the editorial offices of *Life* magazine, to Mr. Robert Joyce, the chief of the SI OSS Bari, 5 September 1944, NARA, RG. 226, Box 14, Folder 189-193.
approval for the story to go in the print. Furthermore, *Life* had two censorship offices of its own, one in Washington DC, operating between 1942-45, and one in London. In the presence of the appointed army officer there, incoming material from accredited journalists was inspected and released to the magazine’s editorials desks in the U.S. and Great Britain.\footnote{Moeller, 191.}

Thus, we must bear in mind that in its final form, *Life*’s flattering photo-essay on Tito was the end result of a complex set of censorship and editorial decisions, thoroughly thought out and executed with a definitive task in mind: to justify the official policy of supporting Tito militarily, while downplaying the controversial political implications of the deal, that is, propping up of a communist regime in Yugoslavia.

**Staging Tito the Hero: Hermit in The Cave**

Phillips’ photo-essay opens with a headline, “Marshal Tito, the Partisan leader of Yugoslavia gives LIFE photographer a full day in his mountain-cave headquarters.”\footnote{See “Marshal Tito,” *Life* 16, no.17 (14 August 1944): 35-38.} When asked by Phillips to have his photos take, Tito allegedly responded:

> I will not pose for pictures. They are never good that way. But come tomorrow morning and spend the whole day with me and shoot what you want.\footnote{Ibid, 35.}

The complicated circumstance of their meeting, including the political and censorship framework discussed above, are reduced in this statement to a simple relationship of trust between the photographer and his subject, claiming representational transparency for the novel image of Tito the commander in chief of the allied NLA created in *Life* in 1944.

The architectural staging was, however, a major symbolic device in Phillips’ photography, location and space existing as attributes of Tito’s courageous personality and leadership. In now famous photograph opening the essay, Tito appears in his makeshift cave-office carved into the side of a mountain on the Adriatic island of Vis (see fig. 22). Formally
attired in his ceremonial Marshal uniform and high leather boots, he is standing still and tall against the rocky cave walls in the background, holding a phone handle with one hand and the other folded behind his back. Tito’s dog Tiger dozes on the ground, guarding the entrance to the cave. The bare and minimal decor of the cave implies the hermit-like and solitary lifestyle of the Yugoslav commander, evoking the difficult times in which this and a similar photo, *Tito at Sutjeska*, were taken. The rugged appearance of the ‘natural architecture’ of his cave-office furthermore metaphorically alludes to the ‘rock-hard’ qualities of Tito’s character and the resilience of his leadership. The location is also contrasting with Tito’s official costume and dignified look; here we see a hybrid between a highly romanticized stereotype established in Partisan photography of Tito the heroic soldier - a free man pursuing his own convictions and visions of justice while acting independently - and Tito the modern military commander - a professional leader with practical skill necessary for winning the war. Merged in Tito’s iconography in 1944, this mix of personal idealism and pragmatism could only win him an admiration of a nation born on the battlefields led by George Washington.

**Tito and Tiger: The Masculine Warrior Ideal**

Photographs of Tito in the company of his canine pets, Lux and Tiger, were common, beginning with the Partisan photography. Tito’s first dog, Lux, appears in Skrigin’s informal study of Tito at Mliniste in 1942 (fig. 13). According to the heroic lore, Lux died saving Tito’s life in the summer of 1943 during the German artillery attack that left his master wounded in the arm. His was the ultimate display of canine loyalty and attachment, never forgotten by Tito. Tito’s new dog, Tiger, debuts in a full-length portrait of the Yugoslav leader taken by Skrigin, following the proclamation of Tito the Marshal of Yugoslav Army in November 1943. Quiet and

---

231 A famous war photo by Savo Orovic of Tito and Dr. Ribar posed against a similar rock formation in the background, was taken after Tito’s wounding at Sutjeska in the summer of 1943. The Vis and Sutjeska cave-photos mark the two cardinal moments in Tito’s career during war, the brush with death and the official Allied recognition. Juxtaposed, they render the shift in Tito’s personal stature between the two summers.
composed, he heels obediently next to a serious Tito, standing tall in his Marshal uniform and high boots (see fig. 23). The ceremonial pose of the Marshal, his hand gently stroking Tiger’s noble head in a reassuring gesture symbolizing the personal bond existing between the two, closely resembles conventions in portraits of European aristocracy and gentleman in the company of their hounds, such as Van Dyck’s painting of the Duke James Stuart, painted in 1633.232 The dog’s prominent presence also commemorates the legendary alliance between the Yugoslav leader and his first dog Lux, adding a personal layer perpetuated in the iconography of all later photographs of Tito and Tiger.

While Roosevelt was inseparable from Fala, his small Scotish Terrier, and Churchill was known to have spoilt his two miniature brown poodles, called Rufus I and II, Tito and his German Shepherd dog Tiger were the right match for the tough times they endured together. Strong, agile, courageous, and intelligent, the German Shepherd dogs achieved their full potential as military dogs in the World Wars I and II in Europe.233 The breed first became popular in the U.S. following the end of the Great War, as returning American soldiers spread stories about their exceptional character. Their popularity as a companion dog and a domestic pet rose tremendously among the general public in the 1920s and the 1930s, due to the impact of Hollywood family-oriented movies featuring German Shepherd canine stars, such as Strongheart and Rin Tin Tin.234 Prominent Americans, among them the niece of John D. Rockefeller,

---


233 Initially bred as sheep herding dogs by the Calvary Captain Max Emil Frederick von Stephanitz at the close of the nineteenth century, German Shepherds were trained as police dogs, and deployed by the German Army during the WWI, serving messenger, sentry, patrol, guard, and infantry dogs; and as rescue and the Red Cross dogs. During the WW II World War Two, they were deployed as trained military dogs by both the Allied and Axis forces. See: Winifred Gibson Strickland and James Anthony Moses, The German Shepherd Today, New and Revised Edition (New York: Howell Books House, 1988), 1-14.

234 Employed by the Warner Bros. in the 1920s and 1930s, Rin Tin Tin was the instant star with general public and a progenitor of a whole line of canine stars working in the Hollywood movie industry in the years to come. For Rin Tin Tin movies see: Ephraim Katz, The Film Encyclopedia, 4th edition, revised by Fred Klein and Ronald Dean Nolen (New York: Harper-Collins Publishers Inc., 2001), 1158. Although Strongheart does not appear in any major film encyclopaedias as yet, there exist an Internet fan site with a
Geraldine Rockefeller Dogde, loved the breed, promoting it in the interwar period. She described her dogs as “alert companions, with plenty of affection for the family,” and great working watchdogs at once. Thus, German Shepherd became an embodiment of the perfect companion dog, suited for the soldier’s life and American families alike. In the U.S., then, the loyal Tigar was an especially potent attribute of Tito’s guarded lifestyle, courageously accompanying his master in the battlefields and protecting his privacy during respite. To some extent, the breed’s tough disposition as a war dog also resonated with Tito’s public image in Life in 1944 as an uncompromising warrior and the hero of European resistance.

Shortly thereafter, on 4 November 1944, the British Picture Post published a cover photo of Tito, his chest exposed, smoking and bathing in the company of Tiger off the shores of Vis (fig. 24). Taken by Phillips during his stay with Tito that summer, the photograph’s informal character contrasted with the more conventional rendering of Tito in the U.S. press. The picture’s headline and a related sub-heading read:

Tito takes a day off. Marshal Tito, leader of the Jugo-Slav partisan armies can afford an hour or two outdoors. His long, courageous fight has now achieved the liberation of most of his country.

The Post cover clearly exploited Tito’s fit masculine look as a metaphor of his personal strength and political superiority in the struggle against the Nazis. But it had additional meaning for his public image. One of the myths deliberately created around Tito’s identity by his opponents was that he was not a man but a woman. ‘Effeminizing’ the leader of the Yugoslav guerrillas, Evelyn short account of his place in the history of the Hollywood. For example see: Dan Condon, “A Forgotten Hero: Strongheart-the story of the movies’ first German Shepherd star,” URL: www.silentsaregolden.com/articles/strongheartarticle.html, (Accessed 28 Feb. 2007).


See cover of Picture Post (4 November 1944). The photo is in the Time and Life Inc. Photo Collection, and can be viewed online at www.Life.com/image/3095049.

Ibid.
Waugh of the British mission at Tito’s Vis headquarters referred to him as ‘she,’ ‘lesbian,’ and ‘Auntie’ in conversations with other western officers and with Phillips. The de-powering potential of this myth was significant in the context of the political and popular culture of the period, upholding the gendered view of war and political leadership as a male domain. Thus, the friendly Post cover of Tito bathing in the Adriatic, his athletic chest obviously lacking any signs of femininity, restored the power of masculine paradigm in representations of Tito’s leadership in the West. When the same photo appeared later in Time in July 1948, the bathing photo was captioned “Tito keeping cool,” as a witty comment on Tito’s ‘cool’ conduct in the dead heat of his conflict with Stalin.

The Commander: Professionalizing Tito’s Image

Following the cave photo, work and leisure of Tito the Commander are rendered in the seven black and white photos arranged in two horizontal rows in a double-page spread (fig. 25). In the upper row, we see, Tito writing at his neatly organized desk with a huge map of Yugoslavia, now his ‘domain,’ pinned onto the wall behind. In the central image, Tito is dictating to his young secretary Olga Ninchich, the “daughter of King Peter’s anti-Tito foreign minister from 1941 to 1943.” In the last image to the left, he is inspecting large maps of the Mediterranean and of Eastern Europe, his back turned to the photographer. The captions are

---

239 A famous British novelist, Evelyn Waugh was invited in June 1944 by Randolph Churchill to join him in Yugoslavia. Leaving London, Waugh and Churchill came to Vis in early July 1944 where Waugh met Tito for the first time. They were flown to the partisan territory in Croatia later that month, but their plane crashed. After a short hospital stay in Italy, Waugh and Churchill joined the General Headquarters of Croatian Partisans in Topusko in September 1944, establishing a mission there. Waugh stayed posted in Topusko until he was transferred to Dubrovnik in November 1944, serving as a liaison between British troops and the Partisans. His views of Tito, unlike those of Winston and Randolph Churchill, were more reserved. In February 1945, he was removed from Dubrovnik by the Yugoslavs. Waugh remained one of Tito’s open critics after the war, especially of his policy towards the Catholic Church. For a further discussion of Waugh’s wartime experiences in Yugoslavia, and his anti-Tito stance see: Douglas Lane Patey, The Life of Evelyn Waugh: A Critical Biography (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 213-221; 309-310; David Pryce-Jones ed., Evelyn Waugh and His World (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, c. 1973), 124, 134-135, 150-151; Michael Davie ed., The Diaries of Evelyn Waugh, (London; Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 568-578.


241 Ibid, 36-37.
brief: “Tito’s desk”, “Tito’s secretary” and “Map of Mediterranean.” While these images are thematically related to the older photos by Skrigin and Orovic of Tito working in his make shift HQ. Tito the great strategist, and Tito the leader of the people as in the closing image of Pokret, Phillips borrows heavily from the representational repertoire used in the depiction of the Allied Commanders in Life, consciously refashioning Partisan stereotypes.

Often featured working alone, or in meetings with other Army and government officials, American commanders are depicted mostly as a privileged few in the top ranks of the U.S. military agglomeration. In 22 February 1943 issue of Life, for example, the U.S. commanders Admiral Leahy, General Marshal and General Arnold are shown inside the Joint Chiefs of Staff HQ, standing before a huge map of the Pacific in the War Staff Room and discussing strategic issues (fig. 26).

In this and similar images of Allied commanders, the office reigns over the battlefield as a symbolic site of Allied leadership, marginalizing as a result the combat aspect of their command posts. The graphic realities of the war are purified in this photograph, portraying (them as) paid professionals and successful administrators. This ‘sanitized’ iconography is significant, as it contrasts with the magazine’s rendering of the Axis commanders, Hitler and Mussolini, and their entourage of officers emerging from the ruins of a Russian citadel in the wake of the battle. While the first suggests the constructive nature of the Allied war effort and leadership, the latter explicitly renders to the destructive nature of the Axis occupation in Europe attributed in Life to the enemy leaders.

Thus, grounded in this tradition, the key attributes and functions traditionally associated with the image of a professional military commander, the tidy office, the fully equipped desk with the phone and a typing machine, the map, and the personal secretary, are accentuated in Life, ‘professionalizing’ Tito’s public image as an allied commander. An important implication

of the magazine’s iconography of Tito the Commander was also the ‘disciplining’ of the public image of the Partisan from communist guerilla to a modern army leader. This transformation came with a price. As much as Life modernized the image of Tito as the uppermost bureaucrat of the Yugoslav army, standing on equal footing with Allied leaders, it also was an image of an alienated leadership, in which various technological tools and props of the military profession replace direct contact with one’s subordinates, which had been particularly important to Tito’s guerilla leadership style, and so evidently celebrated in Partisan photography.

**Tito the Military Strategist: War Is a Game of Chess**

The four images at the bottom show Tito playing a game of chess with General Arsa Jovanovic, his Chief of Staff, and winning with a grin (fig. 25). Chess is traditionally associated with analytic mind and strategic mindset.\(^\text{244}\) The history of chess in Soviet Russia, as a game loved by Lenin and popular among the workers (and later perfected by great players Boris Spassky, Anatoly Karpov, and Gary Kasparov) made it into a modern symbol of Soviet competitiveness and genius. As well, the game’s oriental and imperial roots were revisited in Life’s rendering of Emir Abdullah, the ruler of Trans-Jordan and one of the Allied friends in the Middle East, in 1941.\(^\text{245}\) Despite the flattering connotations in his portrait as pondering chess player, the title mocks Emir’s intelligence and personal integrity calling him a British ‘pawn,’ a mere figure to be manipulated by the Queen in the true game of war consuming the world leaders at the time (see fig. 27).

As far as cultural associations play a role in Life’s iconography of military leisure, the U.S. forces and their commanding staff, in contrast, were usually shown in the magazine

---


\(^{245}\) "Arab Ruler of Trans-Jordan is No.1 British Pawn in the Middle East," *Life* 11, no.22 (1 Dec. 1941): 67-70. In the past, chess was a favorite intellectual exercise of oriental royalty. It was tutored to young Persian princes in the sixth century, and it remains a popular board game today for the same reasons.
enjoying less cerebral games, such as cribbage as in the photo of Lieutenant General George H. Brett, the U.S. air commander under MacArthur in Southwest Pacific, and Brigadier General Ralph Royce, his senior staff officer during a lunch break. Described affectionally as “old side-kicks,” playing with the “USA cards and, for pegs, Uncle Sam matches,” each word in the brief caption triggers patriotic emotions (fig. 28).

In Tito’s case, the chess-game photos were intended as a metaphor of his intellectual capacity and military genius (and, possibly, a whimsical hint to his ‘oriental’ appetite for power). Clarifying this, the caption under the last photo in the sequence draws an obvious parallel between the chess game and the game of war, calling Tito a capable strategist whose tactics are “often daring” but also successful. The opportune iconography of these photos later inspired a lingering myth of Tito as an excellent chess player in political circles, which he modestly debunked in his biography (fig. 29).

**Masculinity and Prestige: Tito vs. King Peter in Life**

A one-page photograph of Tito walking down the steep hill from his cave-office, followed by his Chief of Staff and Pribichevich, closes the essay. The caption explains its putative content: “the ‘pokret’ (movement) is the basic tactic of the Partisans” (fig. 30). Obviously, more a “photo-op” than a real pokret, this and other photos in *Life* intensely de-contextualized Tito’s public image, in contrast to the existing Partisan photography, focusing narrowly on personality and possibly pleasing thereby the military censorship. But, in doing

---

251 There are numerous documentary photographs from Vis showing Tito performing his commanding and political duties from a more imbedded point of view, such his inspecting of the units of his Partisan Army in *The Muster of the Dalmatian Units* (fig. 30) and *Tito and the Allied Mission on a Festal*
so, the magazine pursued an opportune comparison between Tito’s “camera-look” and the American ideal of maleness as mediated by the commercial advertisements, movies, and the cult of the movie star. In general, Tito resembled a popular male ideal: the mature man of tough character, serious demeanor, emotionally removed, determined, assertive in action, and physically handsome. Tito’s manly, conventional appearance, was a bonus in the struggle of opinions fought in the U.S. media and Congress between his and the supporters of the exiled Yugoslav King Peter.

Living in London during the war and attending university there, King Peter was represented as an enthusiastic, Cambridge-educated but politically immature and self-centered youth in a “Close-up” about him in the 2 March 1942 issue of *Life* (figs. 31-32). A Harry-Potteresque figure dressed in a dark college robe “pedalling off at dusk” on his bike to see a Cary Grant movie, the King’s portrayal by the magazine’s Lael Laird and David Scherman was affectionate, but nevertheless gave the impression that the young monarch was in need of guidance and not yet suitable to be a guiding authority for the Yugoslav nation in the throes of war. Tito, on the other hand, inspired confidence; if the King was the fan of the Cary Grant movies, Tito embodied the ‘Grantesque’ ideal of mature manliness.

A sophisticated example of political photojournalism, *Life*’s rendering of Marshal Tito in 1944 augmented the military arguments the Allies used in Teheran to justify their new policy of cooperation with Tito. Authoring Tito’s new image as a reputable military commander standing at the helm of an organized allied army in Yugoslavia, the magazine supported the U.S. policy of involvement with Tito’s communist government. As a part of this debate, a month later, *Life* was jubilant about the accomplishments of “Tito’s men,” in a photo-essay with ‘action’ shoots by

---

*Platform*. Taken by the Partisan photographers, both images contextualize the growing strength of Tito’s army and the Allied involvement on the island.

Phillips of Partisan units in Slovenia sabotaging the German railway. Time sent the same message in October 1944, featuring the symbolic cover by Ernst Hamlin Baker of Marshal Tito standing “at the intersections of two empires” backed by his resolute Partisans, and, ostensibly, by Luce’s empire (fig. 33). Finally, a token of friendly relations, “an album for the Marshal, including the best of these photographs taken by John Phillips,” was sent to him from Life in November 1944.

From Obscurity to the Allied Pantheon of War Heroes

The favorable reports and stories about the Partisan movement and Tito published in Life, Time, Victory, Yank and Picture Post in late 1943 and 1944 ended the Allied censorship blockade, giving Tito and the Partisans visibility in the western media, something they had lobbied for among the Allies since mid 1943 to strengthen their movement internationally and domestically. While it is hard to measure the opinion-making impact of the war press on the American and British general public, we can assert at this point that Tito was introduced to the western world on a major scale: the circulation of Life alone during the war reached 6 million copies. With this kind of exposure, Tito finally ascended from the obscurity of the early intelligence reports and journalistic speculations, to become one of the key historical figures in the pantheon of war leaders and commanders celebrated in the mainstream Allied press. Since this recognition came from beyond the Partisan movement, it held even greater significance with respect to his and the Communist prestige among the Yugoslav population. The CPY leadership knew this, and used favorable reports in the Allied press to prop its power domestically. We know that Life sent the 25 copies of the 14 August 1944 issue to Robert Joyce, the Chief of the

254 Time cover (9 Oct. 1944).
255 Mary Alves to Robert Joyce, 5 September 1944. NARA, RG 226, Box 14, Folder 191; and Thayer, IAMM in Belgrade, cable to Joyce, SI-SBS, 30 November 1944, NARA, RG 226. Entry 121. Box 39.
256 Moeller, 200.
SI OSS Bari, for distribution to the Partisans there. Life continued to play an important role in shaping Tito’s public image during Cold War, staging one of the most intriguing propaganda campaigns in its history: the invention of the great American communist ally, Yugoslavia, and the ‘starification’ of its leader.

---

257 W.T.M. Beale to Robert Joyce, 5 October 1944. RG 226, Box 14, Folder 191.
Part II: Tito’s Political Stardom in The West: Leadership, Photography, and Cold War
Three *Life* Behind the Iron Curtain: Seeing Eastern Europe in Cold-War Terms

Colorful accounts written in the mid century by former *Life* journalists and executives aside, in more recent scholarly literature the magazine is examined as a central cultural phenomenon and force in a modern American history. In particular, Wendy Kozol, in *Life is America: Family and Nation in Postwar Journalism*, and other authors in *Looking at LIFE Magazine*, offer a substantial analysis of the magazine’s contribution to the shaping of American national identity and popular worldview in the post-war era. Thus, these authors focus on various issues in representation of the American family, popular culture, political extremism, religion, race, gender, the atomic age, and corporate America. But, surprisingly, they fail to give a critical account of the magazine’s profound engagement with the central issue of the period: American attitude towards Soviet communism. *Life* reported on the postwar elections in Italy and France, where the communist parties had strong support, and further, bidding farewell to the Roosevelt administration’s tolerance, it engaged in openly anti-communist rhetoric, supported an aggressive anti-Soviet policy, and heralded an antagonistic image of communism as the great “Other” to the American way of life. The magazine was, undoubtedly, at the forefront of the Cold-War propaganda in the United States. Its impact was significant, as in 1946 the magazine reached 21% of the population. For these reasons, *Life’s* rendering of Soviet leadership and communist world in the late forties bears analysis.

---

258 It is in the similar spirit that we develop this study, recognizing the fact that the representation of daily events and feature subjects in *Life* constitutes a context within which certain political and ideological views were presented to the large population of its American readers. See: Erica Doss, ed., *Looking at LIFE Magazine* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001) and Wendy Kozol, *Life is America: Family and Nation in Postwar Photojournalism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

259 Doss, 85.
Setting the Stage, March 1946: The Iron Curtain Paradigm, Cordon Sanitaire, and the Fear of the Soviets

The stage was set in the 18 March 1946 issue of *Life*, marking the onset of an explicitly anti-Soviet attitude. First, in a short illustrated article “Churchill Speaks,” the readers were introduced to the notion of the “Iron Curtain,” coined in Churchill’s now famous speech, delivered on 6 March 1946 in Truman’s home state of Missouri: “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent.” Next to this metaphor for the divisive politics between yesterday’s allies, the United States and the Soviet Union, both now fighting for supremacy in war-torn Europe, *Life* related other dramatic points from Churchill’s speech: the idea of the existing threat of Soviet expansionism in Europe, and the inevitable communist challenge to the free world it represented. In a crescendo of bad faith, the magazine echoed Churchill’s calling upon the U.S. and the Great Britain to form a “military alliance” as an “assurance of security” and a way to “prevent World War III” in the face of the assumed Soviet threat to world peace.

A commissioned article in the same issue, “The U.S. and the World,” by the former U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain Joseph P. Kennedy, echoed the key ideas from Churchill’s Iron Curtain speech, underscoring the need to chart a new course for U.S. foreign policy towards the Soviet state. As Truman up to this point had not been critical or openly hostile towards the Soviet leadership, Kennedy criticized him for lack of leadership and clarity, arguing that the United States and the USSR were not allies but rivals in “the world pattern of power.” The two

---

262 The expressive language in Churchill’s speech was particularly fearful: “Nobody knows what Soviet Russia . . . intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive tendencies.” Ibid, 47.
263 Ibid.
dominant superpowers after the war, he maintained, with their clashing interests, were to
determine the fate of the global community.

Kennedy was as blunt as Churchill on the hostile aspects of Soviet policy in Europe,
arguing that Russia was intent on creating “a protective belt of ‘friendly’- i.e., dominated - states
around her,” in Eastern Europe, with the sole purpose of “constituting both a cordon sanitaire in
reverse and a system of bridgeheads for the advancement of Communism.”265 Thus, echoing
Churchill again, he warned that the Soviet expansionism was “the greatest potential source of a
world war,” and further that the “basic world policy for the U.S. should be to prevent World War
III.”266 In both cases, criticism was based on an assumption of the existence of a Soviet threat to
the European continent, and ultimately to the U.S.. Kennedy advised the U.S. government to
“adopt realism” as the basis of new policy, which translated into a radically hostile stance
towards the Soviet state.267 The key was now the “preservation” of the U.S. interests in various
corners of the world, with Germany, Scandinavia, North Africa, England and western Europe,
the Philippines, and the Pacific all identified as the most sensitive points of potential conflict
with the USSR. In Kennedy’s list of the determining factors for the U.S. policy, we find a
separate category vaguely describing various Soviet hostile activities necessitating a prompt
reaction, such as “attempts to Communize the people,” evidence of “present scale of Communist

265 Kennedy, “The U.S. and the World,” 106. The first instances of a metaphoric use of the French term
cordon sanitaire (quarantine line) in political discourse of Western Europe to signify an ideological
containment of communism, preventing its spread into the Western Europe, is found in the speeches of
French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, in the years following the Russian Revolution in 1917.
According to a French historian and journalist André Fontaine, Clemenceau used the term in his March
1919 speech to refer to the new European states that were created by the partition of the Soviet Empire
following the revolution. The term was used by Kennendy to refer to the communist countries of Eastern
and Central Europe with friendly ties with Soviet Russia. André Fontaine, History of the Cold War, From
the October Revolution to the Korean War 1917-1950, trans. D. D. Paige (New York: Pantheon Books,
1968).
267 Ibid, 106.
activities in various parts of the world (propaganda etc.),” and instances of “intensified Communist activities.”

Finally, in a combative editorial in the same issue, “‘Getting Tough’ with Russia,” the Life editors championed Churchill’s and Kennedy’s anti-Soviet and anti-communist stance, aligning the magazine with these critical voices and pushing for the adoption of a new, aggressive policy in relations with the Soviet Union. They urged fellow Americans to fulfill their “missionary opportunity” and promote everywhere the cause of human freedom in the name of “justice and liberty” as a way to counter the Russian “spasm of aggression all over the world.”

Pitting the USSR and communism against western humanism and democracy, thus, Life introduced an allure of American idealism, and quest for freedom, into the anti-Soviet, anti-communist rhetoric of ‘realism and toughness.’ That is, the magazine not only officially disseminated the new antagonistic worldview, but also gave an ideological dimension to this struggle for supremacy between the two superpowers as a morally justified war against communism. The early date of these articles is of particular significance.

The historians agree that the tense months between Churchill’s Iron Curtain speech in March 1946 and the proposal of the Marshall Plan in June 1947 represent the formative stage of Cold War. The rift was hardened by the creation of the Cominform in September of 1947 and the adoption of the Marshall Plan in March 1948, leading to the ultimate confrontation.

Right on the brink of the Cold War then, in the spring of 1946 Life actively established a framework of ideas, images, and emotions typifying the Cold-War view of the world, from the ominous image of the Iron Curtain, to the fear of an impending World War, and the necessity of new western alliances. In subsequent issues, the magazine freely drew and expanded upon these agonizing

---

images of the world in peril, depicting the Soviet Union as a hostile nation and communism as a threat.

“The Iron Curtain”: Editing Phillips, Rendering Communism in Europe, and Life’s Anti-Soviet Propaganda

On 29 April 1946, *Life* published the three part photographic essay “The Iron Curtain” featuring Eastern and Central European countries. John Phillips, who had remained in Europe after the end of the war, took the photographs for the story. Having traveled extensively throughout the Eastern Europe in 1938, he covered the spread of Nazism in this part of Europe for *Life* in the days leading up to the war. Deepening his understanding of local history and politics as a wartime journalist in the Balkans, Phillips was passionate about the post-war transformation in the Central and Eastern Europe:

What would happen in central Europe was of special interest to me. These small, violent countries, once precariously held together like delicate mobiles by the Habsburg Empire, were in total disarray…. I pushed on in the midst of a world hit by a hurricane which was uprooting all the old values.

Phillips took most of his photographs between summer 1945 and spring 1946, in the months before the notion of the Iron Curtain was coined. This signature metaphor of the Cold War was probably not even available as a point of reference for the photographer during his journeys. He visited Austria and Czechoslovakia in the summer 1945, Poland in the autumn of the same year, and finally Hungary in the winter of 1945. In the company of Lee Miller, he reached Romania in the spring 1946. Although Phillips contributed photographs for the 1946 essay on Eastern Europe, the persuasive image of the social, political, economic and cultural

---

274 Finally, Phillips returned to Italy in the summer of 1946 to cover the election. For Phillips’ own description of his travels throughout the Central and Eastern Europe in late 1945 and 1946 see: John Phillips, “Europe Divided,” *Free Spirit in a Troubled World*, 359-427.
demise in the countries ‘behind’ the Iron Curtain in the magazine was authored by the editor in charge. This was not an exception. *Life* in general reflected the views of the managing editors, and they did not always entirely coincide with nor complement the personal views of the staff photographers. To this extent, the photo story as a journalistic genre was a contested territory, entertaining the possibility of a battle of views between the photographer supplying the images and the editor arranging them in a narrative sequence. In the case of Phillips, witnessing of the “uprooting of the old values” in war-torn Europe was paramount, whereas for the editors, it was the Soviet take-over of Europe.

**Blaming it on the Russians: Creating A Communist Look and Stereotypes in Life**

The magazine framed Phillips’ work as a winning piece of ‘investigative journalism’ by a staff photographer, offering “the best look so far of life in three of the countries - Romania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary,” to document “the extent of Russian control” in the region.\(^2^7^5\) In the opening photograph of the Iron Curtain essay, we see a young but stern-looking Russian soldier on guard in front of a raised barrier in the German city of Dresden. His watchful eye surveys the city streets as he clutches a gun to his chest (fig. 34). With the soldier seemingly unaware of the photographer’s presence, it appears as if Phillips shot this understudied photograph in haste, associating its aesthetics with American street photography or even combat photography. The last comparison was perhaps deliberate. Although it was not an all-out war, the Cold War was, nevertheless, a “war” in the U.S. press. American postwar photojournalists, many of them former civilian combat photographers in World War II like Phillips, “did the work of the real by imbuing the Cold War with materiality . . .(their) images of war created an imaginary of war.”\(^2^7^6\) Eastern Europe was, then, imagined as combat zone between democracy and communism in *Life*. The ‘hip-aesthetic’ of the Dresden photo echoes the point made about


“Russia’s secretiveness and obtuseness toward the sensible requests of Western press representatives” in Eastern Europe, implying a deterioration of trust between the former allies, and the increased risk associated with reporting for the western media from the communist-dominated world.\(^\text{277}\) Taking Phillips’ photographs as a starting point, *Life* editors created a formulaic ‘communist look’ of ‘the curtained countries,’ establishing a somber and dramatic iconography of everyday life in Eastern Europe, to generate a sense of the political, economic, social, and humanitarian crisis in the region as a symptom of Soviet imperialism. *Life* took it to be a hard fact of Russia’s controlling “the destiny of all nations in Eastern Europe.”\(^\text{278}\)

It is important to bear in mind the fact that at this time, however, the complex political and social situation in the Eastern European countries was actually a consequence of the Nazi occupation of between 1940-1945. As was the case with other European counties and Great Britain in 1945 and early 1946, life was just beginning to get back to normal. All of Europe was in the early stages of reconstruction, and the nations of the old continent were experiencing many common problems, from a stagnant economy, to weakened state governance and impoverished cultural life. To attribute the political and social perils in Eastern and Central Europe in 1946 exclusively to the “political, economic, and cultural pressure”\(^\text{279}\) of the Soviet Union was nothing short of a calculated propaganda.

**Romania: The Communist Take-Over**

First among the depicted satellites, Romania was fashioned as nation with no real sense of direction or identity, headed by disorganized and inadequate government losing power to the ever-stronger Communist party. The underlying issue of the communist threat in Eastern Europe

---


\(^{278}\) Ibid. The iconographic stereotypes found in *Life’s* representation of the Soviet *cordon sanitaire* were later used, although inconsistently, in the magazine’s depiction of Yugoslavia as a country run by the communist government.

\(^{279}\) Ibid.
is addressed in the double-page spread with black-and-white photographs juxtaposing the old and the new regimes changing guard (fig. 35).

On the far left, we see two photographs of the young and uninterested Romanian King Mihai. The two complementary images on the far right show an elderly and bookish-looking leader of the Romanian Liberal Party, Dino Bratianu, and the Romanian Orthodox Patriarch Nicoldim, holding a scepter and solemnly standing next to an icon of Christ the Saviour. Embodying the pillars of social and political life of prewar Romania - the monarchy, the church, and the liberal party – their photographs flank the central section of the double page layout at the bottom of which we see an oblong photograph of the current ministerial cabinet, in which, the caption alerts the reader, “communists occupy all key posts.” The image of the communist-dominated cabinet literally pushes the representatives of the traditional political order to the margins of the magazine layout, prefiguring thus the dominant role played by the communist party in the political life of the post-war Romania and the ongoing marginalizing of both the royal tradition and the liberal opposition (fig. 35).

Lamenting the communist rise to power in the country “never noted for democratic freedom even in prewar days,” Life blamed the royal family for the current political crisis in Romania. A photograph of King Mihai on the carpeted courtyard steps of the Sinaia palace near Bucharest, one hand nervously grabbing onto the collar of his dog Aze, “a gift of the SS during the German occupation,” alludes to his great personal insecurity, selfishness, and the poor leadership skills that made him first tolerate German rule during the war and then to opportunistically “exchange” it “for Russian control in 1945,” in order to keep his throne. The essay creates a picture of the childish and “oedipal” King Mihai living with the Queen Mother

---

281 Ibid.
282 Ibid.
Helena “who divorced playboy ex-King Carol,” and a related photograph shows him “jeeping” down the palace steps (fig. 35).  

The responsibility for the collapse of Romanian society into the hands of the Soviet-friendly communists is shared with the naïve Romanian peasantry and a hedonistic aristocracy, their susceptibility to the phony ‘technologies’ of communist persuasion and control alluded to in the captions to their photographs, “The Bear Cure” and “Government Croupiers” (fig. 36). The two smaller images to the left show a Romanian gypsy practicing a traditional ‘bear cure’ on a laughing peasant woman, lying her face down on the ground under the animal’s feet in the “belief that having a bear walk on (her) spine will cure rheumatism.” In the second photograph, we actually see the image of the bear cure gone wrong. Now “tired,” the bear is shown seated atop the woman, applying the full weight of its robust body and pressing her entire body, limbs, and head hard into the dirt on the ground below. It is hard not to read these two images as both an exoticizing depiction of Romanian folk traditions and peasant beliefs, and as an allegorical and satirical depiction of the Soviet methods of pressure and oppression exercised on and over the populations in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, hinging on the figure of the bear, one of the most popular symbols of Soviet Russia.

There are many examples of U.S. political cartoons published before and during World War II in which Soviet Russia is symbolized by the traditional figure of the Russian Bear (fig. 37). In September 1939, the Washington Star published a cartoon with the provocative caption “Lets have peace now!” showing the Russian Bear, with a hammer and sickle on his chest, and the Nazi Eagle conversing about peace (fig. 37). In a related cartoon, “I did not say you could

283 Ibid.
285 A cartoon by Clifford Kennedy Berryman (1869-1949) for the Washington Star in 1918, features a bear as a symbol of the Russian state. Commenting on U.S. relations with the new Bolshevik regime in post-revolutionary Russia, the cartoon shows Uncle Sam talking to the Russian Bear, harnessed by a little Bolshevik parading it around.
keep it!,’ Berryman showed Hitler and Stalin dressed in a bear costume, sitting in front of a beehive inscribed with the names of the Baltic countries occupied by Russia, following the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939 (fig. 37). Following the German invasion of Russia in September 1941, The Evening Star published another cartoon of the Russian Bear fighting with Hitler in the shop window of a New York City store, thus prefiguring the popular and superficial obsession with the events on the Eastern front (fig. 37). The existing symbolic association between the figure of a bear and the Soviet State provided the average American reader with a frame of reference enabling him or her to grasp the whimsical political allegory of “the Gypsy bear cure” in Romania.

Opposite the photograph of the Russian Bear ‘curing’ the naive Romanian peasantry of their aches and pains by quite literally ‘walking over’ them, in an equally satirical image on the adjacent page we see the government croupiers running a roulette wheel at the Sinaia Palace Casino (fig. 36). Apparently unable to uproot the old habits and change the self-centered lifestyle of the “pleasure-loving” decadent Romanian aristocracy, the state nationalized the casino, continuing to run it under the watchful eye of the Ministry of Health. Thus, the photo and the commentary position the Romanian aristocracy as morally sick and ‘beyond a cure,’ while also satirizing the nationalization of business and private enterprise in Romania. Likewise, Life criticized the Romanian government for letting the country fall into a greater economic dependence upon Soviet Russia, lamenting the loss of the country’s oil, “its richest prize,” into the hands of the Soviets. As a token of poor governance we see an unexploded allied bomb

287 Washington Evening Star (20 June 1941).
288 For the images of the U.S. political cartoons by Berryman referred to here see the Collection of Cartoon Drawings in the Library of Congress: http://lcweb2.loc.gov/pp/cdAuthors01.html.
abandoned in the Ploesti oil refineries, its rounded body threatening to burst in a wasteful explosion (fig. 36).\textsuperscript{290}

Finally, the vague accusations in Kennedy’s policy article, that the Soviet government carried out intensified “Communist activities in various parts of the world (propaganda, etc.),”\textsuperscript{291} are given an image in the photograph at the very bottom of the page showing “Soviet cultural propaganda” at work in Romania (fig. 36). In it, we see a huge billboard with a poster for a Russian movie \textit{Pagini Istorie}, installed on a public square with an equestrian statue of Ion Bratianu, “one of Romania’s founders.”\textsuperscript{292} Exploiting this fortunate juxtaposition of the billboard for a film celebrating Lenin with a Romanian monument commemorating the events and personalities from the national past, \textit{Life} captured the penetration of Soviet popular culture and icons of revolution as one of the methods of Soviet “attempts to Communize the people” beyond its borders.\textsuperscript{293}

\textbf{Czechoslovakia: The Link Between East and West}

The next ‘curtained country’ featured in the story was Czechoslovakia during the rule of the coalition government of Eduard Benesh, before the communists actually took power in February 1948. At that time, Czechoslovakia, like Rumania and Hungary, was a society in transition from a wartime Nazi government. \textit{Life} described it in metaphoric terms “as link between East and West.”\textsuperscript{294} The images of allied soldiers strolling in pairs through the streets named “Rooseveltova,” “Stalinova,” and “Trumanova” symbolically allude to the country’s image as a neutral sphere and a zone where the past alliances were still being cherished despite the growing political crisis in post-war Europe (fig. 38).

\textsuperscript{290} Ibid, 30.
\textsuperscript{291} See note 233 above.
\textsuperscript{293} See note 233 above.
The magazine, however, also linked the fate of Czechoslovakia to growing Cold-War antagonism between liberal capitalism and Soviet imperialism. While stressing the encouraging fact that there existed a democratic tradition of parliamentary government in Czechoslovakia before the war, *Life* dismissed the Benesh government’s readiness to experiment with various new features in the country’s economy based on the Soviet model of governance, such as the nationalization of heavy industry, including the famous Skoda factory (fig. 38). From the point of view of the defenders of liberal capitalism, these changes in the country’s economy and governance were crucial, as they endangered western capitalism as a symbol of the American way of life, based on the right to private property and ownership.295

**Hungary - People’s Misery: The Depiction of the Body Behind the Curtain**

Satirizing Rumania, patronizing Czechoslovakia, *Life*’s graphic depiction of “the nightmare quality of life in Hungary” was downright moralizing. It awakened in the magazine readers a strong emotional response to the ‘consequences’ of the communist encroachment in the Eastern European countries.296 The photographs at the end of the essay, “Starving Baby” and “Woman…Seeking Warmth…in Budapest,” addressed raging famine and poverty in Hungary as inscribed in the human body, arguing against communist rule as a source of “people’s misery” there and of human degradation in general.297

In the small black-and-white image “Starving Baby,” we see a young male doctor seated against a deteriorating gray wall in the background (fig. 39). Visibly concerned, he holds on his lap a crying baby, suffering from a rare and near-extinct “Leiner’s disease caused by malnutrition.”298 The iconographical ancestry of this image is of course the Virgin and Child and

---

295 The issue of the abolition of private property as the first ‘victim’ of the planned economy in communist countries of the Eastern Europe was revisited by *Life* in upcoming feature stories about the communist government in Yugoslavia to the same critical effect.
297 Ibid, 34.
298 Ibid.
Pieta, the Christian symbol of hope and love.299 Phillips’ photograph, however, upsets the main Christological meaning of its prototype, transforming it into a devastating image of humanitarian crisis and loss precipitated by the Hungarian 1945 famine.

Reinforcing the critical view of communism in the minds of Life’s readers, his Hungarian photos echo the documentary aesthetics and didactic aspects of the Farm Security Administration (FAS) photography of poverty, homelessness, and social crisis in the Depression-era America. The “Starving Baby” almost instantly invites comparison with images of parenthood in many FSA photographs, many by Dorothea Lange, depicting migrant families wondering through the country in search of jobs. Similarly, Phillips’ poignant image of a homeless woman seated over a heating grate in the cold pavement of an empty Budapest boulevard (fig. 39) resonates closely with the ‘corporeal aesthetics’ and ‘engaged look’ of Lange’s rendering of the homeless and unemployed. The woman’s slumped and inert body, wrapped in worn out clothes, instantly cues ‘poverty’ and ‘homelessness’ to the American viewers taught by Lange’s photographs to see “the trials of the Great Depression as something registered and grappled with first and foremost in the body.”300 Turning her back to the photographer, the Budapest street woman preserves her anonymity, becoming the image of ‘everywoman’ experiencing an existential crisis. In an antithesis to conventional cityscape photography, Phillips, like Lange in her “Skid Row,”301 shows the ‘street view’ of the Hungarian capital with the poor at the centre of it all, using the low camera angle that implies empathy. As he critically ‘aims’ at the poverty in Eastern Europe, Phillips literally gets close to his human subjects, taking their point of view of the modern metropolis as the stage for human drama.

301 This photograph of urban labor was taken on Howard Street in San Francisco in 1937.
This kind of engaged aesthetic was put to a specific service. As a tool of New Deal politics, the FSA photography of the Dust Bowl America, documented the depression years to help preserve national unity in the face of the grave crisis. The FAS photographers had been commissioned by major illustrated magazines such as Life, Look, and Fortune, creating a hybrid between progressive social documentary and the needs of the growing market for illustrated magazines. At the onset of the Cold War, Life revived the FAS tradition of representing social crisis as a physical, singular, and ‘embodied’ experience. Rallying the American public behind the official policy of anti-communism, Phillips’ photographs of famine and poverty in Hungary justified the magazine’s exhortation to its readers to “act under sense of moral compulsion, as a people who had a mission to perform in the world” fighting Soviet communism and promoting “everywhere the cause of human freedom.”

The Communist Puppets and Stalinist “Stooges” in Eastern Europe: Tito in Newsweek and Time

Reinforcing the popular view of the expansionistic nature of Soviet communism, Life and Time represented Eastern European communist leaders as Stalin’s ‘stooges,’ ‘pawns’ or ‘puppets.’ Their portraits were meant to depict the living ‘tools’ of Soviet imperialism. Despite his popularity during the war, Tito was not an exception to this view. His ongoing defiance of the Allied administration of the city of Trieste, lead to a crisis in relations between the U.S. and Yugoslavia and to accelerated the attacks on Tito, their former ally, in the U.S. media.

In the Sovfoto photograph published on the Newsweek cover in September 1946, Tito appears in the official role of Commander in Chief of the Yugoslav Army. Dressed in uniform with a cap covering his serious face in profile, his lips firmly sealed in apparent grim

---


303 “Getting Tough with Russia,” Life, 36. Life quotes John Foster Dules from his Fourth of July address to the nation.

determination, Tito stands on a festive platform watching military maneuvers in Belgrade. Thematically and compositionally, this photograph is similar to the images showing the Red Army Parades in Moscow with Stalin and his commanding generals posed on the rostrum atop Lenin’s Mausoleum. The Newsweek editors, aware of this opportune parallelism, ridiculed Tito’s “classic dictator pose,” representing him as an epigone of Stalin, and Yugoslavia as a Soviet satellite. In a related article, the magazine admonished Tito’s decision to shoot down two U.S. fighters over the Yugoslav border in Slovenia in August 1946, casting as “a clear example of Moscow’s use of its satellites to test its offensive policies against the western powers.”

Once eulogized as the war hero, by 1946 Newsweek rendered Tito an obedient pawn of Moscow in Yugoslavia, although in reality the Trieste crisis had more to do with Tito’s own ambition to enlarge the territories of Yugoslavia in the aftermath of the war.

He received equally hostile treatment in Time, cast in the role of Stalin’s favorite disciple and a communist missionary on the magazine’s 16 September 1946 cover by Ernst Hamlin Baker. Wearing his marshal’s uniform, Tito’s bust is drawn against a simple dark-red background with the Soviet Order of Victory, depicted as disembodied and out of proportion (fig. 40). The diamond-studded Red Star of the Kremlin from the medal shines a brilliant light just above Tito’s head, a symbol of his communist creed, and supposed loyalty to Soviet Russia. Baker’s composition makes an explicit reference to the traditional religious iconography of the Apostles at the moment of receiving their ecumenical duties, visually reinforcing Time’s account of Tito as “Marxist missionary” and apostle of communism, the “fanatical modern faith.”

---

308 See note 272 above.
309 In recognition of his military leadership during WW II, Tito received the Soviet Order of Victory on 29 November 1945. The Order was previously awarded to Stalin, Eisenhower, and Montgomery.
The whole point of this cover and article was to disassociate the Yugoslav leader from the positive aspects of his wartime image as a leader with personal integrity and courage,\textsuperscript{311} and to portray him instead as a tool of Soviet expansionistic policy, as “one of the Kremlin’s most fateful, fanatical, and efficient proletarian proconsuls.”\textsuperscript{312} This was only half-true; although the CPY in general supported Stalin foreign policy in 1946, it maintained sovereign distance from the Kremlin since the war.\textsuperscript{313} Underlining this idea of Tito’s subjugation to the Kremlin, \textit{Time} published a black-and-white photograph in the same issue of jubilant Yugoslav youth carrying large portraits of Tito and Stalin in the 1946 May Day parade.\textsuperscript{314}

\textbf{David Douglas Duncan in Bulgaria in 1947}

In the 12 May 1947 issue, \textit{Life} published a photo-essay “Bulgaria gets the ‘New Democracy’” by a distinguished photojournalist David Douglas Duncan.\textsuperscript{315} On the cover was his photograph of Georgi Dimitrov, the leader of the Communist Party of Bulgaria and the Prime Minister of that country since 1945. If Tito’s heroic reputation during the war was an obstacle in this regard, Dimitrov’s communist career before and after the war made him a perfect fit for a stereotype of a Stalinist stooge and instrument of “Soviet expansion in the Balkans”\textsuperscript{316} (fig. 41).

\textsuperscript{311} See Chapter 2 in this study.
\textsuperscript{312} “Proletarian proconsul,” 20.
\textsuperscript{314} The \textit{Time} photo was taken by Nat R. Farbman. Between 1945 and 1948, Stalin’s and Tito’s cults existed simultaneously in Yugoslavia. Stalin’s portraits were routinely displayed in public on the occasions of national holidays and celebrations as a token of Yugoslav friendship with Soviet Union, but the conscious effort was made by the CPY that the two cults remain separate. See Milovan Djilas’s letter in regards to the celebration of Tito’s birthday sent to all Provincial Committees of the CPY, 21 May 1945, in \textit{Izvori za istoriju Jugoslavije. Politbiro CK KPY (1945-1948)}, vol. 2, prepared by Branko Petranovic (Belgrade: Arhiv Jugoslavije, 1995), 9.
\textsuperscript{316} Duncan, “Bulgaria gets the “New Democracy,”” 33.
The mustached Dimitrov is seen in profile, looking tired, with dark rings under his eyes. He wears a patterned tie and a striped shirt under a grayish coat. On his head, a typical workman’s cap with wide brim attaches an unmistakable class character to Dimitrov’s look. The same cap can be seen in photographs of Lenin taken during his exile in Europe and in the early days of the October Revolution.\footnote{Lenin appears wearing the cap and the three-piece suit in a political poster \textit{Comrade Lenin Cleanses the Earth of Scum}, issued in 1920, celebrating “Lenin the Bolshevik, the man of exile and clandestine struggle, the fighter in the October Revolution and the internationalist leader,” as opposed to Lenin the leader of Soviet Russia depicted hatless. Victoria E. Bonnell, \textit{Iconography of Power. Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 143.} Deliberately pursuing the parallel with Lenin, the editorial box reveals that, like him, Dimitrov had also lived in exile in Germany and Soviet Russia before and during the war, returning to his homeland in 1945 to assume leadership of the country.\footnote{Editorial box, \textit{Life} 22, no.19 (12 May 1947).} He is however referred to simply as “A Communist Boss of Bulgaria” in the picture headline on the cover.\footnote{Cover headline, \textit{Life} 22, no.19 (12 May 1947).}

Used in place of the more neutral word ‘leader’, the negative connotations of the word ‘boss,’ commonly used to describe Mafia dons in the U.S.,\footnote{Comment by professor Elizabeth Legge.} symbolically criminalize his personality and actions. This strategy extends into Duncan’s photograph. Resonant of the traditional codes of, and social prejudices inherent to, the photographic rendition of the criminal body established in the nineteenth-century police photography, Dimitrov’s portrait, minus the hat, could be easily mistaken for a conventional mug-shot.\footnote{On conventions of police photography see: John Tagg, \textit{The Burden of Representation. Essays on Photographies and Histories} (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988). In a calculated subversion of the repressive representational strategies of the state police system, the mug-shot images of communist leaders in Eastern Europe were considered by their fellow communists the photographic ‘vera icons,’ the \textit{true} images of their personal sacrifice to the ideals of international communism and evidence of their rejection of the bourgeois state and its values. A prime ‘record’ authenticating his revolutionary past, thus, mug-shots of Tito from the Lepoglava prison taken in the 20s were, to this effect, published in Yugoslavia after the war, appearing in many books, newspapers, and exhibitions celebrating his leadership.} The iconography of this photo, from Dimitrov’s untidy outfit to the framing of his expressionless face in profile, stereotypes the
head of the Bulgarian state as a ‘criminalized’ subject, appealing to the traditionally suspicious and negative perception of the lower and working classes and the general fear of organized crime of the American reader. Evoked in the context of the Cold War animosities, these negative social stereotypes and related sentiments, served to reinforce the growing popular mistrust in the U.S. of the Soviets and of the leaders in the European communist countries, perceived as thugs.

**Bulgaria: “A testing ground for Stalinist Communism”**

*Life’s* selection of Duncan’s black-and-white photos published in the accompanying photo essay, likewise establish an official view of Bulgaria as a “Russia’s Puppet State.”

Opening the essay, a photograph of the communist youth brigade in Sofia, the country’s capital, marching on a city square decorated with a huge poster of Dimitrov’s and Stalin’s overlapping profiles, visually anchors the related idea that Dimitrov’s power in the country is due to his long-standing association with Stalin, his superior and patron (fig. 42). The communist chief and the new president of Bulgaria is shown quite literally to be ‘made in the image of’ the supreme leader of the communist world. Their eyes look ‘in the same direction’ and their bodies stand ‘shoulder to shoulder,’ metaphorically underscoring the commonality of Stalin’s and Dimitrov’s political views and rendering the ideological unity between the Bulgarian and Russian Communist parties a monolith. Born of a conventional iconographic formula established by Klutsis in 1930 in the overlapping portraits of Lenin and Stalin in Soviet posters ‘legitimizing’ Stalin’s rule, the poster in Duncan’s photo similarly ‘justifies’ Dimitrov’s leadership. But also, perhaps unwillingly, it introduces the notion of a strict political hierarchy existing in the Communist world in 1947, symbolized by the comparatively larger scale and all-encompassing aspect of Stalin’s portrait confining and dominating that of the Bulgarian leader.

---

323 For Soviet posters, see: Bonnell, 156-157. Likewise, a composite image consisting of overlapping portraits of the communist forefathers, Marx and Engels, and the leaders of the Soviet Russia, Lenin, and Stalin, arranged horizontally is a frequently used iconographic formula suggesting the Marxist genealogy of Soviet communism and its historical continuity.
In the following pages, Duncan’s photos of public parades in the cities and marching brigades render the inevitable transformation of Bulgarian society into a “testing ground for Stalinist Communism,” 324 energizing jubilant youth, while leaving the ineffectual old on the margins dreaming of “the vanished hopes” for national independence. 325 Their apparent resignation presents further implicit justification for an active U.S. crusade against Soviet communization of Europe. This sentiment was right on target in May 1947 in the wake of the Marshal Plan promising U.S. aid to the countries of western Europe, to assist their economic recovery but also as a tool to counter the spread of communism in Europe.

324 Duncan, 33.
325 Duncan, 40-41.
As discussed in the previous chapter, the spread of communism in post-war Europe was a prominent topic in *Life* magazine. Its rendering of Tito between 1948 and 1952 is an excellent case study, providing an opportunity to further examine the intricate ways in which the leading American illustrated magazine filtered and disseminated official views of communism. The aim of the following chapters is to show the ‘hows’ and ‘whys’ of *Life’s* quest to represent Yugoslavia in familiarizing and favorable terms, as a friendlier version of communism, in the context of the Cold War animosity. The *Life* editors and photographers gradually ‘domesticated’ the image of Yugoslav communism and Tito, making it ‘palatable’ to their American audiences, without questioning the core values of the ‘American way of life,’ central to American national, cultural, and political identity.

**Political Context: Yugoslavia in the Cold War, the Split of 1948 and U.S. Policy**

The development of Tito’s public image in the American press in is closely related to the international dynamics of the Cold War, in which ‘Tito’s Yugoslavia’ occupied a very special place. On the one hand, Yugoslavia was a socialist state run by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), but, on the other, the Yugoslav leadership distinguished itself from other communist regimes in Eastern Europe by maintaining its sovereignty and political independence from the Kremlin. Furthermore, a neighbour to Italy and Austria to the west, and to the countries under Soviet influence and control Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Albania, to the east and southeast, her borders were congruent with the imaginary boundaries of the Iron Curtain. Yugoslavia’s sensitive geo-strategic position contributed to the perception created, both domestically and internationally, that it was a point of tension ‘between’ the two competing ideologies: communism in the East and capitalist liberalism and democracy in the West.
Although Tito was not a stranger to Life’s readership, following his trajectory from an unknown leader of a Balkan guerilla forces to commander of an officially recognized allied army in Yugoslavia during the war, in 1948 his ‘newsworthiness’ skyrocketed, due to the bold political stance he took against Stalin in the summer that year. Surprising the international community of diplomats and observers, the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), the international communist organization created by Stalin, expelled the CPY in its infamous Resolution of the Cominform published on 28 June 1948. The consequences of the Tito-Stalin split were felt in all segments of life in Yugoslavia. The CPY leadership was promptly defamed by all other communist countries in Europe and by the Soviet Russia, their beloved friends of yesterday. A full economic and political blockade followed, the neighboring communist countries and key partners in the Yugoslav fledgling economy canceling their trade agreements under Soviet pressure. Furthermore, the threat of Soviet military invasion in Yugoslavia in 1948 seemed quite real to both domestic and international observers.326

The scholarly consensus concerning U.S. interests in Yugoslavia and its role in the western policy of containment shows that American attitudes to Tito and Yugoslavia evolved ever so gradually.327 Viewed with suspicion at first, Tito’s conflict with Stalin was increasingly welcomed in the West “as an ideological wedge or spearhead in the side of the supposedly crumbling Communist monolith.”328 The western press capitalized on Tito’s relatively amicable

328 Heuser, xi.
stance and made him a symbol of the crumbling communist block in the early years of the Cold War, constituting a major propaganda victory for the United States.\textsuperscript{329}

To a significant degree, various ideas, strategies, and changing views of Yugoslavia’s communist leadership associated with developing U.S. policy consistently found their way into \textit{Life’s} editorial room. The relevance of this intersection of politics and representation lies in the enormous cachet of \textit{Life} magazine, shaping the general perception of and attitude towards communism in the U.S. in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Its renewed engagement with Tito between 1948 and 1952 also represents a crucial phase in his image management in the West.

\textbf{Walter Sanders on Yugoslavia in Summer 1948}

A special report on Yugoslavia after the recent upheavals in its relations with Moscow by the magazine’s photographer Walter Sanders and correspondent Will Lang was published in the 12 June 1948 issue under the title “Three Weeks in Tito’s Yugoslavia.”\textsuperscript{330} Most of Sander’s photographs were taken in June 1948, prior to the Tito-Stalin split. The article maintained that the new crisis did not bring about any major changes in the everyday life of Tito’s Yugoslavia, still a typical “communist state.”\textsuperscript{331} The conventional black and white photographs of Yugoslav youth celebrating Tito’s fifty-sixth birthday in Belgrade, voluntary labor brigades of men, women, and children marching under the Yugoslav flag and working on the reconstruction of the country, picturesque views of the Bosnian and Croatian countryside and peasant life, and images of the Zagreb International Fair, when put together into a form of a photo essay gave a view of Yugoslavia similar to \textit{Life’s} canonic representation of other Soviet-influenced countries of Eastern Europe in 1946. Echoing Duncan’s photos of jubilant communist youth in Bulgaria,

\textsuperscript{329} The primary focus of our research is \textit{Life} magazine and its photography. We are aware of the extensive coverage Tito received in other influential U.S. and British newspapers and magazines in the same period, including proliferation of stories, covers, and features in \textit{Time}, the \textit{New York Times Magazine}, \textit{Newsweek}, \textit{Harper’s Magazine} and \textit{Picture Post}. Some of this rich and varied material is used as a comparative material in this study.

\textsuperscript{330} See Walter Sanders, “Three Weeks in Tito’s Yugoslavia,” \textit{Life} 25, no. 2 (12 June 1948): 24-29. Photos can be seen on \textit{Life’s} official web page: \url{http://www.life.com}.

\textsuperscript{331} Sanders, 24.
Sanders rendered young Yugoslavs as the main agent of the strong and growing Tito cult, and in the government’s planned industrialization and urbanization. Their youthful energy was contrasted to, what the communist had deemed, a backward look of the Yugoslav countryside and its peasant populations.

**MacLean: Tito the Nationalist**

Accompanying Sanders’s photo-essay, *Life* published an article “Tito the Nationalist,” by Fitzroy MacLean, based on his wartime experience in Yugoslavia and close contacts with the Partisan leader. The article was informed but predictable, in that it recounted the familiar points of Tito’s biography, from his being an instrument of Soviet influence in the pre-war years, to becoming patriotic leader of the Yugoslav people fighting for their independence. It was illustrated with a wartime photograph by Phillips showing MacLean in the company of Tito.\(^{332}\) The absence of a contemporary image of Tito in *Life’s* otherwise timely report indicates that Sanders was not able to get face to face with the main subject of the spectacular international news, Tito himself. To meet Tito personally after the split with Stalin was a journalistic challenge and opportunity *Life* editors did not want to miss in the future.

**Phillips in Yugoslavia 1948: Personalizing the Tito-Stalin Split in *Life***

Consequently, *Life* sent John Phillips to Belgrade in July 1948, only a month after it published its initial report on Yugoslavia prepared by Sanders and Lang. This time the magazine’s focus was on the living person behind the political intrigue: Tito in the present. Eager to get and publish his most recent pictures, *Life* placed its hopes on Phillips as an old wartime acquaintance of Tito. Phillips commented on the circumstances of his 1948 assignment in Yugoslavia: “*Life* took it for granted that I’d be able to take Tito’s picture. I did not share the

---

\(^{332}\) The photograph dates back to August 1944.
magazine’s confidence.” In the midst of a major political crisis developing in Yugoslavia, getting to Tito was not quite that easy even for him.

Chasing Tito: From Belgrade to Bled

From his memoirs, and the telegrams to the U.S. Department of State, we know that Phillips was planning to obtain his Yugoslav visa early, so as to arrive in Belgrade on time to attend and photograph Tito at the V Congress of the CPY, scheduled for 21 July 1948. The V Congress represented a culminating moment in the history of the Yugoslav Communist Party and state; it was on this occasion that the discord between Tito and Stalin was brought out into the open, with Tito taking an opportunity to mobilize the party membership solidly behind his leadership in the name of Yugoslav patriotism. A visa for Phillips was issued on 20 July 1948, following some initial difficulties in obtaining a clearance for his visit to Yugoslavia. He and other western journalists, however, were not permitted to enter the Congress site. Their presence was considered too bold a move for a country that was eager to re-establish its reputation as an equal and true member of the communist brotherhood. Instead, Phillips was officially

334 Yugoslav sources on the Tito-Stalin conflict are numerous, as from the point of the Party this was one of the fundamental moments in its history and the history of the Yugoslav state. See, for example: Petranovic, 467-484; and Pleterski, Povijest Saveza komunista, 347-358.
335 See a telegram from the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade, 14 July 1948, NARA. RG. 59. CDF-45-49.
336 Although the Yugoslav leaders were careful not to estrange the communist world by their actions in the eve of the break with the Kremlin and the Cominform, they publicize their cause in by having the CPY documents, many of which deal and address the issues around the Tito-Stalin split, available in English language as a source to foreign journalist and policy makers. The reports given at the V Congress by the CPY leaders, including Tito, Djilas, and Boris Kidric, were published in English in 1948. The publication of the English text of correspondence between the leaders of the Yugoslav and Soviet Communist party in the days leading up to the break in June 1948 followed. See: Josip Broz Tito, Political report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, report delivered at the V Congress of the CPY (Belgrade, 1948); Milovan Djilas, Report on agitation-propaganda work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia; report delivered at the V Congress of the CPY (Belgrade, 1948); and Boris Kidric, On the construction of Socialist economy in the FPRY. Speech delivered at the V Congress of the CPY (Belgrade, 1948).
accredited to attend the less politicized Danube Conference, scheduled to take place in Belgrade in August 1948.\textsuperscript{337}

Despite the limitations his official arrangements represented, Phillips met Tito after the Congress at the official reception for the delegates held at the White Palace in Belgrade, but he did not produce any photographs for \textit{Life} at this time. Instead, plans were made for him to come back to Yugoslavia in 1949 and meet Tito then. Only two days before the expiration of his visa, however, on 15 August 1948, Phillips and Stojan Pribicevic were instructed to take a train to Ljubljana where the Yugoslav officials met them the next morning, and drove them to Tito’s residence on Lake Bled. Phillips and Pribicevic convened with Tito there.\textsuperscript{338}

In August 1948, Tito’s presence in Bled was a matter of national security. The country was in the midst of a huge political and economic crisis, and the fears of an impending Soviet attack on Yugoslavia grew more real. The defence of Belgrade, the seat of Tito’s government, was definitely an issue. Given the fact that Serbia was surrounded by the satellite countries of Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, a Soviet-led invasion would have been easy to orchestrate. It was only reasonable to evacuate Tito and key members of the Yugoslav government to Bled, a small picturesque resort town in Slovenia at the foot of the Alps, as Slovenia was a Yugoslav republic sharing the international borders with the potentially more amicable countries of Italy to the south and Austria to the west. Also it is possible that the key people in charge of public relations around Tito saw it more prudent and less potentially damaging to Tito’s reputation among the pro-Soviet members of his own party for him to receive Phillips, a representative of the ‘imperialistic and bourgeois’ Western Press, in the seclusion of his Bled residence rather than in the country’s capital, giving the occasion a semi-private aspect. Phillips was thus able to fulfill \textit{Life}’s expectations of catching a glimpse of the unruly Yugoslav leader at the Bled villa, and

\textsuperscript{337} A telegram to the Department of State, from Belgrade, 20 July 1948, NARA, RG 95, CDF-45-49.
taking his exclusive photographs on 17 August 1948. This represented a true journalistic trophy, enabling the magazine editors to come up with a fresh rendering of the Tito-Stalin split – one that merged the hot political theme with a good dose of personality journalism.

Tito’s 1948 Cover: Into the Spotlight

Tito’s revival as a hero of the Cold War in *Life* was forceful. On 13 September 1948, a black and white photograph of him by Phillips was published on the cover of the magazine, with a spectacular headline, “First Pictures of Marshal Tito in His Yugoslav Hide-out,” enticing the reader to look inside the issue for a corresponding photo essay on his dispute with the Soviet leadership.

As is the case with all illustrated magazine, *Life’s* cover page was one of the key editorial devices in the overall structure of the magazine. Its contents and layout were minutely discussed during the editorial ‘cover conferences,’ ensuring the newsworthiness and appeal of the chosen photographs. Serving a very specific journalistic purpose, it “drew (the) audiences into new issues, conferred importance on those issues, and ensured the audience’s engagement with them.”

That is, the front page was a prime tool of magazine marketing in the competitive context of the growing fad for illustrated magazines in the post-war U.S. The typical layout of a *Life* cover page was clear and simple. Its formula was: The name of the magazine in white block letters inside a red rectangle at the top of the page; details of the price and date at the bottom of the page on a bright red background, visually ‘underlining’ the cover photo to which the reader’s attention was, thus, prompted to return. Before the 1960s, the magazine’s cover photograph was usually black and white. Exceptions were occasionally made, and color photography was used.

---

339 Ibid.
340 Tested in the 1948 feature, the same structural model was repeated in all feature articles on Tito appearing in *Life*.
342 Moeller, 219.
for special issues celebrating the Fourth of July, and in case of other important national or international events. In essence, the layout of the Life cover page was primarily dependent on the effective use of photography, and the few headlines appearing on it were always positioned in such way as not to obstruct the full view of the image.

Before the invention of television in 1953 and the boom of the TV culture in the U.S., illustrated magazines were the vehicle of popular entertainment, and information and idea dissemination, reaching into all segments of American society. In this context, the Life cover functioned not only as the advertisement for the magazine itself but was also perceived as an unparalleled publicity statement for the personalities featured on it.343 A quick glimpse at past Life and Time covers testifies to the unparalleled semiotic power of the cover page to instantaneously configure a popular view of modern history, its key issues, events and agents.344 Those individuals that we today consider ‘historic’ figures or important personalities of the twentieth century have all had their cover in either Life or Time, or both; and Tito was one of them. In the short span between 1948 and 1952, he was featured three times on Life’s cover page. This was, without a doubt, a personally empowering and a great public relations statement for Tito’s fledgling communist government in Yugoslavia in the early years of the Cold War.

**Life’s Portraits of the Powerful and Rhetoric of Dignity and Heroism**

A sense of strong personal charisma and confidence exudes from Tito on the 1948 cover.345 The photograph shows Tito as a handsome man in his fifties, dressed in an impeccable white suit with a polka dot tie. The clean contours of his fitted double-breasted jacket accentuate

---


344 *Time* and *Life* covers are now searchable in the on-line collection of nearly five hundred thousand images from the Time & LIFE Inc. photographic archive. See: [http://www.timelifepictures](http://www.timelifepictures)

his powerfully built chest. The soft natural light models Tito’s torso and somber face, flattering his aquiline profile, and sculpturally smooth cheeks, mouth, high forehead, and combed hair. With his broad shoulders and striking head towering above an imaginary horizon in the background, Tito’s pose implies a great personal strength. His bearing is rigid and regal at the same time. His deep-set eyes look upwards outside the picture’s compositional frame as if to convey a visionary capacity (fig. 43).

By rendering Tito the civilian, the *Life* cover exploded the stereotype of the Marshal as Soviet friend and pawn, that had been created in the U.S. press in 1946.346 The iconography of Phillips’ photograph instantly invites a comparison with many examples of official portraiture in western art history, from Roman bust portraits and stately images of European monarchs and conquerors, to modern appropriations of these ennobling representational conventions in bourgeois portrait photography. The most immediate context for an image comparison, of course, is established in *Life’s* own photography of important personalities.

**The Heroic Angle and the Symbolic Gaze**

The low photographic angle and the symbolic upward gaze were common features in *Life’s* portraits of modern American heroes, from Western military and political leaders and modern businessmen, to rising Hollywood movie stars. For example, the color portrait of Admiral King taken against the symbolic background of stars; or of Lieutenant General George C. Kenny, Commander of Allied Air Forces in the Southwest Pacific and of the Fifth U.S. Airforce; and Admiral Sir Max Horton, Commander in Chief of the Western Approaches.347 In all three cases, the impact of the camera angle was to generate a sense of personal dignity and literal stature of the men we are made to ‘look up to’ as examples of fortitude and personal sacrifice (figs. 44 and 45).

346 See my discussion of Tito’s image as Soviet pawn in *Time* and *Newsweek* Chapter 2.
The upward gaze evident in all of these examples traditionally suggests a sense of higher purpose and empowering vision of the depicted personalities. In the words of Roland Barthes, who examined its predominance in a certain type of electoral photography, the upward gaze seems “lost nobly in the future;” it does not “confront” the viewer, but rather “soars, and fertilizes some other domain, which is chastely left undefined . . . nobly fixed on the hidden interests of Order.”[348] Clearly, Phillips engaged existing tradition of dignifying political portraiture, and Life’s own “house” tradition, to create the image of Tito as visionary, conveying firm personal resolve, and conferring a heroic, even a deifying, status to his subject.

**The Office or The Individual**

Life’s photographic portraits of military leaders, however, usually deployed a compositional formula previously tested on many Time covers, featuring the subject in the foreground with various objects or props symbolizing his or hers official function. For example, an airplane is visible behind Commander General George Kenny, “one of the greatest tacticians of the war” and the commander of the “Allied Air Forces which won Battle of Bismarck Sea.”[349] Similarly, Baker rendered Tito on the 1944 Time cover in the company of his partisans in the background, alluding to the popular support of Tito in Yugoslavia, while in 1945 he placed Soviet symbols in the background signifying Tito the Soviet pawn. In contrast to these examples, however, Phillips’ 1948 photograph of Tito stands out for its neutral background, and the focus on the facial features, gaze, and stance of the subject, supporting the conventional belief that portraiture as a genre can illuminate the inner worlds of man’s soul and mind. Celebrating Tito as an individual, rather than his public office, this portrait is akin to the romanticizing representation of exemplary individuals and creative types in portrait photography of the 1930s and the 1940s, as well as to Life’s glamour and celebrity photography of the time. For example,

---


the magazine’s 1948 cover photograph of young Montgomery Clift favors the same set up of formal features we find in Phillips’ flattering photograph of the Yugoslav leader (fig. 46).³⁵⁰

**Dimitrov-Tito-Rockefeller: The Old and The New Image of Communist Leadership**

While Stalin and Bulgaria’s Dimitrov each got only one cover in *Life*, Tito beat them not only in frequency, but also, in kind, presented as their antithesis, commanding positive attention. His 1948 cover departed sharply from the conventional ‘mug-shot aesthetic’ and working-class styling of Dimitrov’s portrait by Duncan.³⁵¹ Its iconography instead relied on the canons of dignifying western portraiture and popular American stereotypes, debunking the old stereotype of the communist leader as a criminal subject in *Life*. Tito’s composed facial expression, his dapper civilian costume, and well-groomed look were all coded with the easily accessible signs of the ‘bourgeois’ notion of subjectivity, including the cultivated sense of personal dignity and self-control, poise, and bodily propriety. A communist leader of a state that had been considered in the U.S. a Stalinist bastion, Tito unlike his Bulgarian counterpart, could easily be mistaken for a successful businessmen - the popular stereotype embodied particularly well for *Life* in a portrait of young Nelson Rockefeller (fig. 46).³⁵² The related editorial text described Tito as “gay and full of pep and totally unconcerned, although any Russian in Belgrade will tell you they are going to get him.”³⁵³ This irony underscores Tito’s devil-may-care demeanor in contrast to *Life*’s description of Bulgaria’s Dimitrov in 1947, as “the old man in the battered cap” by the same editors.³⁵⁴ Celebrating the magnitude of Tito ‘the individual’ and ‘the man,’ it comes as not surprise, then, that the same photograph, this time retouched in color, was chosen by the *Life* editors for the cover of 21 April 1952 issue of the magazine, in which the first installment of

---

³⁵¹ See my discussion of the Dimitrov cover in Chapter 3.
³⁵² See the cover of *Life* 12, no. 17 (27 Apr. 1942).
Tito’s biography “Tito Speaks. The Inside, Personal Story of the Man Who Defied Stalin” appeared, marking the pinnacle of his fame in the West (fig. 47).355

“A Visit to Tito:” Life’s Celebrity Photojournalism and Myth of Candid Photography

Typified first by Eric Salomon’s un-staged photographs of European diplomats and financial elite in the late 1920s, so-called ‘candid or Leica photography’ promised to bring the famous and the powerful closer to the masses, merging their emotional worlds if not erasing the distance separating them in actuality.356 The tradition is exemplified by Felix Man in his famous essay “A Day in the Life of Mussolini,” published in the Munich Illustrated Press on 1 March 1931. Man said:

My plan was to show the real Mussolini, with his real face, unposed, to photograph Mussolini in all his activities, throughout the whole day…I had ample opportunity to observe him intimately, and photograph him without poses or theatrical gestures.357

Although Man could not entirely avoid the official decorum around Mussolini, his innovative photographic essay set an example for other leading illustrated magazines in the 1930s. The less formal representations of modern statesmen and leaders of the world were in vogue then, and are now, as countless examples show.

On 25 February 1939, Picture Post undertook a similar project, with a photographic essay by Kurt Hutton “Winston Churchill as the Public Does Not See Him: In the Garden of His Country Home.”358 Churchill was shown reading, painting, taking a morning walk, and fixing the

355 See cover of Life (21 April 1952). Despite the general trend towards more consistent use of colour photography in the post-war years, Life’s cover page was traditionally black-and-white. Thus, Tito’s 1952 colour cover represents an exception, which may have been conceived as a part of the general marketing strategy applied in the promotion of Tito’s memoirs.
roof of his cottage. The Post story with ‘candid’ images of Churchill as a quiet and ordinary ‘private man’ came out at the critical time when the public support for Churchill was in jeopardy due to his criticism of the Munich accord.

The idea that celebrity photography was dedicated to revealing the intimate side of public personalities was institutionalized in Life. The magazine consistently repeated the same formula, sending celebrity photographers to the homes of European aristocracy, British Royalty, Middle East rulers, domestic financial elite, famous actors and various personalities with public offices, intent on creating a lasting image of the private moments in their busy lives. Their photos were invariably characterized by a sense of spatial, emotional, or intellectual intimacy and personal trust created between the photographer and the photographed subject. For example, in 1942 Life had sent Cecil Beaton on assignment to photograph King Faisal II. The title of the piece, “LIFE calls on the Boy King of Iraq,” verbally reinforces the myth of the photographer as a casual visitor strolling among the powerful and the famous, having an unmediated access to their personality and intimate lifestyle.

The magazine’s photo-stories about Tito were embedded in this same tradition. Their main focus was juxtaposition of the public office and the private moments in the life of Tito. Furthermore, each time, Life published Phillips’ photographs under titles indicating the exclusive nature of his engagement in Yugoslavia, promising to deliver a ‘unique’ and ‘unmediated’ view of Tito taken with the ‘candid camera’ of the magazine’s staff photographer. For example, in 1944, the magazine’s essay about Tito was subtitled “The Partisan leader of Yugoslavia gives

---

360 H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, In Association with The British Academy, From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000, volume 11 Chandler-Cleeve (London: Oxford University Press, 2004): 669. Giving an emotional dimension to Churchill’s public image, the Post story may have had a positive impact on the British public and consequently on Churchill’s political career, appealing to their sympathy and helping win their trust back.
LIFE photographer *a full day* in his mountain-cave headquarters,\(^{362}\) indicating Tito’s good will. In 1948, the title was simply “Visit to Tito,” implying their relationship as friendly and informal. Likewise, in 1949, Phillips’ photographs were published under a version of the same title “LIFE photographer *visits* with Tito,” while the headline to Tito’s 1949 cover photograph was emphatic, “In This Issue *Exclusive Visit* to Man Who defied Kremlin.”\(^{363}\)

**Beyond Candid Photography: Wilson Hicks on *Life’s Version Of Photojournalism***

In *Life’s* practice, the entire romanticizing notion of spontaneous ‘candid photography’ morphed into its polar opposite by the late 1940s. The news production strategies in the magazine were by this time the embodiment of corporate management and business making, with a strict hierarchy in place. In the words of Willson Hicks, “the compounding of skills”\(^ {364}\) of photographers, writers and managing editors was a decisive trait of *Life* photojournalism.

At the bottom of the creative hierarchy in *Life’s* empire were the magazine’s photographers, in charge of the supply of visual material, and the staff writers, responsible for the captions and accompanying text of each story. The relic of a bygone era, a “freewheeling individual of traditional journalism” was in *Life* “replaced by a group which gathers the material for and “writes” a report or interpretation of the news or related subjects.”\(^ {365}\) The final layout of the story and “the choice of the subject to be picturized,” however, was the job of the managing editor, “the selector and integrator not only of words and pictures, but of ideas and points of view.”\(^ {366}\) Responsible directly only to Henry Luce, the editor-in-chief and policy maker, the managing editor had an absolute authority. This working strategy endangered the ‘star photographer,’ with the exception of a very few staffers such as Margaret Bourke-White, who were able to maintain their special privileges. The editorial encroachment on the creative


\(^{363}\) See cover of *Life* 27, no. 11 (12 Sep. 1949).


\(^{365}\) Ibid.

\(^{366}\) Hicks, 48.
freedom of the independent photographer in *Life* was, according to Phillips, a reason for him to leave the magazine staff in 1953.\(^{367}\)

The Editors: Joseph Thorndike Jr. and Edward Kramer Thompson

While we cannot fully discuss the impact of the managing editors on *Life*’s rendering of Yugoslavia and Tito due to the fact that the Time Inc. Corporate Archive, created in the late 1940s, “did not receive files at the level of detail that would allow us to investigate the genesis, assignment, and progress of individual *Life* stories,”\(^{368}\) we must bear in mind that they, not photographers, had the decisive impact on the construction of a photographic narrative and, ultimately, on the meaning in the magazine’s photo-essays.

Joseph Thorndike Jr. was the managing editor for *Life* between September 1946 and December 1949. Known for a rather relaxed style “a bit removed, not driven to maintain control over every detail,” Thorndike left most of the work on the production of the featured stories to Edward Kramer Thompson, the “curious and aggressive” assistant managing editor and one of the senior staffers in the magazine.\(^{369}\) Successor to Thorndike, Thompson became the managing editor in December 1949. During the twelve years of his tenure in the most powerful job in the magazine, *Life* thrived. Described by John Wainwright as “the brilliant and tough operating boss of *Life* during its period of greatest national influence and considered by many to be its finest managing editor,”\(^{370}\) Thompson developed a personal editing style that reflected his competitive and dynamic nature. “His preferences as an editor ran to journalism’s red meat: catastrophe, heroism, crime, politics, conspiracy, heartbreak, the loves, lusts and downfalls (or pitfalls) of the rich and famous.”\(^{371}\) Pursuing “the headline news, or the bigger news behind it,”\(^{372}\) Thompson

\(^{367}\) Loengard, 52.


\(^{370}\) Wainwright, 177.

\(^{371}\) Ibid.

\(^{372}\) Wainwright, 180.
cultivated a special interest in Tito, whose turbulent political career and flamboyant personality fitted the bill perfectly. Thus, Life published on him regularly during Thompson’s appointment, including a spectacular deal on his memoirs in 1952. In view of Thompson’s working habits and personality, it is almost certain that he was responsible for every detail of the 1948 Tito story.

Framing the Subject: Immoral Dictatorship or Embattled Leadership?

The Photo-Essay: The Verbal and the Visual

While it is possible to view Tito’s cover photograph in relative isolation from any immediate textual references (with the exception of a flashy headline) due to the primarily visual aspect of the signature design of the Life cover page, it is the opposite case with the images appearing in the main feature about Tito from the same issue. Defined as “a coming together of the verbal and visual mediums of communication,” Life’s photo essays were in general “created in analogy to literary form.” The images in the photo essays were, as a rule, ordered in a closely articulated dramatic thematic sequence. Thus, their meaning was not found “at the level of any one of the fragments of the sequence, but at that – what the linguist would call the suprasegmental level – of the concatenation.” The narrative structure, and meaning, was further reinforced by the interpretative power of the verbal components of the story, including the title, the captions, and the main text, fixing to some extent the otherwise polysemic nature of the photographic images. In the following discussion, therefore, we analyze the rich linking of

372 See Chapter 7.
374 Wainwright, 180.
375 Hicks, 3, 43.
376 Barthes, Image, Music, Text, 25.
the visual and the verbal mediums in the *Life* 1948 photographic essay, reconfiguring the popular view held about the Yugoslav leader in the Cold War press.

**It is in the Title: Tito-Dictator**

The term ‘dictatorship’, historically refers to the ancient Roman office of Dictator, concentrating “unlimited power” in the hands of a “temporary ruler installed by his fellow citizens to deal with an emergency.”

In the context of modern European history, the term ‘dictatorship’ is commonly used to describe a non-democratic and authoritarian rule of one person at the helm of an ‘ideological one-party’ state, the infamous embodiments of which were the interwar fascist governments in Italy and Spain, and the Nazi regime in Germany. Following the end of WW II and the collapse of European fascism, the term was used primarily to refer to the leadership style of Stalin and other heads of the communist states in Eastern Europe under his influence, as well as to the Chinese communist government and various non-democratic regimes in South and Central America. The fact that *Life* linked Tito’s post-war rule in Yugoslavia to the concept of dictatorship in the title to its story was indicative of a strong political bias existing in the U.S. press against him and communism in general. This attitude is best exemplified by the unsympathetic coverage of Tito in *Time* magazine in the months immediately after his break with Stalin.

**Time Looks at the Communists: Ordering the Perception of International News Around the Iron Curtain Paradigm**

During the summer and fall of 1948, *Time* closely followed events in Yugoslavia, routinely printing news and features on Tito’s conflict with Stalin inside the “Communist” column, itself a part of a larger section of the magazine dedicated to the interpretation of

---

international events and issues.\textsuperscript{378} Essentially an editorial maneuver, this kind of consistent spatial grouping of the Yugoslav news in the so-called ‘communists’ column in \textit{Time} resembles closely the rigid ideological categorization and stereotyping foundational to the Cold War view of the world and of international relations. It implies the antagonistic divisions between the western world and the communists, central to the master metaphor of the period, the Iron Curtain; and it was equally simplistic and pro-status quo. As an aspect of this strategy, in 1948 \textit{Time} focused public perception of events related to the Yugoslav discord with the USSR around the notion of an ideological divide separating, not so much Tito and Stalin, as the communist world from the rest of the international community. For the magazine, it was still a battle between ‘us’ and ‘them,’ with Tito making an odd move. Expressed in the words of one \textit{Time} writer concluding his column on Yugoslavia: “The Tito Reds and the Regular Reds are quarrelling because they are so much alike not because of their ‘differences’.”\textsuperscript{379} Mistrustful and doctrinaire, both \textit{Time}, in August, and \textit{Life}, in September, were still reluctant to give Tito any credit for independent moves, towing the official line.

\textit{‘Liberation’: U.S. Policy in Yugoslavia in 1948}

Likewise, the American government initially viewed the Yugoslav case with suspicion, the NSC 18 of 6 July 1948 warning: “Tito’s defiance of the Cominform does not mean that Yugoslavia has ‘come over’ to the West. Yugoslavia remains a communist state and its negative attitude towards the western democracies is yet unchanged.”\textsuperscript{380} Acting upon these views, the CIA saw in the ‘sudden’ break between Tito and Stalin and the accompanying destabilization of Tito’s rule as an opportunity to overthrow his communist regime and replace it with a more liberal pro-western government in Yugoslavia. For a short period between the summer of 1948

and January 1949, these radical ideas were the basis for U.S. policy.\textsuperscript{381} The resonances between \textit{Life}’s rendering of Tito in September 1948 and the government’s mistrustful views of him fundamental to its policy of the ‘liberation’ of Yugoslavia are striking.

**The Choice of the Establishment Shot: Symbolizing Crisis**

Following the basic principles of classic photo-journalism, the 1948 \textit{Life} essay opens up with a one-page black and white establishing shot of Tito standing next to a statue of a charging Partisan fighter in a courtyard of his villa near Lake Bled in Slovenia (fig. 48). It serves as a key point of reference for narrative structuring and production of meaning in the entire photographic essay, visually introducing the content, and the tone, as well as the key issues addressed in it.\textsuperscript{382} A condensed version of the main theme of the photographic essay, this particular image was carefully selected by the editor from Phillips’ other photographs of Tito at Bled, including the existing unpublished images of Tito from the \textit{Life} archive.\textsuperscript{383} In one of the archival images we see a grinning Tito, his hands on his back, standing on the villa’s garden steps with the picturesque view of the Alpine Lake Bled and the towers of the Church of St. Martin in the background (fig. 49). In the other image, a serious Tito is depicted posing on the same steps, but from a different angle so that the foliage of the tall trees alone appears in the background (fig. 49). Phillips composed both of these images as the classic full-length outdoors portrait studies of Tito taken against a picturesque and calming landscape in the background. These garden portraits are undeniably more conventional when compared with the dramatic setting in the published photograph of Tito in the villa courtyard.

**\textit{Life}’s Tradition: Apollo and Mountbatten**

Although the courtyard photo looks quite awkward and unresolved, in fact, \textit{Life} had previously deployed a similar iconographic formula depicting important personalities against

\textsuperscript{381} Heuser, 14-46.
\textsuperscript{382} Newhall, 260.
\textsuperscript{383} These photographs can be viewed online at www.life.com/Life/
symbolic architectural backgrounds with decorative statues or monuments alluding to their character traits, personal history and ideals. For example, in 1942, *Life* featured a black-and-white photograph of Lord Louis Mountbatten and his family sitting on the steps of their summer home in Broadland, casually posed against an elegant architectural background with a copy of a statue of the Apollo Belvedere housed in a shallow semi-circular niche.\(^{384}\) The Apollo Belvedere embodied the ideals of classical antiquity, cherished in European art and culture from Renaissance throughout the nineteenth century, and it signaled the learned and refined artistic taste, as well as social prestige, of the Mountbattens (fig. 50).

In the accompanying essay, *Life* furthermore pursued the ‘biographical’ parallel between the life of Lord Mountbatten and the mythic life of Apollo, exploiting the possibilities of a symbolic comparison between the Greek god and this flamboyant cousin of the Prince of Wales loved by the general public. Just like Apollo was both a god of love and a smart and uncompromising warrior, *Life* described the personal transformation of the handsome Mountbatten, known for his masculine beauty and “famed as a palace playboy,” into a “royal-blooded” warrior and the embodiment of the “best example the British have of an all-round military leader in this war.”\(^{385}\) In a similar manner, a complex view of Tito’s postwar leadership, the ongoing political crisis, and his character is nested in Phillips’ photograph of him at Bled.

**Tito Is ‘Cornered’: Spatial Symbolism, Toppling of the Dictator, and U.S. Policy**

First, taking into account the implicit spatial symbolism of the courtyard image -- the monumental architectural background imparting a sense of claustrophobic enclosure around Tito uncomfortably cramped in the foreground -- *Life*’s editors capitalized on the opportunity presented by the composition of this photograph. The ominous mood caused by the political turmoil in Yugoslavia during that difficult summer of 1948 is echoed in the photo, symbolically


representing Tito ‘cornered’ and ‘standing alone’ during the political upheavals occurring in his country. Furthermore, the sculpture of the Partisan fighter perched on top of the heavy stone pedestal to his right seems to ‘push’ the Marshal both to the side, and out of the picture plane. To the left, Tito’s feet overhang the edge of the parapet on which he stands, his body precariously balanced and lacking the necessary ‘support’ for a greater ‘stability.’ This sense of instability infusing Tito’s pose easily correlates with the idea of the ‘toppling’ of Yugoslav dictator, an aspect of the CIA strategy in Yugoslavia adopted by U.S. policy at this time.

The Symbolic Sites of Power: From the Cave to the Villa

Architectural staging was a major feature in Phillips’ photographs, as in the cave setting used to romanticize Tito in 1944 as a heroic warrior. In contrast to the rugged and robust “look” of Tito’s war photography, Phillips’ new images of him from Bled established a polished post-war stereotype for the Yugoslav leader, a royal decor suggesting the magnitude of his personal transformation and power.

In the photograph, Tito is posed inside a courtyard of a royal summer villa at Lake Bled, owned previously by the Yugoslav King Alexander. A building with a rich history and important political function, the first Villa Bled was built by the Hapsburg Prince Ernst Windisch-Grätz between 1883 and 1885, during the time when Slovenia was still a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Following the collapse of the Empire in the wake of World War I and the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes on 1 December 1918 in Belgrade, King Alexander bought the Villa and started extensive renovations. He renamed it the Suvobor Mansion, commemorating the Battle of Suvobor Mountain won by the Serbs against the Austro-Hungarian army in early December 1915, the first in a series of counterattacks leading to their final victory. Resting on the gentle sub-Alpine hills at the edges of Lake Bled, the villa became a favorite
summer residence of the Yugoslav royal family. At the end of World War II, the new communist government in Yugoslavia took over ownership of the royal villa at Bled and finished the construction of the present building in 1947, turning it into Tito’s summer residence.

The portrait of Tito as the proud new occupant of the Villa Bled, enjoying now the luxuries of the regal lifestyle in the former royal retreat, gave *Life* a springboard for a rather critical interpretation of his ascent to power in post-war Yugoslavia. First, it engaged the critical issue of the state assault on the private property in communist Yugoslavia, and, second, it evoked the extinguishing of the royal political legacy and traditions in the country after the war. Both were strong anti-Tito arguments put forth by the U.S. anti-communist propaganda and the supporters of the King Peter.

**The Sculpture: “Borec”**

During the communist reconstruction of the royal compound at Bled in 1947, monumental figural sculptures glorifying the NLW as the founding event in the history of the communist Yugoslavia and its new regime were placed inside the villa’s courtyard. Overriding Royal tradition, this gesture also symbolized the transfer of power to the CPY in Yugoslavia. In Phillips’ photo, Tito stands next to one such sculpture of a charging male fighter, grenade in hand, by the Slovenian artist Boris Kalin (1905-1975). The tile of the sculpture was simply

---

386 See official web-site for Vila Bled: [www.vila-bled.com/index.htm](http://www.vila-bled.com/index.htm)
387 The Villa Bled changed its owners again in 1984 when it was acquisitioned by the French hotel chain Relais & Chateaux. It has since become one of the most luxurious and trendiest destinations on the list of sites in the developing tourism industry in post-communists Eastern Europe. Appropriately, I have found most of my information about the Villa Bled on a flashy and well-designed web site promoting a young Slovenian tourism. See the official Villa Bled web site: [www.vila-bled.com/index.htm](http://www.vila-bled.com/index.htm)
388 By 1948 the new communist government in Yugoslavia had already propelled the whole country on the course of nationalization, and the government was especially adamant when it came to taking hold of the property of the royal family, whose members were banned from returning to the country after the end of the war. See: Petranovic, 437-452; Lampe, 240.
389 This and other instances of the communist cultural appropriation and reforming of the royal traditions, including architectural monuments, in Yugoslavia remain to this time largely an understudied topic.
390 A professor of sculpture at the Ljubljana Academy of Art between 1945 and 1975 and a member of the Slovenian Academy of Arts, Boris Kalin studied sculpture with Ivan Mestrovic in Zagreb before the war. Working mainly in Slovenia, Kalin produced a number of public monuments with ‘revolutionary themes,’
Borec, a neutral-sounding Slovenian word for soldier and fighter. It was, however, commonly referred to as the “Partisan,” thus associating the sculpture ever more so closely with the mythology of the Yugoslav Partisan struggle against the German occupier during the war. Borec and other statues in the villa were dubbed by Life the “nationalistic relics of their Partisan war with the Germans,” hinting at the official rendering sacred of the recent history in Tito’s Yugoslavia and at their function as monuments to Yugoslav patriotism. The villa’s new sculpture was, notably, executed in a figurative style similar to Socialist Realism.

Socialist Realism in Yugoslavia: Art As A Token of Party Purity in 1948

In the context of the CPY’s deteriorating relations with the Kremlin, Life’s photograph of a proud Tito posing next to Kalin’s statue is particularly interesting. Although the rift between Tito and Stalin was made public at the V Congress of the CPY, the Congress was also a vehicle in the hands of the Yugoslav communist leaders to pledge their unshakable allegiance to Stalin and the Soviet Russia, the “mother of all socialist countries” in the world. In the face of the Soviet accusations that they were but “despicable traitors and imperialist hirelings,” they strove to publicly prove the ideological innocence and purity of the CPY.

In this battle, cultural politics in Yugoslavia played a role, and, consequently, Socialist Realism was endorsed as the official party aesthetics in a famous address to the V Congress by

including a monument to the Hostages at Begunje near Gorenjsko, Monument to the NLS at Vrhnika in Kamnik, and a monument to Franc Bevk in Nova Gorica.

391 Mr. Janez Fajfer from the Historical Department of the Villa Bled Institute kindly shared with me the information pertaining to the authorship, name, date, and whereabouts of the Kalin’s sculpture. In addition to Kalin’s work, an unidentified monumental sculpture by a Croatian artist Vanja Radauš, with a similar theme addressing the National Liberation Struggle (NLS), was placed in the courtyard of the villa around 1947. Perceived mainly as the explicit symbols of the communist rule, these sculptures were removed from Villa Bled in the 1990s following yet another ‘cultural renaissance’ grounded in a political change taking place in Slovenia after it gained statehood in 1991, becoming the first among the ex-Yugoslav republics to separate from the country after a sort civil war. Kalin’s statue now decorates the gardens of the Castle Brdo near Kranj, a Slovenian government resort, and one of the key destinations in the politico-diplomatic tourism in the South-Central Europe in the twenty-first century. Janez Fajfer, e-mail to the author, 11 April 2005.


Milovan Djilas, the Head of the Agitation and Propaganda Committee of the CPY. Djilas embraced “the theory and practice of the beginning and development of socialist art in the Soviet Union,” accounting for the CPY’s fight “against decadent, formalistic concepts in art, and against vulgar-materialistic distortion of Marxist concepts of art” since the Party’s foundation in the 1930s. He was especially hostile to the “decadent and anti-party concepts of ‘absolute freedom’ of artistic creation, and the ‘independence’ of progressive art,” believed foreign to fledgling socialist culture in Yugoslavia. Following the official line set by him at the Congress, in 1948 the cultural and artistic life in the country was set up according to the Soviet model, and Socialist Realism became the predominant style. Despite of Djilas’s roaring voice, Socialist Realism was a short-lasting phenomenon in Yugoslavia, the end of it as the official party aesthetic announced at the VI Congress of the CPY in 1952.

It can be argued, that the initial adoption of Socialist Realism in Yugoslavia was a calculated gesture, accelerated by the pressure put by the 1948 events on the CPY to visibly demonstrate its ideological ‘purity’ and unwavering loyalty to socialist ideals and to Soviet Russia. Reflecting this spirit and embodying the ideal of ‘pure’ communist leadership standing at the helm of Yugoslavia, Tito thus appears in Phillips’ photograph in the role of the main patron

---

398 As the relations with the USSR were not improving and the Yugoslav foreign politics was rather going through a major in shift, the CPY abandoned Socialist-Realism as the party’s official aesthetic in 1952, inspired by the necessity to profile the country in the west during this time. The cry for artistic freedom at the VI Congress, symbolized the about-turn in the history of the Party’s cultural politics towards the more liberal and western models. Although it took some time before the new modernizing tendencies were felt in the Yugoslav art, the year of 1952 is usually considered the end-point in the short history of Socialist Realism in Yugoslavia, by the historians of Yugoslav culture and art of the period. See: Lidija Merenik, Ideoloski modeli: srpsko slikarstvo 1945-1968 (Ideological Models: Serbian Painting 1945-1968), (Belgrade: Beopolis & Remont, 2001).
of Socialist Realist art, represented by Kalin’s sculpture, and of new official socialist culture in
the country after the war.

Whether this was an honest or circumstantial personal projection, it is hard to say, as portrait photography in general necessitates negotiations about staging and role-playing between
the photographer and his or her subject, especially in cases such as Tito’s where politics is a
major motivating force. Nor was his positive public image underwritten by the image’s explicit
iconography. It is well know that Socialist Realism was attacked in the U.S. in the late 1940s and
early 1950s as an example of art’s degeneration into an instrument of state power and ideological
indoctrination in the hands of the communists. Engaging these views, Tito’s Bled photograph
‘risked’ equating in the eyes of the ordinary American audience the cultural politics of the
Yugoslav state with the totalitarian Soviet model.

**Evoking the Heroic Image of Partisan Struggle - Defining The Value of Tito’s Leadership
in the Context of the Cold War**

This interpretation however does not exhaust the symbolic potential of the photographic
staging of Tito next to Kalin’s statue. As discussed previously, after the Teheran Conference in
late 1943, the Yugoslav Partisan movement gradually matured from the margins of war
photojournalism, becoming one of the favorite topics in the Western press. In the summer and
fall of 1944, *Life*, *Time*, and *Picture Post* published a number of stories on the Partisans, their
leader, and the Yugoslav refugees in Egypt, which pawed the way for the media canonization of
the Yugoslav resistance.399 As an allegory of Yugoslav patriotism and courage during the war,
Kalin’s sculpture of the charging partisan, thus, engaged *Life*’s own the tradition of lionizing Tito
and his army. These references to Tito as an ally and to Yugoslav uncompromising resistance to
the oppressive regimes of the recent past were probably still quite accessible to its readers in
1948, having now a political capital in the contemporary context of the Cold War. Hence, *Time*

399 See my discussion in Part one.
recycled the same photograph of the leader and the statue in the 29 November 1948 issue, taking an official view of Tito’s independent stance in Yugoslavia and of his capacity to inspire strong nationalism in the face of diversity as the assets for the Western world in the struggle against communism.400

**Deconstructing the Communist Appearance: Symbolism of Body and Costume**

**The Marshal’s Plump Body: The Transformation**

While *Life* placed a certain value on Yugoslav patriotism and Tito’s leadership, there are numerous references in the magazine’s photography and the accompanying text to Tito’s undesirable transformation from the acclaimed guerilla leader into self-absorbed, modern dictator at the helm of a communist state. The contrasting representation of the male body is one of them. A deliberate juxtaposition of the striding and emaciated partisan figure and a slightly chubby Marshal is far from flattering (fig. 48). In contrast to the ideal of a rugged masculine beauty and virility cultivated in Tito’s wartime image as a guerilla commander, his body is deformed by the exaggerated low photographic angle, accentuating the curvature of the wide waist - an allusion to Tito’s new self-gratifying and hedonistic lifestyle.401

**The Costume: Marshal in Mufti, Communists in Disguise**

A white suit with a polka-dot tie and white shoes, Tito’s new outfit was a fashionable variation of an ordinary contemporary suit many men wore in the 1950s. It is certain that Tito’s choice of civilian clothes was conceived as an important aspect of self-presentation, potentially countering politically charged, and often unfavorable, images of him in uniform proliferating in the U.S. press after the war, including the two covers in *Time* and *Newsweek* in 1946. The *Newsweek* editors took notice of the ennobling connotations of Tito’s stylish appearance in the

---

401 The relevance of the bodily appearances as visible symbols of social and economic status and the changing cultural perceptions of the male body, especially the ‘overweigh’ body of the middle aged white man, are addressed by Sander L. Gilman in *Fat Boys: A Slim Book* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).
black and white photograph, “Tiger and Tito,” supplied by Associated Press. It shows Tito, dressed in an ordinary white suit, gently petting Tiger, his dog and a wartime companion, in the courtyard of his Belgrade residence. Implying bad faith and ‘disclosing’ the calculated nature of his public appearances, however, the text adjacent to the photograph reads:

Marshals Tito of Yugoslavia, usually pictured in a bemedaled uniform, put on mufti for this latest in an apparently endless series of publicity poses. In the best man-of-distinction tradition, he appears with his Alsatian police dog, Tiger, at his stone villa in Belgrade before he flew to Moscow last week.\(^402\)

\textit{Life} continued this tradition, choosing similar contrast of words to refer to Tito’s appearance and costume. In the accompanying text below his Bled photograph, as in Newsweek previously, “the marshal” is described wearing “now in mufti instead of uniform,”\(^403\) rather than a civilian suit, or a business suit. Entering the English language in the late sixteenth century, the term “mufti” acquired its second and most common meaning in the context of military and colonial culture in British India in the early nineteenth century. It was then used to describe “the Moslem dressing gown and tasseled cap worn by an officer off duty.”\(^404\) Since, the term mufti refers in everyday language to “plain clothes worn by any one who has a right to wear a uniform,” but mostly men.\(^405\) Clearly, \textit{Life}’s careful choice of words deconstructs Tito’s new civilian image and calls to mind the underlying relevance of the military context for Tito’s leadership, past and present, from his career as a military leader during the war, to the importance of the military in the preservation of his power in 1948 in case of Soviet aggression.

Although the term mufti may not have had a negative connotation per se for the wartime generation in the U.S., Newsweek’s and \textit{Life}’s insisting on sudden and calculated nature of this

\(^403\) \textit{Life} 25, no. 11 (13 Sep. 1948): 63.
\(^405\) Ibid.
‘change’ in Tito’s public image, might have fed into the mistrust of the communists central to the hostile attitude and language of the American political radicals speaking of communist ‘disguise’, ‘seduction’ and contrived appearances. For example, James F. O’Neil, the national commander of the American Legion, warned the American citizens in the article “How You Can Fight Communism” published in August 1948 about the threatening duplicity of the communist character:

The first step is to disguise, deodorize, and attractively package Moscow’s revolutionary products… (meaning the ideas) Next the salesmen and peddlers themselves (meaning the communists) must be skillfully disguised, deodorized and glamourized. Hence communists always appear before the public as “progressives”.

The Resonances Between the Editorial and the Commercial Contents in *Life’s* Story

Accommodating the needs of the growing market for consumer goods in the twentieth century, *Life* followed the general trend in magazine design giving ample space to product marketing and advertising next to the main editorial content. In the hands of the magazine editors, “jumbled assemblages of images, texts, features, and advertisements whose miscellaneous graphics, words, and intended effects are intermingled and often intentionally inseparable” were often used to project subliminal messages, affecting the readers’ responses to ‘serious politics’ of the day as well as fostering their consumer mentality. Certainly, this

---

kind of subtle but creative work on the magazine layout was something Edward K. Thomson, known as a “compulsively engaged editor,”411 considered his prerogative. Accordingly, we find meaningful juxtapositions determining the choice and placement of advertisements and reinforcing the magazine’s main feature on Tito, its atmosphere and main theme.

**In the Company of the Dictator: Strolling the Guarded Gardens**

Mimicking the look of the traditional triptych, with the scenes depicted on its central and lateral panels establishing a narrative unit, the magazine’s double-page layout with the two remaining two photos of Tito at Bled, in the centre, and consumer ads, to the sides, furthermore encourages the notion of their conceptual unity (fig. 51)

In the upper photograph, we see Tito at leisure strolling leisurely along the stone pavement in his “guarded gardens” in the company of his dog, Tiger, and his secretary, Zvonko Brkic.412 The presence of Tito’s German Shepherd Tiger is a constant in the iconography of Tito’s portraiture dating back to the early war photographs taken by Zorz Skrigin and John Phillips.413 Called the “Alsatian dog” in the caption to offset the negative connotations of the breed’s origins in the lingering atmosphere of the post-war animosity towards the things German, a somewhat aged Tiger reappears in the role of a trusted guardian and instrument of Tito’s personal security in the turbulent days following his break with Stalin. Accompanying his master, Tiger’s presence infuses the otherwise ordinary photograph of Tito during a leisurely stroll in his Bled garden with a somber mood that is evocative of the difficulties he was facing at the time, ostracized by the Cominform, but still viewed with suspicion by the West.

**The Ingraham Sentinel Company Ad**

At the very bottom of the page to the left of the photograph with Tiger in it, a German Shepherd dog appears in the logo of the Ingraham Sentinel Company. A typical guard dog, the

---

411 Wainwright, 180.
413 See discussion in Chapter 2.
Ingraham’s mascot echoes the meaning of the company’s name. Derived from the Italian word *sentinella*, for “sentry”, or “lookout,” the word “sentinel” denotes the function of keeping watch.\textsuperscript{414} It implies *watchfulness*, obliquely alluding perhaps to the company’s main business of manufacturing watches, instruments designed to keep track of time. Placed adjacent to the photograph of Tito and Tiger, the ad’s visual and verbal components further reinforce the mood of vigilance that infuses *Life*’s depiction of the Yugoslav leader in 1948.

**The Dictator’s Vista and *Life*’s View of Tito’s Dictatorship in Yugoslavia**

In the final photo, we see a picturesque view of “a magnificent view of Lake Bled” taken from Tito’s garden with the medieval castle Bledski Grad and the church of St. Martin nestling on the slopes of the sub-Alpine hills surrounding the lake. While this landscape photograph looks rather ‘neutral,’ the caption beneath the image mentions the “assassinated King Alexander” as its previous owner, evoking Yugoslav turbulent history and drawing, by association, an unfavorable parallel between Tito and the King.\textsuperscript{415}

An heir to the Serbian throne and member of the Serbian Karadjordjevic dynasty, King Alexander was the monarch of the first Yugoslav state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Faced with numerous problems plaguing the life of the country in the interwar period - from the poor economy, the unresolved Croatian question, to the inter-ethnic and religious rivalry of the various peoples within in the multiethnic Yugoslav state, provoked above all by a divisive parliament - on 6 January 1929 King Alexander changed the name of the country to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, abolished the 1921 constitution, and dissolved the parliament. Next, he banned all the existing political parties and concentrated power firmly in his hands, establishing a royal dictatorship in Yugoslavia. He ruled the country with the help of a very few close aides,

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{414} “Sentinel,” *OED*, 995.
\textsuperscript{415} Phillips, “Visit to Tito,” 64.
\end{footnotesize}
until his assassination in Marseilles in 1934. The reference to King Alexander’s undemocratic and volatile rule in the caption, implicates Tito as a communist heir not only to his royal possessions in Slovenia, but also implicitly to the heavy handed methods of the his personal dictatorship.

The “Autocrat” Watch and the Watchful Autocrat

This view of Tito’s rule in Yugoslavia as a form of autocracy, a personal rule established by him in the post-war period, was, opportunely, echoed in the middle section of the Ingraham ad, with a drawing of the company’s newest “chromium-plated Sentinel pocket watch,” called “Sentinel ‘Autocrat.’” Deriving its meaning from a Greek word krateos, meaning “power,” the word autocrat refers to a “monarch of uncontrolled authority; an absolute, irresponsible governor; one who rules with undisputed sway” and also to “one’s own master, an absolute ruler.” Thus, the connotation in the name of the featured Ingraham watch matches Life’s choice of words to describe Tito as a ‘dictator’ in the title of the Phillips essay, and further, as a watchful autocrat in the rest of the photographic essay.

Playing With Words: Catch Phrases in The Ad as The News Headlines

Finally, the exclamatory language and bold lettering of the short catch-phrases inscribed inside graphic roundels in the Ingraham’s advertising, visually double as news headlines for the main feature about Tito. Primarily, in the context of the ad, they refer to the company’s service, products, and brand name as “A time to remember”, “A watch to remember,” and “A name to remember” respectively. Allowing that a creative whim of the Life editors played a role in the juxtaposition of commercial and editorial content in the layout, the memorable time mentioned in the Ingraham ad becomes a self-referential joke pertaining to the exquisite timing of the Life


\[\text{\footnotesize 417 “Autocrat,” OED, 802.}\]
story, which was the first feature on Tito ‘personally’ to appear in the western press following the Tito-Stalin split in 1948. Accordingly, ‘the name’ we are asked ‘to remember’ in the Ingraham ad is not only that of the watch-makers businesses but also the name of the key player in the political news, and the subject of Phillip’s photographs on the same page, Tito himself.

We see the same focus on the symbolic mirroring between the photographs in the 1944 Tito story published in Life. The ad for a “Swan Soap Bar” opposite Phillips’ photograph of Tito in his cave headquarters, has an enigmatic headline splashed across the top of the page reading: “What am I now?” Its provocative tone resonates with the general mood of uncertainty and mystification surrounding Tito’s identity before Teheran, and also with his personal transformation into a respectable leader of an allied army, as depicted in Phillips’ adjacent post-Teheran photographs. This playful strategy is repeated later in 1949 with Life featuring a full-page ad for the newest model of a TV set produced by Radio Corporation of America (RAC) opposite the image of the defiant Tito taken by Phillips on the Island of Brioni in 1949. Called ‘Victor’, its name reverberates with the rhetoric of Tito’s personal triumph over Stalin, central to Phillips’ photo and Life’s depiction of him at this time.

**Struggling to Define Tito’s Image - Neither A Friend Nor An Enemy**

In conclusion, Tito’s sudden break with the Soviet leadership propelled him to the front pages of the western press in 1948. In the context of Cold-War anti-communism, however, the invention of an agreeable public image for the Yugoslav leader was a difficult task. Neither a friend nor an enemy, Tito puzzled the western world in 1948, and the iconography of his public image in Life magazine was replete with certain duplicity.

That year, Tito’s cover in Life challenged the extant negative representation of him as a Stalinist puppet in the U.S. press. Rooted instead in the official iconography of portraits of

---

418 Phillips, “Marshal Tito,” 34.
western leaders, modern businessmen, and movie celebrities, it rendered Tito as an individual with personal dignity and courage. This ennobling, ‘westernized,’ view of Tito, however, was out of synch with the rendering of him as the embattled communist leader struggling to stay the course in the main feature, which was mainly the creation of the editors. Embracing the government’s official view of Tito, they saluted with mixed feelings his wartime heroism and Yugoslav patriotism, while being slyly critical of his personal dictatorship, satirizing his appearance and royal lifestyle. This contested view of Tito also incorporated aspects of the anti-communist rhetoric of disguise and deception originating in the statements of the spokesmen of radical right in the U.S. at the time. *Life’s* nuanced representation of Tito in 1949 would be similarly orchestrated.420

420 A better understanding of personal and political associations of *Life* editors could be potentially illuminating, in this regard. As *Life* corporate archive, a logical place to conduct this inquiry, was not particularly useful, this would necessitate an investigation into their personal archives or papers (if existing at all) - a task beyond the scope of our present research.
Five  Tito’s Stardom in the West and Countering Soviet Propaganda in 1949

The Disease Metaphor and Titoism in The Cold War Rhetoric of The Crumbling of Communism

“Metaphoric projections of racial and cultural anxieties” and the notion of “otherness” have fundamentally contributed to “the making and unmaking of national and cultural identities” in the Western world.\(^{421}\) Central to this process, “ideas about disease are inseparably linked to the formation of social groups and their others,”\(^{422}\) and the disease metaphor has been consistently used to represent class, gender, and political “otherness” in modern history. Thus, it is not surprising to find the disease metaphor playing such a prominent role as the major ‘othering’ device in the popular culture and official rhetoric of anti-communism in the Cold War U.S., alongside other sources of ‘fear’ in mid-century American culture, including Nazism and crime.\(^{423}\)

Consistently applied in contemporary political discourse about national security and foreign policy, from public addresses made by prominent government officials to presidential speeches, the “perception of communism as infectious was one that spanned the political spectrum.”\(^{424}\) In his testimonial before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) on 26 March 1947, FBI Director Edgar Hoover opined:

Communism, in reality, is not a political party. It is a way of life – an evil and malignant way of life. It reveals a condition that is akin to a disease that spreads like epidemic and like an epidemic a quarantine is necessary to keep it from infecting the Nation.\(^{425}\)


\(^{422}\) Bewell, 17.


\(^{424}\) Hendershot, 13.

The candidate for the Democrats, Adlai Stevenson, continued in this vein during his 1952 presidential campaign, saying that communism was a disease, “which may have killed more people in this world than cancer, tuberculosis, and heart disease combined.”

The origin of the disease metaphor as one of the key rhetorical “vehicles” that “have structured the American perception of the Soviet threat,” is found in the clustering of certain motives in the Truman Doctrine Speech, delivered before the Congress on 12 March 1947. In this landmark speech, President Truman emphasized the importance of American economic aid to Greece and Turkey, deploying the imagery of disasters, fires, flooding, and disease to underline the urgency of U.S. involvement in these two countries as an implementation of the foreign policy of communist containment. These cardinal metaphors from his speech were suggested for the first time by Dean Acheson, the Under Secretary of State, in his influential address about the relevance of the U.S. involvement in Europe before a group of congressional leaders at the White House in February 1947:

The Soviet pressure on the Straits, on Iran, and on northern Greece had brought the Balkans to the point where a highly possible Soviet breakthrough might open three continents to Soviet penetration. Like apples in a barrel infected by one rotten one, the corruption of Greece would infect Iran and all to the east. It would also carry infection to Africa through Asia Minor and Egypt, and to Europe through Italy and France, already threatened by the strongest domestic Communist parties in Western Europe.

In the days prior to Truman’s address to Congress, Acheson met with selected representatives of the U.S. media and instructed them on the content of the President’s speech. Preparing the public for the request for emergency relief to Turkey and Greece in the Truman

---

426 Hendershot, 13.
427 Hendershot, 71.
429 Ivie, “Fire, flood, and red fever,” 577. Ivie also notes the ubiquitous presence of the disease imagery in George Kennan’s “Long Telegram” from February 1946, in which he described world communism as a "malignant parasite which feeds only on diseased tissue." Ivie, “Fire, flood, and red fever,” 574.
Doctrine Speech, the editorials in *Newsweek, Washington Daily News*, and the *New York Times* echoed the ‘disaster’ motives in the president’s speech, presenting communism “as an immediate threat to the public health and welfare” of the nation.\(^{430}\) It was, thus, with the help of the select and influential media outlets that “certain figures of speech (were) elaborated and literalized over time into conventional visions of national peril” in Cold War America.\(^{431}\) While nurturing of the image of communism as a disease, spreading like a fever and killing without mercy like a cancer, U.S. cold-war rhetoric was also rife with symbolic imagery of “freedom as weak, fragile, and feminine,” “vulnerable to disease and rape,” and “in need of protection.”\(^{432}\) The political rivalry between the U.S. and the USSR was, therefore, condensed into “the predominant motive of protecting and preserving freedom.”\(^{433}\) This was the apparent task of the U.S. policy of containment, “featur(ing) an image of holding the communist surge within current borders in order to prevent it from spreading further around the globe.”\(^{434}\) Thus, issues pertinent to national security were metaphorically equated with ‘caring’ for the nation’s health. The emotional and psychological potency of this kind of language was enormous, and the notion of Titoism was linked to it.

Originating in western political theory in the wake of the Tito-Stalin split in 1948, Titoism has been broadly defined as “nationalistically oriented policies and practices followed by a communist state or group independent of and often in opposition to the USSR,” and more specifically and tautologically as “the political, economic, and social policies associated with Tito.”\(^{435}\) This concept was widely used during the Cold War era by Western governments, policy makers, political scientist, and the media in various ways and for different purposes. Titoism was

\(^{430}\) Ivie, “Fire, flood, and red fever,” 577.


\(^{432}\) Ivie, “Cold War Motives and the Rhetorical Metaphor,” 72.

\(^{433}\) Ivie, “Cold War Motives and the Rhetorical Metaphor,” 75.

\(^{434}\) Ibid.

also studied at American universities, and a number of scholarly works about it appeared in the 1950s in the U.S.\textsuperscript{436} Initially, it enabled Western observers to separate the new form of national communism emerging independently in Yugoslavia from the ‘unfriendly’ communist regimes established in Eastern Europe after the war. In the words of Paul McVicker, a former U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia:

Titoism is neither communism as it is practiced in the Soviet Union nor democracy as it is known in Western liberal societies. Instead it is a compromise, a synthesis of those parts of Marxism-Leninism and those parts of Western democracy which the Yugoslav leaders consider necessary or practical to their cause.\textsuperscript{437}

During Cold War, the history and relevance of Titoism were widely publicized among the general public, for example, the pamphlet \textit{What is Titoism?} by Cicely and Christopher Mayhew in 1951.\textsuperscript{438} This was important, as Titoism was not only a scholarly subject but had played a practical role in the contemporary U.S. foreign policy.\textsuperscript{439}

An experienced diplomat with a pronounced dislike of Soviet communism dating from his first posting to the USSR in 1933, George Kennan developed the main aspects of U.S. Cold-War policy in his famous “Long Telegram” dated on 22 February 1946.\textsuperscript{440} Kennan believed that Soviet foreign policy was based on “the inevitability of conflict between capitalism and communism, and that Stalin intended to protect the communist heartland of the Soviet Union by surrounding it with friendly client states,” from which to mount an “attempt to topple the

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{437} McVicker, \textit{Titoism}, 305.
\textsuperscript{439} Historians of the Cold War U.S. policy in Yugoslavia, including Beatrice Heuser and Lorraine M. Lees, in general agree that there exists no evidence to prove that the break between Stalin and Tito was encouraged or in any way orchestrated by the Western governments despite the fact that the possibility of a discord between the two communist countries was envisioned by George Kennan. He, however, thought primarily of a possibility of China’s Communism playing the disruptive force inside the communist block.
European capitalist states.” In Kennan’s analysis, the ultimate aim of Soviet foreign policy was the fall of Western Europe and the isolation of the U.S. To counter the communist threat in Europe, Kennan advised in July 1947 that the government pursue a new policy based on “a long-term patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies,” consisting of “adroit and vigilant application of counterforce at a series of constantly shifting geographical political points, corresponding to the shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policies.”

Eastern Europe was only one of “the periphery zones” in the U.S. national defense plan, per Kennan. With cold-war tensions mounting in 1947, however, it became one of the contested territories. From the point of view of the policy makers, the communist regimes in the satellite countries of Eastern Europe were considered the tools of Soviet expansionist policy, and constituted a threat to Western Europe and Germany, the important U.S. “strongholds” and geo-strategic points.

Deployed against the USSR and the satellites alongside the policy of containment in Europe, Titoism was the anti-communist propaganda tool in the hands of the Western governments. It offered a model to other satellite countries and served the Cold-War rhetoric of ‘crumbling communism’. Accordingly, in 1949 the Western media created a sort of hype around Titoism, constructing the image of it as an international movement reaching beyond the borders of Yugoslavia. BBC broadcasts, for example, adopted the term “Titoism” and followed its ‘spread’ in Eastern European, furthering in the public imagination the image of the crumbling world of communism. This embrace of Titoism as a schismatic ideology in the West may have contributed to some extent to the vengeful Soviet response to Tito’s independent stance and to the aggressive handling of alleged ‘Titoist cases’ in other Eastern European countries in 1949.

---

441 Arms, 321.
442 Arms, 141.
443 The BBC practice is mentioned in “A Year of Titoism,” Economist (2 July 1949): 2-7.
444 The Soviets accused a number of important personalities and government officials in other Eastern European countries under their tutelage of “Titoist” treason against the Soviet Union and orchestrated internal purges and trial in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Poland, which left those countries in the state of even greater dependency on USSR.
Time magazine used the term “Titoism” for the first time in the spring of 1949, relating it to the disease metaphor. It described the grave state of affairs inside the communist bloc in Europe: “All around Yugoslavia and throughout Eastern Europe Titoism is breaking out like a fever rash.”\textsuperscript{445} The magazine next gave an account of the “unhealthy ambitions” of the other two communist leaders and alleged “Titoists,” Wladyslaw Gomulka in Poland and Traicho Kostov in Bulgaria, and spoke of recent “spectacular new outbreak of Titoism” in these satellite countries.\textsuperscript{446} This linking of Titoism and the disease metaphor in Time supported the official rhetoric of the crumbling of communism: “The time has surely come when the West should stop thinking of communism as a block which might splinter but never crack.”\textsuperscript{447} Titoism as a disease would be revisited in Life in 1951, as will be discussed.\textsuperscript{448}

Finally, although it served in the official anti-Soviet crusade on many levels, Titoism was a concept full of contradictions and dissonances. Essentially, it was perceived as an embodiment of a personal dictatorship, associated with other well-known examples in the history of the twentieth-century Europe and Asia, including Stalinism in the USSR, Francoism in Spain, and Maoism in Communist China. Expressive of this view is the article “Report on Yugoslavia” in Time from January 1950, rendering Yugoslavia “a vicious, degrading, Communist state” and Tito’s rule the embodiment of totalitarianism.\textsuperscript{449} Mocking both, the article featured also the map of the country under a suggestive legend of “Titolitaria.” The existence of the fundamentally negative connotations in the notion of Titoism explains why this concept was primarily limited to

\begin{footnotes}
\item[446] “The Great Schism,” 17.
\item[447] Ibid.
\item[448] The Soviets, for their part, consistently used the metaphor of disease in their anti-American propaganda, describing capitalism and Titoism. The description of Titoism as a disease, thus, served both sides.
\end{footnotes}
Anglo-American reflections on the nature of communist rule in Yugoslavia, and, never used in Yugoslav context during the same period.\textsuperscript{450}

\textit{Life’s ‘Good Camera’ Returns to Yugoslavia}

The initiative for a “photographic survey of the country and its people” in \textit{Life} in 1949 came from the Yugoslav government. Vladimir Dedijer, Tito’s closest confidante, had already contacted Phillips in August 1948 while he was in Yugoslavia covering the Danube Conference.\textsuperscript{451} Phillips recalls his conversation with Dedijer: “It won’t cost you a penny if I do it as a \textit{Life} assignment . . . It will be published in the magazine, and won’t be regarded as government propaganda.”\textsuperscript{452} For the Yugoslavs, a photo-story in \textit{Life} was a great opportunity to engage the western audiences with their cause, using the magazine as their proxy propaganda vehicle as they had already done during the war. For \textit{Life}, it was an opportunity to get exclusive pictures from Yugoslavia in the days when “no foreigner was allowed to travel around the country, let alone take pictures.”\textsuperscript{453} We can only imagine that the photographer’s enthusiasm for the inside story on Yugoslavia was shared by Ed Thompson, the head of the news department and assistant to the managing editor of \textit{Life}. Robert Borden Reams, The Councilor of the American Embassy in Belgrade, also supported the idea.\textsuperscript{454} And Tito, trusting Phillips as “the only photographer” to take “decent pictures” of him, was certainly interested.\textsuperscript{455}

The plan materialized a year later in the thick of a propaganda war with the Kremlin. In 1949, the Soviet press and radio intensified blasting attacks on the Yugoslav leadership as a “bankrupt group of sharks,” and “dogs tied to American leashes, gnawing imperialist bones, and

\textsuperscript{450} For the same reasons, predictably, the theory of Titoism was not used in Yugoslavia. On the contrary, it is only recently that the concept of Titoism has been given a ‘negative’ attention in Serbian scholarship. See: \textit{Vlast/Tito iskustvo. Past/present} (Belgrade: Samizdat B92 Book, 2004).

\textsuperscript{451} Phillips, \textit{Free Sprit in a Troubled World}, 482.

\textsuperscript{452} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{453} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{454} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{455} Editorial box, \textit{Life} 27, no. 11 (12 Sept. 1949): 39.
barking for American capital.” Tito was personally insulted in *The Soviet Literary Gazette*, as
in the following caricatural description:

Anyone who has seen or heard [him] even once will have noticed that he is loquacious as a parrot, puffed up, bombastic, and conceited. The parrot has put on the uniform of a marshal. At parades and banquets he appears dressed up as a Christmas tree, and makes eyes to the public. You should see how he poses - chest out, head back, eyes bulging.

In this context, Phillips’ photographs of Tito and the country signified the return of *Life’s* ‘good camera’ to Yugoslavia, battling aggressive and flamboyant Soviet propaganda at a critical moment and following the official trend of acceptance in the U.S.

**1949 Cover: Tito the Defiant**

*Life’s “House Style”: Photographic Portraits of Roosevelt, Ike, Senators, Aspiring Politicians and Tito*

A portrait of Tito by Phillips appeared on the 12 September 1949 cover of *Life* magazine (fig. 52).

Photographed in the glitter of a sunny day on the Adriatic, Tito’s tanned face radiates focused energy as he confidently looks straight ahead, as if making an eye contact with the viewer. In comparison to the loftier 1948 cover in *Life*, Tito’s new portrait engages the style of photographic naturalism, with special attention given to his facial anatomy and expression, and to the notion of personal stoicism - both found in the official photographic portraits of national leaders in *Life*.

Typified by an underlying sense of truthfulness, Phillips’ representation of Tito in 1949 is reminiscent of the magazine’s early cover with Frank Delano Roosevelt from January 1937.

Taken by Harris and Ewing, the official photographers to American presidents from Teddy

---

457 Quoted in “Times Have Changed,” *Newsweek* (5 March 1951): 36.
Roosevelt to Eisenhower based in Washington DC between 1905 and 1955,\textsuperscript{460} the close-up image of Roosevelt literally brings the face of the politician to the fingertips of the magazine readers, inviting them to inspect the details of anatomy and expression. Amplified by the straightforward qualities of Harris and Ewing’s portrait style, Roosevelt’s engaging gaze, like Tito’s later, contains the promise of ultimate disclosure and honesty - the “unvarnished truth” not only on the part of the president, but also on the part of the magazine (fig. 53).

This was a powerful representational formula, and the magazine used it in the official head and shoulders portrait of General Eisenhower on a cover in April 1945 (fig. 54).\textsuperscript{461} Taken by David E. Scherman, the photo shows a somber Eisenhower in his uniform, with the full insignia of his official status and military rank displayed on his chest, seated against a neutral gray background. A dominant feature of Sherman’s portrait is the General’s penetrating gaze, indicating his resolution and sound character. Another Eisenhower cover in the magazine by Arnold Newman continued this tradition in 1952. Dressed in civilian clothes, Eisenhower appears in this portrait as the Republican Party presidential candidate at the very beginning of his campaign, the popular roots of which are discussed in the related feature article “The Eisenhower Campaign is Born.”\textsuperscript{462} The iconography of Newman’s photograph establishes “Ike’s” potential as a future leader of the nation. His frank gaze and reassuring smile imply trustworthiness, and his huge wrinkled forehead and balding head suggest his intellectual powers and many years of experience in leadership (fig. 54).

The iconic head-and-shoulders portrait with subject addressing the camera or gazing to the side while smiling was also a favorite representational model in Life’s depiction of U.S. senators and Republican presidential candidates in the post-war years. One of the examples is a

\textsuperscript{461} Cover page, Life (16 April 1945).
series of *Life* covers with photographic portraits of the Republicans Robert A. Taft; Harold E. Stassen; Thomas E. Dewey; and a portrait of Senator Arthur H. Vanderberg, all from 1948 (figs. 55 and 56). The conventional set-up of their portraits taken against a plain background, dignified and serious expressions, and formal clothes, created the stereotype of a conservative political leadership.

**The Gaze: Tito the Defiant**

Based on *Life*’s own “house style” for representing distinguished political leaders of the day, then, Phillips’ image of Tito conveyed his independence and will to power. Consistent with the appellation given to him in *Life*’s headline of “The Man Who Defied the Kremlin,” Tito’s insubordination to Kremlin is symbolized by his engaging gaze, a conventional device of electoral photography “signifying the exceptional conjunction of thought and will, reflection and action.” Phillips’ photograph symbolically “underlines the realistic outlook” and expresses “the penetration, gravity, frankness,” while implying Tito’s willingness to address “squarely at the enemy, the obstacle, the ‘problem’.” Thus, by virtue of returning the camera’s gaze, Tito is symbolically represented on the *Life* cover as a man capable not only of withstanding the domestic challenges precipitated by his split with Stalin, but also of standing up to mounting international political pressure and the scrutiny of the Western media. The magazine gave Tito the benefit of the doubt at the time when his role in Cold-War Europe was a matter of public debate in the United States.

**The Good-Looking Chap: Tito’s Sex-Appeal and American Post-War Male Ideal**

The 1949 *Life* cover also accentuated Tito’s masculine and stylish appearance, rendering him the embodiment of a political stereotype of the “‘good-looking chap,’ whose obvious

---

463 *Life* 24, no. 6 (9 Feb. 1948); *Life* 24, no.9 (1 Mar. 1948); *Life* 24, no.9 (1 Mar. 1948); *Life* 24, no. 21 (24 May 1948).
466 Barthes, “Photography and Electoral Appeal,” 92.
credentials are his health and virility.\footnote{Ibid.} This aspect of Tito’s popular iconography was already in the making during the war, but it was now officially augmented by the remarks of the U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia Cannon Cawendish. Tito was, in his opinion, not only the sole “communist chief capable of holding out against pressure from Moscow: as an experienced fighter leading an army of loyal and excellent soldiers,” but also the European communist leader with the greatest personal “sex appeal.”\footnote{Heuser, 69.}

General as these remarks may seem today, an explanation is in order. A man of his time, Cawendish was speaking of a particular type of masculine ‘sex appeal,’ the one mediated by the commercial ads, Hollywood movies, and the popular cult of male movie-stars, sexuality and glamour in the first post-war decade (1945-1955). Typified by the male roles played by Humphrey Bogart and Carry Grant, the late forties and fifties gave birth to a type of a mature man as a new sex symbol.\footnote{Steven Cohan, \textit{Masked Man: Masculinity in the Fifties} (Indiana University Press, 1997).} He was single and attractive, firm in character, experienced yet adventurous, determined and assertive in action, emotionally stand-offish but warm, always elegantly dressed, with proper manners.\footnote{This type was embodied by Cary Grant in Hitchcock’s 1955 \textit{To Catch a Thief} and 1959 \textit{Noth by Northeast}, and in Stanley Donen’s 1963 \textit{Charade}; by Humphrey Bogart in Billy Wilder’s 1954 \textit{Sabrina}; and by Fred Astaire in Donen’s 1957 \textit{Funny Face}, all playing “older” but sexy men opposite a younger woman. Tito was a declared bachelor until 1952, and his manliness could have played a role in attracting the attention of the U.S. female audience in this period.} Tito’s public image mobilized all of these attributes of the American post-war male ideal, distinguishing him from a stereotypical Stalinist puppet. That is to say, Tito’s good looks also made Titoism ‘attractive’ alternative to Stalinism.

Furthermore, in a media culture that emphasized appearance as a token of credibility, in politicians and actors alike, Tito fared much better than his political counterparts in the U.S. In his late fifties, he radiated authority derived from an apparent ability to ‘protect the people,’ and that confidence was exacerbated by mass media’s “impulse to scrutinize the bodies of leaders
and would-be leaders” for “signs” of that strength. Roosevelt’s physical disability had represented a challenge in this respect, and his successor, Truman, equally did not accommodate the prototypical image of attractive manliness, appearing rather as a bookish type in W. Eugene Smith’s photograph for a Life cover in 1948 (fig. 57).

The exception was Eisenhower. He was the only contemporary American leader who, like Tito, had distinguished himself as a commanding general during the war. Equally, photographers consistently drew on his appearance that signified competence for the post-war Americans, who embraced heterosexual, white, middle-aged male as the masculine ideal. For example, in July 1945 Life depicted the broad-shouldered general welcomed by the jubilant crowds gathered on the streets to honour his triumphant return home from Europe. In a cover photograph of Eisenhower in his role as the President of Columbia University, in the 17 April 1950 issue of Life, we see him smartly dressed in his university office at the Law Library. Standing next to his desk with one hand resting on the back of his chair and the other on his hip, his pose symbolizes both readiness for the job, and the self-sufficiency of an experienced administrator (fig. 57). Echoing the setting in David’s portrait of Napoleon in his study from 1802, this dignifying portrait typifies Eisenhower’s post-war iconography as a civil servant. His plain style, however, compounded the belief - instilled in the public who affectionately called him, as did his wife, “Ike” - that Eisenhower was also a “regular guy.”

472 As Stein shows, this challenge was met with a success.
474 In contrast to Eisenhower, Tito did not have a popular ‘pet name.’ Born Josip Broz, he used fake names in official documents during his days as a communist leader active in the international movement before the war. Assuming the leadership of the CPY in 1937, Broz stated using a revolutionary name “Tito.” He used it during the war in Yugoslavia, and it stuck for the rest of his life. It was not, however, an affectionate nickname, but a revolutionary name, an important distinction as it referred with gravity to Tito’s public role. Tito’s only nickname, indicating an emotional attachment of sorts, was given to him by his closest friends and fellow communists, later members of his government, in the 1930s. They called him stari, the “the old man,” implying first and foremost their respect for the General Secretary of the
The Communist ‘Gatsby’

Further drawing Tito into the sphere of American popular culture, Alan Ladd, the lead actor in Elliott Nugent’s *The Great Gatsby*, released by Paramount in 1949, appears in an endorsement for “Jeris Antiseptic Hair Tonic,” opposite the thumbnail version of Tito’s cover photograph in miniature published inside the editorial box on the same page. They both have the same sleek look, handsome face, and a conventional parted hairdo. This opportune juxtaposition of Tito’s photograph and the ad featuring the American movie star celebrated for his role of Jay Gatsby, the self-made man in Scott Fitzgerald’s famous novel, isolates the parallels existing between this cultural stereotype and Tito’s biography.

From peasant background, Tito achieved prominence due to his drive, independence and courage to challenge the hierarchy of power in the Stalin-led communist world. Later, he was able to position himself as equal with the leading men and women in the Western political world. Tito was a paradoxical new example of a self-made man, albeit communist, his rise to fame and power in political circles evoking, therefore, the personal journey of Gatsby. Although this analogy can arguably be seen as farfetched and unflattering, as Gatsby was exposed a “compassionate failure” and misfit in the novel, Tito’s and Gatsby’s fictional biography both address the American Dream of personal ascendancy and wealth in the image of a man who was propelled to the life of the upper class and social prestige, despite humble origins. In the U.S. culture romanticizing charismatic individuality, wealth, and class, flawed or otherwise, Tito as the self-made man had a potential to captivate popular attention.475

475 CPY who was their senior by dozen years and their leader. This nickname was not, however, typically used by the general public to refer to Tito.

Tito the Glamorous

Although other prominent Western and Yugoslav photographers portrayed Tito, including Karl Hutton and Bert Hardy of *Picture Post* in 1950 and 1953 respectively, and Yousuf Karsh in 1954, it was Phillips’ photograph of Tito that stuck, acquiring an iconic popular status. *Life* recycled it in a one-page ad with Andrew Hiskell’s introduction to the upcoming magazine’s serial, “Tito Speaks,” in 1952. *Time* used it on the cover of its 6 June 1955 issue with the headline, “Yugoslavia’s Tito” (fig. 58). There, it appears against the symbolic background of the Yugoslav coat of arms, the wheat wreaths of which form a halo-like circle around Tito’s head. Playing with a quasi-Christian symbolism once again, *Time* alluded to the secular sanctification of Tito within Yugoslavia as the beloved father of the nation and as an apostle of national communism. It was equally popular in socialist Yugoslavia where it was published in elementary school textbooks as late as 1975.

The popularity of this particular portrait had little to do with any truthful rendering of the character of the Yugoslav leader. On the contrary, its omnipresence was due to the versatile iconography reinforcing potentially a range of cultural stereotypes. It demonstrated the validity of the idea that in Western culture “a photograph is a mirror,” offering the public their own “likeness, but clarified, exalted, superbly elevated into a type.” In the North American context, Phillips’ 1949 portrait of Tito projected aspects of the familiar and idealized American masculine and political stereotype for a specific reason: it potentially relaxed the public opinion about Tito, minimizing also antagonisms towards the U.S. administration endorsing his regime in 1949.

---

477 Phillips’ photograph of Tito appears as a portrait of him hung on the wall in a collage representing the interior of a classroom with a teacher and students at their desks, by Hamid Lukovac. See: Sefkija Merzic, Muhamed Muradbegovic, and Milan Markovic, *Bukvar Grade 1, 2nd* edition (Sarajevo: “Svjetlost,” 1975), 3.
478 Barthes, 91.
Life Puts Dictator on a Pedestal: The 1949 Photo Essay Monumentalizing Tito

In comparison to Life’s story on Tito from the year before, the 1949 coverage was far more extensive. It was organized around three distinct themes. The first was a short, editorial rendering of Tito’s political predicaments and the U.S. response; the second was Tito’s private life; and the general picture of the country after its expulsion from the Cominform was the third. The framework and the tone were set in the editorial “Tito Defies the Kremlin,” arguing pragmatically for U.S. support of Tito.

Accompanying the editorial, on the same page, Tito is shown standing in profile on a massive wall in a black-and-white photograph - “the statuesque figure poised on a granite battlement on the Adriatic Island of Brioni” (fig. 59). The referencing of monumental sculpture in the magazine’s expressive language is deliberate. The parallel is amplified by the expressively low camera angle, enhancing his monumentality, and making one, necessarily, ‘look up to’ the defiant Yugoslav leader. While Phillips’ image functions as a photographic monument to Tito, he is also verbally ‘put on a pedestal’ in the accompanying text as “the most interesting man in the world today.” The end result of the ‘image-text’ linkage in the layout of this page symbolically ‘elevates’ Tito, setting the tone for Life’s rendering of him a new Cold War hero, “a communist leader who could be master in his own house and withstand Soviet pressure.” Life’s glorifying rhetoric had the strong political repercussions, filtering the official views of the U.S. government.

479 See: “Tito defies the Kremlin,” Life 27, no. 11 (12 Sept. 1949): 41-49. With distinct parts, the editorial of the same title, 41; “Life photographer visits with Tito. He describes a dictator’s holiday,” 42-43; photographs of Yugoslav army, 44-45; “Everybody works for the state under the Tito five year plan,” 46-47; “We belong to Tito, Tito belongs to us,” 48-49.
480 “Tito defies the Kremlin,” 41. Placed opposite Tito’s standing figure on the right, the title to the article, “Tito defies Kremlin,” also doubles as a caption to his photograph.
481 “Tito defies the Kremlin,” 41.
482 Heuser, 209.
Evolution of U.S. Policy In Yugoslavia: Tito the Heretic

Following an abortive mission in Serbia that had been intended to bring down Tito’s Communist regime and replace it with a more pro-western government in late 1948, and realizing that widening the crisis in Yugoslavia in the wake of the breach with the Kremlin might actually play into Stalin’s hands, the initial U.S. “liberation” policy was scrapped. Supported by the British, the U.S. government adopted a more relaxed attitude towards Tito, and the new policy was designed by the NSC in 1949 helping Tito “survive without immediately forcing him to change his government into a Western-style one.” This ushered in a new phase in U.S. relations with Yugoslavia, based on a long-term dedication to strengthening Tito’s regime, acknowledged in Life as “morally difficult” decision. Perceived, however, as “an ideological wedge or spearhead in the side of the supposedly crumbling communist monument,” Tito’s “heretic” independence from the Kremlin was in 1949 exploitable by the West as an example to other communist leaders encouraged to follow in his steps. This alone justified the U.S. more amicable official stance.

The Military Concerns

In the summer of 1949, USSR-Yugoslav relations were at their worst, threatening war and sounding an alarm among western observers. With tensions rising in Eastern Europe, U.S. and British officials came to view Tito’s mastery over Yugoslavia and his capacity to withstand Soviet pressure as a crucial aspect in the Cold War strategy of containment. The exploitation of Yugoslavia’s geo-strategic place in the defense of Western Europe against Soviet aggression was the paramount, in particular her role as a “defensive shield,” or buffer zone, for the adjoining

483 For the CIA attempts to overthrow Tito in late 1948, see Heuser, 45.
484 Hueser, 209.
485 “Tito defies the Kremlin,” 41.
486 Heuser, 213. The “wedge” strategy was upheld by both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations as the key aspect of the U.S. foreign policy in Yugoslavia during the Cold War. See: John Lewis Gaddis, The Long Peace: Inquiries into the History of the Cold War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 152-94.
NATO countries of Italy, Austria, and Greece, traditionally considered indefensible. Dominating the western discourse about an “independent” Yugoslavia, these ideological and military concerns bled over into Life’s iconography of Tito and Yugoslavia in September 1949.

Body Language: Tito the Victorious Commander and Imperial Examples

As the staging of the sitter’s body remains one of the major connotative procedures in photographic portraiture, the symbolic aspects of Tito’s pose in Phillips’ photograph are particularly interesting. His one foot raised on the cornice of the villa, in particular, echoes old iconographical prototypes established in Roman honorific statues, publicly commemorating the emperor’s “services to the state” and “abilities as a commander of the army.” For example, following a naval victory over Sextus Pompey in 36 B.C., the Senate approved an honorific statue of Octavian in the guise of nude hero with his foot stepping onto the globe, or a sphere, symbolizing his “all-embracing rule over land and sea.” A variation of this pose was also employed in a public monument erected in honor of Octavian’s rival, Sextus Pompey, in 40-42 B.C., represented on a denarius coin. In contrast to Octavian’s, Sextus’s foot rests on a rostrum, or the prow of the ship, to commemorate his naval victory over Caesar, Octavian’s adoptive father. In both cases, the victorious pose implied the god-like strength of the emperors, a prototype established in the Hellenistic tradition. Tito’s victorious pose, likewise, alludes to his 1948 personal triumph over the Kremlin, while also celebrating his capacities as a commander of the standing Yugoslav army, and his role as a potential ally. With a touch of whimsy, the

---

488 In the period following the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 and up until 1953, thus, NATO military designs numbered among “the key reason” for supporting Tito in Yugoslavia. Heuser, 212.
492 Zenker, *The Power of Images*, 39. The iconography of triumph established in Roman honorific statues was refurbished in Christian art to represent a victorious Christ winning the battle over evil, represented as the coiled serpent underneath his feet.
493 This same iconographical formula was memorably quoted late in Tito’s life, in a witty image of Tito the hunter, taken during one of his hunting trips in Yugoslavia. This photograph shows Tito and his
editors literally spelled out the political implications of the triumphant iconography in Tito’s portrait, placing a one-page advertisement for the newest model of the TV set produced by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), appositely called “Victor” on the adjacent page of the magazine double-page spread.494

Architectural Staging: Vila Jadranka as the Brioni Citadel

The elegant architecture of Tito’s elaborate summer residence Vila Jadranka with an impressive collection of European paintings and sculpture from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and carefully landscaped garden, provide a backdrop for Phillips’ images of Tito on the island of Brioni in 1949. A favorite vacation destination of the European aristocracy in the twenties, the luxurious resort and leisure complex was built on the Adriatic island of Brioni in the late nineteenth century by the Austro-Hungarian entrepreneur Karl Kupelweiser.495 The oldest of three residential villas on the island, Villa Jadranka was originally built in 1926 and later renovated in 1948, by the Yugoslav communist government taking over the possession of the island. It was Tito’s summer residence between 1949 and 1953, when the impressive White Villa was erected, becoming his favorite hangout on the island.496

The military references in the iconography of “Tito the Defiant” were further amplified by the architectural staging of his Brioni summer residence as a monumental citadel. In the hunting trophy, a large brown bear, a royal game and a symbol of Russian state, lying under the his raised foot, the image paying homage to the cardinal ‘triumph’ of Tito’s political career, his antagonistic battle with Soviet Russia. Photo reproduced in Drago Crncevic, Nas Tito, (Zagreb, Opatija: Spektar, 1980), 239. 494 Life 27, no. 11 (12 Sept. 1949): 40.
495 Tony White, Another Fool in the Balkans in the Footsteps of Rebecca West (London: Cadogan Guides, 2006), 212.
496 The scholarly works on the architecture of Tito’s Brioni Villas are few to date, with an exception of the attention given to “Villa Brijunka,” considered one of the major architectural monuments in Croatia. Villa Brijunka was built between 1956 and 1957 from white marble slabs, originating from the island Brac quarries, held in place by the ore joints. Similarly, Tito’s Pavillion, created in 1953 by Joze Plecnik, is often mentioned in architectural literature mainly due to the cult status of its creator as one of the most eminent modernist architects in Yugoslavia. For the basic information on the history and present function of the three Brijuni Villas see: Boris Oresic, “Buducnost Brijuna neizvjesna-predsjednicki kandidati tvrde da nece na otocje ako pobijede, a elite-nema,” Vjesnik. Hrvatski politicki dnevnik (16 Jan. 2000): 5-9; (On-Line edition. Viewed on March 31, 2007) http://www.vijesnik.hr/html/2000/01/16/clanak
original photograph of Tito on the Vila Jadranka terrace, we can see not only a huge vaulted basement window opened in the center of massive wall supporting it, but also a white hammock on the left, hanging between the cyprus trees in the villa’s landscaped garden below (fig. 60). Before this photograph was published in Life, however, the composition of the image was intentionally altered in an editorial procedure commonly referred to as “intelligent cropping” of images. In the cropped version of the image published by Life, the basement window and the hammock, two features indicative of the building’s residential function are eliminated. The outer wall of the Villa Jadranka, with its rusticated façade of heavy stones built in the Florentine Renaissance tradition of palace architecture, thus, appears like a solid military tower in the fortified citadel. The Villa’s garden, minus the hammocks, likewise, assumes the look of an open landscape stretching beyond the fortification walls of the ‘Brioni citadel,’ the primary function of which is to ‘shield off’ and protect the enclosed territory: it is no longer a place for leisure.

“Yugoslav Fortress”: Tito on The Battlements of Europe

The Brioni citadel as an architectural metaphor under Tito’s watchful gaze, extends to encompass the whole of Yugoslavia and to her greater role as a geo-strategic fortress for the democratic world. Supporting this view, Life reminded its readers that “Tito has a nation (biggest in the Balkans) and a proven army behind him,” and the raw people-power of Yugoslavia was shown in the photographs of the young Yugoslav soldiers marching off to “combat maneuvers” near the Yugoslav-Hungarian border. Their tightly packed and orderly choreographed formations symbolize the collective strength and unity of purpose of the Yugoslav nation and army. That sense of spirited togetherness is enhanced in the adjacent photograph of Yugoslav

497 The same photograph can be seen in its original form in the collection of the Life images that is fully searchable on line at the TIME & LIFE official site. See: http://www.timelifepictures
498 Although he states that Life editors respected the “the absolute character of the photograph,” Hicks explains that the “intelligent cropping” of the images was a technique they used in the production of the photographic essays in general. Hicks, 43.
officers and their subordinates joining hands in the national dance, the “kolo,” a popular symbol of patriotism.

Finally, the third image in the double-page spread shows the “volunteer labor brigade” parading in a Yugoslav town. Photographed from an empowering low photographic angle, the marching men are monumentalized, their bodies towering high over and blending with the surrounding cityscape. Ensuring that they are also seen as potential western allies, the caption below the image points out that “the long-handled scythes” in their hands “could easily be replaced by rifles” (fig. 61). With these allusions to Yugoslavia’s fighting power, Life transformed the 1948 image of Tito’s embattled leadership into the 1949 image of Tito the victorious and his people keeping guard on the ‘battlements’ of the Western democracy.

**Western Economic Aid To Yugoslavia and Keeping Tito Afloat: “Everybody Works For The State”**

Life’s rendering of Yugoslav people and their history was, nevertheless, rife with negative racial, cultural, and ethnic stereotypes about Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The magazine’s erroneous and chauvinistic commentary is worth quoting in full:

Yugoslavia is a backward country, scarred by conquest, bedeviled by old hatreds within its rugged borders: its swarthy Orthodox Serbs persecuted their lighter skinned, catholic Croatian neighbours. In turn Croats feuded with the blond Austrian-influenced Slovenes. But despite family quarrels—not yet eliminated—the Yugoslavs are trying to behave as a nation . . . War hero Tito has contrived with mounting success to create a genuine national spirit.”

Portraying ethnically mixed population of Yugoslavia as culturally and historically ‘backward,’ Life extolled Tito as a man with a vision, capable of harnessing competitive ethnic impulses, and

---

instilling a sense of unitary national pride. His creation, a strong Yugoslavia was “the thorn in Stalin’s side,” and the U.S. was ready to help Tito survive.  

“Keeping Tito afloat,” the Americans and the British arranged for the long-term economic and military aid for the country.  

The U.S. led the way by unfreezing the gold of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in July 1948, renewing trade with the country in February 1949, and approving the first Export-Import Bank credit in September 1949 in the amount of $20 million. Between mid-1949 and 1955, Yugoslavia received $598.5 million in economic aid and another $588.5 in military aid, totaling $1.2 billion from the U.S. government alone. The British did the same, opening trade negotiations with Yugoslavia as early as November 1948, and signing a trade agreement in late December 1949. Although it was not conditional in actuality, U.S. and British economic aid to Yugoslavia was calculated as the aspect of the strategy of countering communism in Europe. “Nothing is so potentially dangerous to an ideology or religion as a flourishing heresy,” said Bevin, “Tito’s mere continuance to hold out in opposition to the orthodox communist line works greatly to our advantage.” Furthermore, these economic measures solidified Tito’s government in the face of the crisis and external pressures, putting Tito’s faltering Five-Year Plan back on track.

Thematically related black-and-white photographs of hardworking Yugoslav youth, workers, peasantry, and women appear in a double-page spread under the title “Everybody Works For The State Under The Tito Five-Year Plan.” They are arranged around a simplified

---

503 “Tito defies the Kremlin,” 41.
504 Heuser, 81. British Foreign Secretary Ernst Bevin coined the phrase as early as the fall of 1948. He was instrumental in creating the British policy of supporting Tito economically.
505 Yugoslavia received additional $3 million from the International Monetary Funds, and $13 million from the U.S. government for the raw materials, in the same month. The second Export-Import bank credit in 1950 totalled also $20 Million. Heuser, 84-85. The figure is bumped to $25 million in Life, see “Tito defies the Kremlin,” 41.
506 Jelavić, 328.
507 Heuser, 84.
508 Bevin quoted by Heuser, 84.
map of “Strategic Yugoslavia” in the middle, showing the massing of the Soviet troops along the Yugoslav borders with Hungary and the movement of the Soviet submarines in the Adriatic (fig. 62). The map graphically renders the tools of the imminent Soviet invasion, but it also metaphorically suggests the increasingly pragmatic military point of view the west was adopting with respect to Yugoslavia.

A photograph taken in Belgrade of a busy construction site where the “new Presidium building rises to house Tito’s government,” implies the passing of the old and the coming of a new socio-economic regime in Yugoslavia. Its modernist architecture, as orderly as the new era in the history of the nation, contrasts with the picturesque image of the Old Bridge from the city of Mostar spanning the Neretva River (fig. 62). Built in the sixteenth century in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Old Bridge was a treasured as a national heritage monument and a common symbol of “turbulent history” enveloping the region since the Ottoman times. In the image below, we see a volunteer brigade of students building dikes along the banks of the River Danube in Belgrade, and in the photograph to the left, the peasant caravan in the town of Vukovar is on its way to deliver wheat and other goods to state agencies, as demanded of them. In contrast to the idealistic élan of the Belgrade youth, the peasant reaction to agrarian reform and collectivization of the country is rendered half-hearted, guaranteed in part by the prospect of the financial compensation by the government in exchange for their goods. As Life’s ironic caption reassures the capitalist readers: Yugoslav “peasants seem to like Tito, but they also like money” (fig. 62).

The stark contrast between the old and the new life in Tito’s Yugoslavia is pursued in the five photographs arranged at the very bottom of the double-page spread. There a quasi-idyllic

---

510 “Everybody works for the state under the Tito Five Year Plan,” 46.
511 Symbolizing the bringing of the various ethnic nationalities into one community through out time, the bridge was destroyed by the Croatian army in the 1990s during the last Balkan war, and later rebuilt following the cessation of the animosities and the creation of the new Bosnian state.
512 “Everybody works for the state under the Tito Five Year Plan,” 46-47.
image of Yugoslav peasantry engaging in traditional farming activities in the small town of Bjelovar is juxtaposed with a photograph of a “peasant doing his highway work barehanded” in the Bosnian town of Konjic (fig. 62). Dressed in a national costume, he is loading heavy stone blocks onto a wooden wagon. Caption “Tool Famine,” the photo renders the consequences of the Soviet-imposed economic blockade of Yugoslavia, possibly from a sympathetic point of view. Yet, its iconography also carries negative connotations of the unnecessarily humiliating and primitive conditions of peasant voluntary work, resembling the punitive physical labour commonly performed by convicts working in prison quarries or, even worse, alluding to the dehumanizing conditions of Stalinists gulags.

The negative association of Tito’s regime with Stalin’s is also made transparent in the caption to the middle image, “Yugoslav ‘Stalingrad’,” showing a street view of Podgorica, in the Republic of Montenegro, renamed Titograd after the war, with a view of a half-finished building for a new city bank in the background, a woman followed by a donkey in the middle-ground, and a bell from “a destroyed church,” in the foreground (fig. 62). Similarly, the Yugoslav working-class is depicted in *Life* as exerting itself in a staged photograph taken inside Serbian lead mines in Mitrovica of a pair of emaciated and tired miners pushing “an ore cart underground beneath pictures of Stalin, Lenin, and Tito” (fig. 62). *Life*’s caption and image seem to suggest that their labour typifies an unrealistic and excessive personal sacrifice in the name of socialism. *Life* actually concludes pessimistically about Yugoslav efforts to rejuvenate the country’s economy and industry on its own: “They all work hard, and after two frantic years of Tito’s own Five Year Plan for reconstruction they show the signs of weariness.” The magazine’s “concerned” tone resonates with the more pro-active stance the U.S. and British governments took in support of the independent and strong Yugoslavia under Tito in 1949, when a speedier economic recovery

---

513 Ibid, 47.
514 Ibid.
515 “Everybody works for the state under the Tito five year plan,” 46.
of the country aided by western capital was orchestrated. On the other hand, its demystifying representation of socialist labour comparing working conditions in Yugoslavia to gulag retains rather negative view of the state and implicates Tito as the chief engineer of the Five-Year Plan.

**The Dictator’s Holiday: From a War Hero to a Political Celebrity (or Warriors at Home)**

In the following section of the essay entitled “*Life Photographer Visits With Tito,*” *Life* shifted attention from Tito’s public role as leader of the unruly communist state to his ‘private life,’ showing him as an ordinary family man, a dynamic and likable personality. Remarkably, Phillips’ story about the “dictator’s holiday” on the Island of Brioni and his photographs of Tito at his summer home were published simultaneously in the 12 September 1949 issues of both *Time* and *Life.* Reflecting its textual mandate, *Time* featured fewer pictures, whereas the story in *Life* was visually richer and more complex. The textual component written by Phillips in both magazines, however, is almost identical in content and style. In the best tradition of personality journalism, it is descriptive and replete with trite yet colorful details about Tito’s personal habits and his likes and dislikes. The portrait of a relaxed and carefree Tito who “appeared to be enjoying life,” emerges in both magazines.

Welcoming the photographer at his residence, Phillips writes, the Yugoslav leader wore a “dazzling white flannel slacks and a pale blue sport shirt embroidered with the monogram “T,” and then he changed into “a coat and pale peach-colored shirt” with “a polka-dot tie held in place by a heavy gold clip shaped like a scimitar” for the photo shoot. We also learn about the way Tito combs his hair and holds his cigarette-holder, and are lead to admire the amazing color of his Mediterranean tan “which made his white-streaked blond hair seem even lighter in color.” Pursuing this agreeable portrait of Tito, Phillips describes his host’s upper-class manners and

---


518 “Life photographer visits with Tito,” 42.
warmth, akin to that of a European royalty. Entertaining his ‘photographer-guest,’ Tito arranged sightseeing tours of the island in his “brand new Mercury,” and took Phillips on a fishing party in a rowboat off the island’s picturesque shores. Later, they enjoyed a small talk over an elaborate dinner, Tito avoiding explicitly any political topics. Rather, he accommodatingly showed interest in more general subjects, such as American western movies, and shared a few anecdotes from his youth in Czarist Russia.519

The rendering of the ‘ordinary’ and ‘idiosyncratic’ aspects of Tito’s personality and lifestyle was strategically important, reflecting the ongoing ‘celebrification’ and ‘democratization’ of the hero as a social type in the mass media. Although personal heroism was still valued, with the advent of mass media culture, the relevance of the heroic individual as a social ideal was gradually overshadowed in the U.S. by the growing fascination with celebrity.520 Life’s rendering of major personalities from the world of domestic politics confirmed to this paradigm shift, in order for their public image to survive the new fad. For example, the ‘home-bound’ stories about allied commanders leaving service, returning to their families, and assuming their civilian lives after the end of the war were a norm. The sympathetic image of the war hero-turned-civilian was created in the Life’s 1944 ‘homely’ representation of General George C. Marshal, the Chief of Saff of the U.S. Army.521 Dressed in a pair of GI overalls and boots, the general is represented humbly tending to the vegetables and fruits in his garden, enjoying his free time in the company of his wife, and reading to their granddaughter in the living-room of his in home in Loesburg, Virginia (figs. 63 and 64). The magazine continued this tradition, showing the ‘private side’ of

the President Truman in the short photo-essay entitled “President Relaxes and Grows Beard,” published in 22 November 1948 issue.\(^ {522}\)

As *Life* had pointed out in a self-reflexive photo-essay in 1940, there were “Camera Rules for Becoming President,” one of which was rendering public the private, domestic side of famous men and women. This was an obligatory aspect of presidential image management in the U.S. press, then, and now.\(^ {523}\) A major political player of the day, Tito was not an exception.

**Between the Hard and the Soft: Gendering Communist Politician in the Cold-War Photography**

The presence of gendered stereotypes and references in *Life’s* and *Time’s* photographic staging and descriptions of Tito’s character and the private spaces he inhabits in 1949 is especially relevant for the analysis of his photographic representation in the U.S. In the context of the American political culture of the Cold War that obsessively “put a new premium on hard masculine toughness and rendered anything less than that soft and feminine and, as such, a real or potential threat to the security of the nation,”\(^ {524}\) gender dichotomy was central to political language and leadership battles. While masculine attributes such as ‘toughness’ and ‘assertiveness’ were perceived as positive personal traits, and normative, ‘effeminizing’ gendered references were a common rhetorical tool in attacks by the conservatives and republicans on certain prominent American liberals, as well as gay men and communists, who were ridiculed for their peculiar way of talking and expressive use of language, taste in dress, personal demeanor, private associations and habits, ivy-league education, social elitism, and upper-class background. An extreme example was the smear campaign against the Democrat candidate Adlai Stevenson in 1952, demonstrating that “masculinity was clearly a rhetorical

\(^{522}\) “President Truman Relaxes and Grows Beard,” *Life* (22 Nov. 1948): 44.

\(^{523}\) “These are Camera Rules for Becoming President,” *Life* 8, no. 2 (8 Jan. 1940): 46-51.

terrain on which political images were forged and partisan battles were fought” for the personal reputation and credibility of American politicians during Cold War.525

Crucial to our understanding of this issue is the view that as metaphorical vehicles of political representation, the gendered references depend on the discursive context in which they appear, and have little or nothing to do with any essential qualities of the subjects described. Instead of consistency in Life’s and Time’s application of gendered stereotypes to Tito’s image in 1949, we must pursue their signification in relation to the larger context of the Cold War battles for superiority. It is interesting to see how both attributes of exaggerated masculinity, and aspects of femininity, enter into the iconography of Tito’s public image in order to highlight certain aspects of his leadership style and to position him within a larger context of the American Cold War view of communism. On the one hand, Tito was pictured in Life photography in terms associated with the American cult of maleness - a strategy deployed to augment his ‘value’ as an ally in the Cold War struggle against Soviet communism. On the other hand, effeminizing elements are brought into his iconography in order to symbolize the ultimate one-upmanship of U.S. Cold War policy in Yugoslavia and of the American strategy of containment, as discussed in detail below.

The Big Three: The ‘Soft’ Life of Tito

For example, Life published a small photograph of Tito “discussing strategy at Tito’s villa on Brioni Island” with two members of his cabinet, Edvard Kardelj and Mosa Pijade. Engaged in what appears to be an informal conversation, “The Big Three” are seated comfortably in huge puffy armchairs with smooth-flowing lines and floral upholstery, arranged around an antique coffee table (fig. 65).

As Time points out perceptively in a related story implying the symbolic gender dichotomy and the relevant contrast between the ‘soft’ and ‘hard/rough’ attributes, the “cozy and

525 Cuordileone on Adlai, 539-542, and 545.
somewhat bourgeois” decor of Tito’s study in Villa Jadranka, luxuriously furnished with “heavy polished furniture,” contrasts with “the rough, tables, chairs and field telephone which furnished his (Tito’s) cave office” his HQ on the Island of Vis in 1944. The description of space here clearly symbolizes the nature of Tito’s leadership, rendering his personal transformation since 1944 ‘visible.’ As much as the conventionally ‘rough’ look of Tito’s war photographs was associated with his courageous character and guerrilla lifestyle, the ‘soft’ life of Tito at his Brioni residence rendered in Life embody the quiet comforts of his bourgeois, even pampered, existence as a ‘kept’ dictator. Notably, considered a sign of moral deviation, ‘softness’ appeared as a negative attribute in the critical descriptions of the comfortable and privileged lifestyle enjoyed by the political and government elite in the post-war Yugoslavia in the works of Milovan Djilas, turned a bitter critic of Tito regime in the later 1950s.

The remaining five images from the photo story show Tito enjoying his free time around the island, horseback riding, fishing, playing pool, racing in his motorboat, and keeping company to his young son Misha (fig. 65). In these photographs Life established the iconography of Tito’s private life split between his passion for various popular sports and the parenting his young son. Ordinary as they seem, Phillips’ photographs are also uniformly infused with culturally determined attributes of gender and class.

The Noble Rider and the Broncobuster

In the photograph appearing directly below the image of chatty “Big Three,” we see “Tito in flashy riding habit, trotting his handsome mare, Mitzi,” around the island’s park in the company of his personal bodyguard, General Milan Zezalj. The term “flashy” used to describe Tito’s attire suggests the contrived nature of his “overdressed” appearance, drawing attention to

---

528 “Life photographer visits Tito,” 44.
his extravagant, “nouveau riche” lifestyle. The photograph seems to be purposefully edited to fit the two horsemen in the same composition. Dressed in a uniform and mounted on his unusually small dotted horse, General Zezelj, is out of scale in comparison to the imposing look of Tito, sitting proudly atop his long-legged, tall white Lipizzaner. The iconography of Phillips’ photograph with the riding pair - the aristocratic-looking Tito and his bodyguard - calls to mind a similar photograph of the pompous Mussolini in his equestrian attire riding a black stallion in the company of one of his attendants through the splendid gardens of The Villa Borghese taken by Felix Man in 1931 for Munich Illustrated Press (fig. 66).

The ennobling connotations in these photographs of Tito and Mussolini as horsemen derive from popular associations of the equestrian sport with the leisure culture of aristocracy. Furthermore, from Roman imperial art to the portraiture of European monarchs and aristocracy, equestrian iconography is associated with a right to sovereign rulership, dominance and conquest. Managing the horse with one hand, Tito appears as a skillful horseman, his innate will to power symbolized by his mastery over the noble animal. Echoing the conventional iconography first established in the monument to Marcus Aurelius, Tito’s horse is captured trotting, with its front leg raised off the ground. These traditional references in Tito’s equestrian portrait come to the fore in a more compact riding photograph of him published in Time. In comparison to the equestrian scene in Life, Time’s image is a portrait proper, as it features only Tito the horsemen, his towering figure mounted on a regal horse dominating the landscape in the distance.

529 Professor Legge’s comment.
530 It appears that Tito was not fond of the Mussolini parallel, complaining to Phillips that he also made him look like the Italian fascist leader on the balcony in the photograph opening the essay discussed before. See: Phillips’ notes, in the possession of the author.
532 Ibid, 43.
Infusing Tito’s conventional equestrian portrait with personal references, Phillips recounted in the text an anecdote from Tito’s free-spirited youth about his taming of the wild horses of the Russian Steppes, while in exile there.\(^{534}\) Thus, *Time* called Tito “Broncobuster” in the story’s subheading, perhaps with a touch of sarcasm, but nevertheless engaging the American cult of the freedom-loving frontier man as one of the cultural templates in representing the Yugoslav leader to the North American audience. The word broncobuster refers to a man “who breaks or tames broncos,” the wild horses of the western U.S. plains, and it is almost synonymous with the cultural icon of the cowboy.\(^{535}\) Romanticized in American popular culture, from the Hollywood western movies of the 1940s and the 1950s to the photographs of Leonard McCombe of the real-life Texan cowboys published in *Life* in 1949, the cowboy on horseback “represented the fantasy of masculine autonomy and mobility” and “a life free from urban-industrial concerns, domestic constraints, emotional attachments, and the feminizing influences of civilization.”\(^{536}\) Related to American obsession with freedom and virility, the cowboy archetype had influential advocates among U.S. politicians. From Theodore Roosevelt, who celebrated it as symbol of the physical and cultural superiority of the Anglo-American race, to George W. Bush, sporting cowboy hats, boots and belts, and leather jackets in photographs of him taken at his Prairie Chapel Ranch in Texas, the American romance with the frontier-man has helped politicians infuse their public image with attributes of masculinity, personal independence, courage, and resilience. The same holds for Phillips’ image of Tito in the saddle, taking on the masculine cowboy stereotype - more specific to American popular culture - to “westernize” his image and highlight his personal drive and resolve as a man who recognizes no master but himself.

\(^{534}\) “Life photographer visits Tito,” 43.
Playing Billiards: Americanizing Tito’s Public Image

Accentuating the familiar in the iconography of Tito’s lifestyle, *Life* published a photograph of him and his aides playing billiards, a game that has become the staple component in the lifestyle of the American men since its introduction to the U.S. in the late seventeenth century from England (fig. 65). The history of billiards in Europe and America, “involved two separate, equally important traditions.” On one hand, billiards was a favorite pastime of the English upper classes, with a role in the nineteenth-century’s “ideology of the gentleman” as the game’s proficient amateur. Echoing this ‘classed’ view, billiards was celebrated in various popular publications in the nineteenth-century America. On the other hand, the game was also played by the lower classes in Britain and the U.S., often in public, in taverns and poolrooms, becoming thus associated with various forms of illegal activities involving gambling and prostitution.

The ‘high’ image of the billiards and the game’s Anglo-American character are, thus, relevant for our understanding of the changing iconography of Tito’s private life per *Life’s* 1949 rendering. First, the setup of Tito’s villa, with its own billiards room, adhered to the popular ideal of billiards as a recreational game suited to the lifestyle of rich and influential men. It is almost certain that the tradition of billiards as the gentleman’s game implied Tito’s cultivated and refined personal taste. Second, like other hobbies Tito is depicted enjoying in Phillips’

---

538 Polsky, 19.
539 Polsky, 21.
540 A Riley & May’s catalogue for billiard tables and accessories published in Toronto in 1868, for example, claimed that the game’s famous patrons and “Titled players” were, among others, the French King Henry III, Mary, Queen of Scots and, most famously, the French imperial couple Josephine and Napoleon. The same source goes on to mention American “distinguished statesmen” and “governors and politicians of note, and men who rank high in the law, literature and science” as the famous patrons and “capital players” of billiards in the U.S, drawing a conclusion that “no respectable private establishment, who can afford the luxury, is now considered complete without its billiards room.” *Billiards ‘The King of Games and The Game of the Kings’ an illustrated catalogue and price list of billiard tables and goods, from Riley & May, Toronto manufacturers of standard Canadian billiard tables with Phelan’s patent combination cushions* (Toronto, 1868), 14-15, 20.
541 Polsky, 23.
photographs, including fishing and motor boating, billiards has had almost cult-like status in modern Anglo-American leisure culture. These ‘American’ recreational sports take place of the game of chess, historically considered the game of the ‘occident’ and a favourite pastime in Soviet Russia, as his favourite hobbies, adding a kind of ‘western’ touch to Tito’s iconography and ‘Americanizing’ his public image in Life. Finally, even the ‘low’ image of billiards as a game played by the general population in pool halls, may have also indicated to American audiences that Tito was an ‘ordinary guy,’ an approachable fellow who could join them in a game at either the public place, of pool hall or a tavern, or in the private comforts of a family room, ‘democratizing’ his image to some extent.

**Billiards and Gender: Game as a Political Metaphor**

The same photo can also be read as another gendered metaphor of Tito’s political power. While billiards was often advertised as “the game for home - the game to be introduced into private houses, and shared with the families of all who are wealthy enough to afford the luxury” and while the inclusion of women was encouraged to safeguard the vice-free image of the game, the popular image of billiards in the twentieth-century America was infused with male stereotypes:

> Poolrooms were the exact center and veritable stronghold of a special kind of subculture. . . the heterosexual but all-male subculture, which required that certain gathering places (clubs, barber shops, taverns) serve as sacrosanct refuges from women. The poolroom was not just one of these places: it was *the* one, the keystone.

Although Tito and his associates are represented congregating in the seclusion of Vila Jadranka and not in the typical public poolroom, Phillips pictured his private world as decidedly “clubby” and masculine, exploiting the gendered view of pool as “the greatest and most

---

542 Billiards, 15.
543 Polsky, 31.
determinedly all-male institution in American social life." Positioned around the billiards table, Tito’s closest associates - his secretary Lieut. Colonel Brakno Vucinic, his bodyguard General Mlan Zezelj, and his physician Dr. Ivo Popovic - form a live circle around their leader in the middle, symbolizing the close bond of their male companionship. This recurrent focus on the male themes in the representation of Tito’s government in Life was a strategy. In the gender biased culture of the cold-war U.S., valorizing maleness and male attributes such as ‘toughness’ and ‘assertiveness’ as positive traits in a politician, the image of Tito’s all-boys billiards party in Vila Jadranka becomes a potent political metaphor, prefiguring the homogeneous character of his government, its internal strength and unity in the face of Stalin’s attacks on Yugoslav leadership after 1948.  

**Who is the Best Fisherman?**

The two photographs with the marine sports theme, showing the Yugoslav leader fishing and motor-boating, also contain empowering male gender references. In the small black and white photograph at the top of the page, captioned “Who is the best fisherman - me or Truman?” we see an agitated Tito, a look of excitement on his face, holding a medium-size fish on a string (fig. 65). As the caption suggests, this photo cross-references similar images of Truman during his fishing trips published on several occasions by both Life and Time magazines, comparing the performance of the two presidents through the prism of gender stereotypes in a seemingly “neutral” context of recreational fishing.

For example, George Skadding photographed Truman fishing on Puget Sound Bay for Time in 1945. Truman was known to have pursued fishing as a hobby, but this occasion was also conceived as a photo opportunity for him as a number of jolly and posed images of him fly-

---

544 Polsky, 32.
545 The gendered theme of male companionship/fraternity was also already deployed in the wartime iconography of Tito’s leadership established in Life’s photographic rendering of his partisan HQ on the island of Vis in 1944 taken by Phillips.
fishing in the company of other men from the *Time* archive imply. In one of the related photos, neatly dressed in a Fair-Isle sweater and a bowtie, Truman holds a huge “King Salmon” trophy, smiling at the camera (fig. 67). Phillips’ image of Tito and Skadding’s image of Truman both ostensibly show the two presidents in off-guard moments, enjoying the benefits of recreational fishing. The sport was cherished by men and traditionally considered “to allow escape from domestic responsibility and from industrial and bureaucratic work” while promoting “contemplative communion with nature.” While the more relaxed mood of Truman’s photographs rings true with conventional images of recreational fishing, usually depicting the pensive angler enjoying a quiet respite by himself or in the spirited company of his male friends or family members, Phillips evoked a whole different marine tradition, rendering Tito as a passionate and adventurous seaman, as evidenced by his agitated pose. Alluding to this popular male ideal cultivated in marine movies and literary works, Phillips’ photograph attributed personal courage and manly assertiveness to Tito the fisherman, comparing him favorably to a ‘relaxed’ Truman, criticized by the conservatives for his lack of aggressive initiative in his dealings with the communists.

**Speed boating**

A photograph of Tito in the driver’s seat of his wooden American produced Chris-Craft, power boating “at a fast clip about the tiny island” with a grin on his face, further engages the American stereotypes of class, leisure, and gender in *Life’s* representation of the Yugoslav dictator (fig. 65). The popularity of power boating in the U.S. intertwines with the history of

---


547 Marine movies such as *The Perfect Storm* directed by Wolfgang Peterson in 2000 with a decidedly male cast and George Clooney in the leading role as Billy Tyne, the captain of the commercial sword-fishing boat, confirm the endurance of the male ideal of the professional fisherman in American popular culture, not to mention the importance of marine novels such as Herman Melville’s *Moby Dick* from 1851 and *The Old Man and the Sea* by Ernest Hemingway published in 1952.

548 “Life photographer visits Tito,” 43; Philips identified the American maker of Tito’s boat in his notes. Manuscript in the possession of the author.
speedboat racing at the beginning of the century. Predominantly a male sport, speed boating epitomized the century’s obsession with speed, machines, and record setting. Following the creation of the American Power Boat Association in 1904 and the institution of the Golden Cup, a national racing event, speedboat races and the glamour associated with them contributed to the wider popularization of power boating in the U.S. The major boating magazines, *The Motor Boat* and *The Rudder*, and the key entrepreneurial boat designers, Gar Wood, Chris Smith, and Horace Dodge enhanced the popular image of the “the fledgling sport of recreational powerboating,” helping it become one of “America’s most popular pastimes” in the interwar period.\(^{549}\) A costly hobby, motor boating was enjoyed by the male representatives of the American and British social and economic elite, including the automobile manufacturer John Dodge, the newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst, Benjamin Guinness, Lord Mountbatten, and Norman Woolworth, who were all the proud owners of the famous Baby Gar, “the ultimate gentleman’s runabout.”\(^{550}\) The ownership of a sleek-looking, fast, loud and expensive wooden motorboat, thus, became a symbol of social status, wealth and prosperity in the ‘roaring twenties.’

Furthermore, the runabout was advertised as a luxury item and a commodity good, principally targeting a male buyer. The popular iconography of motor boating in American magazine ads of the 1930s, thus, perpetuated the gendered stereotypes of traditional nautical sports, such as sailing and yachting. For example, an ad for a Chris-Craft boat shows a handsome middle-aged man occupying the driver’s seat in a luxurious motorboat cockpit, with his family in the passenger seats behind him. Catering to the desires for personal empowerment, the ad marries a sense of personal wellbeing with the prestige attached to ownership of a motorboat:

Let the tired businessman lengthen his life and give happiness to the whole family by providing them with the multitude of clean thrills and joys available only through Chris-

---


Craft ownership. Chris-Crafting is recreating in itself. It *recreates* those who use it both in body and mind. 551

The popular image of power boating as a symbol of affluence and carefree life endured in the consumer-oriented post-war culture. Thus, Phillips’ photograph of Tito as a thrill-seeking adventurer cruising in the Adriatic resonated with the leisure and sports culture of the U.S., and its related male and class stereotypes. Made by the notable American manufacturer, Tito’s Chris-Craft speedboat in particular symbolized the “bourgeois” lifestyle of the Yugoslav leader for *Life* readers, mirroring American aspirations - both to personal freedom and wealth, and to steady acquisition of new consumer items and ‘positional goods,’ such as domestic appliances, cars, and powerboats. The un-cropped image of Tito fast-cruising in his Chris-Craft, however, is more true to the guarded lifestyle he was subjected to in these years, as we get to see a naval patrol ship in the immediate background keeping an eye on the thrill-seeking dictator (fig. 68). 552

**Fit for Leadership: Masculinity, Sports and Body-image of Modern Politicians**

Aside from the fact that Phillip’s photographs of Tito horse-back-riding, playing billiards, fishing and power boating have established a ‘masculine’ and middle-class iconography of Tito’s leisure, these images also complement the empowering stereotype in his public image as a fit and healthy person, a key political metaphor throughout history. With roots in the twentieth-century’s cult of masculinity and sport, a culturally shared understanding formed that a healthy body is a prerequisite for sustaining a ‘healthy’ and ‘sound’ political leadership, as much as the physically fit male body appeared as a general symbol of the health of the nations and a metaphor of their readiness to defend their interests. These ideas of body, health, and fitness underscore the relevance of fit body and sports imagery in the representation of modern leaders regardless of their political association, from the fascist obsession with Mussolini’s athletic body and his

---

552 The image is available from the Time and Life Inc. photographic archive: [http://www.lifepictures.com](http://www.lifepictures.com).
endorsement of the cult of sport, to Post’s cover of Tito bathing in the Adriatic in 1944 and Life’s rendering of Tito’s active lifestyle in 1949, and the later cult of John F. Kennedy as a naval hero in the war.553

Tito the Dad: Fatherhood and Post-War Masculinity Ideal in the U.S.

A large photograph of “proud father Tito” completes Life’s look at the Yugoslav dictator as a private man.554 The iconography of this image is especially interesting. In contrast to more conventional family portraits of fathers and sons that depend on the symbolic properties of physical touch to render the emotional and familial connection between the two generations of men, Tito and his young son Aleksander Broz, called Misha, are photographed seated in a huge sofa next to each other, their bodies barely touching.555 The fragile yet touching emotional bond existing between the father and the son is captured solely in the way the man and the boy look at each other. Smartly dressed in a buttoned jacket, tie, white shirt, and short pants, his hands properly folded between bony boyish knees, Misha looks up, smiling at Tito. The boy’s somewhat shy gaze meets that of his father, who strikes a typical manly pose, one hand on his knee and the other holding a cigarette. As they do not face the camera directly, Misha and Tito

553 For the role of body as a political symbol in fascist Italy, see: J. A. Mangan, ed., Shaping the Superman: Fascist Body as Political Icon (London, Portland: Frank Cass, 1999) and J. A. Mangan, ed., Superman Supreme: Fascist Body as Political Icon: Global Fascism (London: Portland: Frank Cass, 2000). Kennedy’s example is especially interesting, as he not only embodied the ideal of a fit male hero, but later used metaphor of a healthy body as a tool of national defence in his combative Cold-War article “The Soft American” published in Sports Illustrated in December 1960. For a discussion of Kennedy’s article see Robert L. Griswold, “The “Flabby American” the Body and The Cold War,” in A Shared Experience: Men, Women, and the History of Gender, eds. Laura McCall and Donald Yacovone, 323-348 (New York: New York University Press, 1998). A recent media attack on Tony Blair and his wife for their lack of personal dignity and poise exemplifies the enduring power of the image of a (un-)fit body in the representation of modern leaders. Coming on the heels of Tony Blair’s resignation, it was precipitated by the notorious photograph of the Blair couple at the beach during their holidays. The image showed the Blairs wading in the shallow waters, with Tony Blair’s ‘tits’ and the ‘floppy’ belly button of his wife as the obvious focus of the camera gaze. A far cry from the cultural gender and health ideal, their bodies are examined for symbolic incompetence, testifying to the symbolic value we continue to attach to the ‘public’ bodies of people in power. See: Rosalind Miles, “His boobs! Her belly! More to come!” Maclean’s (10 September 2007).

554 “Life photographer visits Tito,” 44.

555 Tito’s younger son, Misha Broz, was born in May 1941 in Zagreb. His mother, Herta Hess, was Tito’s common-law partner during the war. They never married. Misha was reunited with Tito only after the end of the war. See: “Tito, My Father,” Review IX (1975): 10-13.
seem to exist in the emotional world of their own, unyielding to the gaze of the outsiders, here represented by Phillips’ camera (fig. 65).

Images depicting prominent politicians in the role of caring fathers nestling for the camera in the company of their offspring were and are a commonplace in the iconography of the family life of modern leaders. A backbone of the ‘private image’ of public personalities, in most cases these family portraits are a convenient way of showing the “human” and “hidden” emotional side of the individuals holding public office. As such they are believed to have a positive impact on the general public. Furthermore, the special place given to the role of fatherhood in the family-driven culture of post-war America gives a particular resonance to Life’s “humanizing” rendering of Tito as a caring father. In addition to the more traditional stereotype of “breadwinner and a family provider,” fatherhood was conceived as one of the most fulfilling and cherished male roles following the end of the war and in the early 1950s: “For men the celebration of the family was not supposed to be an emasculating retreat.”

Rather, fathering was celebrated as “the most important occupation in the world” in Parents magazine in 1947. Reestablishing his male authority at home after the emancipating impact of wartime, during which women dominated the life of the American family, the “dad” became a new hero of middle-class (and conservative) America. The father figure was celebrated in Cold War U.S. not only for fulfilling his immediate duty towards his family, but also for his capacity to procreate, care for, and nurture the next generation of American citizens, male and female, ‘replacing’ the lives lost in the battlefields. In the larger scheme of things, therefore, fathering was perceived as a tribute to the strength of the nation and an expression of personal patriotism.

In this larger cultural context, therefore, the signifying potential of Phillips’ photograph of Misha and Tito was multivalent, as it brings Tito’s family life to resonate with concerns

---

557 Kimmel, 161.
dominating the domestic life of post-war America - its understanding of gender roles and the heroic status of the father figure as the prototype of postwar masculinity in particular. The fact that it outdoes the other photographs in the story in terms of scale shows that Life adopted the empowering iconography of Tito the Father as the main aspect of his novel public image created in the magazine in 1949: Once a proven warrior, Tito now turned an emotional, and content, family man.

Domesticating Communism: *Life’s Representation of Tito at Home and Time’s Notion of Home-Style Communism as Symbols of Containment Strategy*

Tito’s public image as a ‘domesticated’ communist leader relaxing in his Brioni home created in *Life* in 1949 had a particular relevance in the context of the Cold War, relating to the ideology of communist containment. Understood as rhetorical device, the notion of ‘containment of communism’ derived its symbolic power from various gendered associations pertinent to the representation of the domestic sphere, femininity, masculinity, and domesticity in the culture of Cold-War America. Following the war, the gendered view of masculine public and feminine private spaces in Western culture was reinforced in the conservative culture of the post-war America. The so-called crisis of masculinity accompanied the nation’s reinvigorated interest in the restoration of traditional gender roles and family values. In this context, the containment of female energies within the domestic space of home was seen as an aspect of the restoration of the traditional family life and a way for men to regain privileged social status.

These anxieties about traditional gender roles spilled over into the political discourse of the Cold War. Capitalizing on the power of gendered stereotypes to figure a political issue and evoking the gender antagonisms of the mid-century U.S., the rhetoric of anti-communism was infused with accessible gendered metaphors.\(^{558}\) The communist leaders and countries were often represented as overtly masculine, savage, and aggressive, to emphasize the urgency of the

nation’s task to protect freedom, represented as feminine and vulnerable. On the other hand, in the Cold-War movies of the 1950s, the threat of communism was related to the imagery of unbridled and seductive feminine sexuality. The popular notion of the gender war, in other words, was deployed to accessibly reconfigure the cold-war rivalry between the USSR and the U.S. Thus, the countering of world communism, the containment strategy, was often connected in popular discourse with the notion of the harnessing of disruptive female sexual energy and restoring the traditional hierarchy between the genders.

Keeping in mind the gendered dimension foundational to the cold-war notion of ‘communist containment,’ Life’s related ‘feminizing’ of Tito’s public image as a domesticated and “kept” man strikes us as another potent gender metaphor with political relevance (referring to him as a “tool” of the U.S. policy at once), as does the notion of ‘home-style’ communism in used in a Time article later to describe Tito’s rule in Yugoslavia. This kind of symbolic and expressive language links communism with domesticity, differentiating between the ‘endemic’ and ‘authentic’ nature of the Tito regime and the imposed and extrinsic character of the communist regimes established in other Eastern European countries through Soviet pressure. Like the Life’s image of Tito the domestic man, the notion of ‘home-style’ communism alludes to the non-threatening nature of his rule, to its ‘tamed’ passivity and ‘domestication,’ in comparison to Stalinism, rendered as expansionistic by contrast. His home-bound orientation guaranteed that there was no harm in tolerating, and supporting, certain less ‘aggressive’ forms of communism or in their ‘domesticated’ leaders being U.S. allies in the name of a greater good, namely containing communism on the global scale, or more dramatically “preventing war by

---

560 Hendershot, 5.
561 Winter, 99-100.
562 Time describes Tito’s “Personal Rule” in Yugoslavia: “since his excommunication by the Kremlin in 1948, Tito has developed a home-style Communism, dependent on secret police and collectivist methods, but with variations characteristic of personal dictatorship.” See article “The Peasant’s Son,” Time (6 June 1955): 21.
stopping the extension of Soviet power short of the point where it could make the victorious war.”\textsuperscript{563} Although controversial, Tito’s example thus was constructed by \textit{Life} and \textit{Time} as a symbol of acceptable form of communism in the eyes of the West.

\textbf{The Don Juan or the Puritan: Negotiating The Public Image of Tito’s Private Life in U.S. and USSR Press}

Despite the fact that the 1949 \textit{Life} article contributed to the internationalization of the Yugoslav conflict with the USSR, the goal also pursued by the election of Yugoslavia to the UN Security Council in September of the same year, its tone and images failed to please the hard-liners in Tito’s most immediate circle, including Milovan Djilas, the flamboyant Minister of Propaganda and his close personal confidant since the war. Returning from the UN session in New York, where he represented Yugoslavia at the end of 1949, Djilas brought home a copy of the magazine, lamenting it “projected an unfavourable image of Yugoslavia and its leader just when that country needed to get on better terms with the West.”\textsuperscript{564} To Djilas, loyal both to Tito and to the revolutionary ideal of Yugoslav socialism, \textit{Life} was guilty of depicting Tito as a “parvenu South American dictator,” similar rather than contrary to the rendering of his ‘lavish’ private lifestyle in the malicious Soviet press.\textsuperscript{565}

In 1949 \textit{The Soviet Literary Gazette} published “a three-column ‘inside story of Marshal Tito’s private life,’” including fantastical details about his insatiable nature and promiscuous love life. \textit{The Gazette} claimed that the “Yugoslav dictator” had a “portable golden throne,” used “rouge and lipstick,” changed “uniforms and diamond rings several times a day” and staged “wild orgies” where “the most exquisite imported wines and foods are served on silver and golden plate.”\textsuperscript{566} Furthermore, Tito is accused of keeping an equally corrupt and greedy mistress.

\textsuperscript{564} Stephen Clissold, \textit{Djilas. The Progress of a Revolutionary} (Hunslow, Middlesex: Maurice Temple Smith, 1983), 211-212.
\textsuperscript{565} Clissold, 212.
\textsuperscript{566} The \textit{Gazette} on Tito is quoted in “Yugoslavia: Don Juan Tito,” \textit{Newsweek} (7 Nov. 1949): 37-38.
“an American female spy and a singer, a dictator of fashions for the wives of ministers and generals” in Tito’s government.567

This picture of Tito’s over-indulgent, perverse lifestyle from the Soviet paper was officially ‘debunked’ in a description of Tito’s ordinary working day obtained by Loren Carol, chief of Newsweek’s Paris bureau, from a diplomat posted in Yugoslavia and in touch with Tito. In Carol’s source’s more moderate version, “Tito the Puritan: Just how does Marshal Tito really live?” published in the same issue of Newsweek, Tito was rendered as a hardworking man, who “rises at 6 every morning and works until midnight, allowing himself neither luxury nor ease.”568

And further, although “a wall and guards surround the house,” in which the Yugoslav leader lives, he nevertheless is a spontaneous and trusting person who “puts single visitors next to him” and converses with ease.569 Tito’s personal style is fittingly modest; “He wears plain lounge suits, usually gray, and his only jewelry is one gold ring with a flat-cut diamond.”570

While the Soviet press was intent on aggressively connecting Tito’s private life with the notion of personal excess and decadence, U.S. magazines were, despite Djilas’s sensitivity, far more moderate, if not friendly. The 1949 essay in Life, although thriving on petty descriptions of Tito’s upper middle-class lifestyle, was not necessarily negative for its U.S, audiences. Reprinting Phillips’ story and photographs in a slightly edited format, Time magazine also exercised a certain modicum of neutrality in its rendering of Tito’s private life. Finally, Newsweek’s sober depiction of Tito as an industrious, self-confident and modest person could be characterized as supportive, setting the tone for an even more subdued depiction of Tito the conservative taken up by Life in 1951.

567 Ibid.
568 “Tito the Puritan,” 37.
569 “Tito the Puritan,” 38.
570 Ibid.
Published within two months, these examples clearly shows that in 1949 a media war was waged in the U.S. and the Soviet press over public projections of Tito’s private life and personality. This battle had enormous consequences for Tito’s international cachet. Just as it is the case with other politicians and people with public function to this day, the boundaries between his public role and his private image were blurred in the press to the extent that Tito’s political career depended on the careful negotiation of both of these two equally important aspects of it. Taken as the ‘true’ expression of his intimate self, a sympathetic representation of Tito’s private life in the international press was a source of his political credibility, and as such it played a very important role in legitimizing his leadership in the West.

**Tito as Celebrity: Media Attention as Deterrence Strategy**

Perhaps Djilas misunderstood the potentials of personal disclosure in celebrity journalism, as well as its endorsement of individuality and popular culture, which made him so resentful of *Life*’s depiction of Tito in 1949. While it is certain that the magazine’s rendering of Tito’s privileged lifestyle was controversial from the point of view of the party’s puritans taking pride in the ideal of a classless society, it was not necessarily the most prominent aspect of his private image projected in *Life*. Nor can we say with certainty that this apparent contradiction, between Tito’s lifestyle and the classless ideal, would have shocked or estranged the western audiences by default. Rather, infusing the iconography of Tito’s public image with the familiar cultural references and significant male stereotypes from American popular culture, *Life*’s photography, made the communist leader fit the canons of Western masculinity and

---

571 In relation to its story about Khrushchev’s visit to Belgrade in the summer of 1955, *Time* magazine published a collection of quotes from various Soviet papers in which Tito was personally attacked and described as a frivolous and self-obsessed dictator. See “Dear Comrade 1948-1955,” *Time* (6 June 1955): 19.

572 Djilas, on the other hand, was quite sensitive to this issue. In his later articles that were published in 1953 in *Borba*, the organ of the CPY, he vehemently criticized the privileged middle-class lifestyle of the prominent communist in the country and wrote about them as members of a “New Class” emerging in Yugoslavia. Milovan Djilas, *Anatomy of a Moral: The Political Essays of Milovan Djilas* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1959).
individuality. Furthermore, with roots in the American eighteen-century painting representing political figures as “human and approachable, not like king and emperors, and gods, but like men and women one could actually sit down and talk to,” Tito’s image as an “ordinary guy,” family man with many hobbies, and even seeking status, was potentially beneficial and certainly evocative of American populist ideal. Created out of necessity, it propped up his reputation in the U.S. as ‘the good communist’ by western standards, making him the Cold War communist celebrity of sorts, listed in the *International Celebrity Register* among other famous names that “once made by the news, now make news by themselves.”

Finally, Tito’s celebrity status in the West was not only a peculiar personal achievement for a communist leader, but a factor in deterrence of Soviet threat and in strengthening Yugoslav independence between 1949 and 1953, as the *Life* case clearly illustrates. The dynamic history of western policy in Yugoslavia during the Cold War reveals a set pattern. Typically occurring when a Soviet invasion of Yugoslavia was considered imminent, a heightened sense of alert in the West with respect to the Yugoslav case was followed by accelerated diplomatic activity, economic aid, promising military support, and media statements by the leading U.S. and British politicians supporting Tito. This was the case in the summer of 1948, in the fall of 1949, and the beginning of 1951, and the goal of this political furry was countering the Soviet threat.

Significantly, *Life* published its essay on Tito the defiant on 12 September 1949, in the midst of one such crisis. The U.S. media was then on fire, publicizing “concerns about what they regarded a (Soviet) danger to Yugoslavia” by the British Minister of State, Hector McNeil,

---

573 Lubin, 72.
575 Arms defines ‘deterrence’ as “discouraging an action through inspiring in the potential actor fear of its consequences,” which “can be applied to non-nuclear as well as nuclear situations during the Cold War.” Arms, 82.
576 This sense of an existing ‘a pattern’ in U.S. policy in Yugoslavia emerges from a close reading of Heuser’s detailed account of Western policy in Yugoslavia during the period.
577 *Time*, and *Newsweek* did the same, per our discussion above.
and the U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, their statements contributing to “the change of heart on the part of the Soviet Union.” It is quite likely that the timing of the *Life’s* Yugoslav coverage in the fall of 1949 was not coincidental, but rather a calculated gesture amplifying the deterrence effect of the official diplomatic discourse in the West favoring an independent Yugoslavia. The same holds true for *Life’s* other features before 1953. As we have seen, the magazine published its first post-war photo-essay about Yugoslavia in the summer of 1948, only a month after the Tito-Stalin split. It was followed by the second in September 1948, demonstrating that the West was ‘watching’ over the fate of the heretic Yugoslav dictator. Finally, the fourth feature about Tito and Yugoslavia appeared in January 1951, right at the moment when the Western powers were again in a state of alarm over the Soviet threat to independent Yugoslavia.

---

578 Heuser, 109.
On 15 January 1951, *Life* published its fourth photographic essay on Yugoslavia and Tito, titled “Our Communist Ally: U.S. realistically welcomes Yugoslavia’s resistance to Russia,” cementing the image of Tito’s Yugoslavia as America’s trustworthy communist ally in spite of pervasive Cold War anti-communist sentiments in U.S. A hybrid combination of photo-travelogue and political essay, the magazine justified in it the U.S. economic and military support to what it called “the second most powerful Communist country in Europe.” Although structurally similar to the magazine’s 1949 feature, the article included color photography, introduced the conservative iconography of Tito as a hardworking statesman, and rendered Yugoslavia as a tourist destination rich in cultural and natural beauty.

**Coloring Communism**

*Life* had relied exclusively on black-and-white photography to depict Yugoslavia and the Eastern European Soviet satellite countries. Now, it reproduced sumptuous color photographs of the Yugoslav countryside, people, and their leader. Since its introduction in the 1930s, color photography has flourished as a tool of consumer marketing and advertising in illustrated magazines. This was the case with *Life*, featuring in each issue colour advertisements of consumer products: food, cosmetics, clothes, home accessories and appliances, cars, and furniture. Therefore, color photography operated in *Life* as a signifier of the modern American lifestyle and the affluence of capitalist, consumer culture. Consequently, *Life*’s use of color photography in 1951 in its depiction of Yugoslavia established a visual association between the conventional polychromatic aesthetic of product advertisement and the subject of Titoism, implicating it in the American consumer culture of the 1950s. Representational shift within the

---

581 See my discussion of *Life*’s depiction of Eastern European countries in 1946-1947 in Chapter 3.
reach of a nuanced political discourse, this coloring of communism functioned as a tool of political marketing.

The particular way of juxtaposing color and black-and-white photographs in the 1951 essay is also significant. Historically, black-and-white photographs have come to signify the abstract and derivative character of the photographic image, always pointing to the fact that the photographs are “something other that the situations, objects, and spaces they depict.” At the same time, the ubiquity of black-and-white photographs in reportage and documentary photography has conveyed a truth-value to the medium, whereas the tactile and sensory qualities of color photographs eliminate “obvious evidence of the transformative function of photography giving us the world that more effectively replicates the one we see with our own eyes.” While black-and-white photographs historicize the represented subject by forcing a sense of temporal and conceptual distance between it and the viewer, color photographs collapse the distance between the world inhabited by the viewer and the world represented in the photograph.

Mobilizing this perceptual dichotomy, Life deployed black-and-white photography in the segments of the essay on economic and political life in Yugoslavia, to reinforce the appearance of truthful and objective rendering of the state of affairs there. It featured color photography, on the other hand, consistently in the depiction of Yugoslav cultural and natural treasures, and in Tito’s portrait. The chromatic quality of these images echoed that of the consumer advertising and travel photography elsewhere in the magazine, resulting in a deliberate aestheticization and commodification of Yugoslav communism in Life.

---

583 Ibid.
584 This interpretation of colour photography does not hold for experimental colour photography. It is only relevant for most examples of conventional “straight” photography, news photography, and amateur photography.
Recuperating Tito’s Public Image: Yugoslav Comments and Reader Reactions

Life’s depiction of Tito in 1951 in particular was crafted in response to the Yugoslav politicians’ disapproval of the 1949 story. Djilas, above all, considered the 1949 story “the very worst done on them,” and Phillips’ photographs detrimental to Tito’s public image. Tito was also annoyed with his monumental image on the terrace of his Brioni villa, finding Phillips made him look like Mussolini in it. Phillips, commenting on the Yugoslav reaction, wrote to Ed Thompson:

They like to see in print the very things which politically do them most harm in the USA […] a very calm and quiet description of Tito as a great communist appeals to them immensely. While he shuns the term Dictator, he is not displeased being called a revolutionary.

Measured against these remarks, Life’s 1951 story settles the issue on Yugoslav terms, reflecting Yugoslav desire for a dignified and modest portrayal of Tito, although it still referred to him as a “dictator.”

Not only Yugoslavs were irritated by Life’s depiction of Tito in 1949. Life readers, although motivated by different reasons, were equally negative. Frank G. Rivera, of Los Angeles, in a letter to the editor attacked both the magazine’s editorial decision and U.S. policy in Yugoslavia.

Of course LIFE and its readers will not have forgotten that this Tito, who loves cowboy pictures, who “defied the Kremlin” also has defied the U.N. and the U.S.; and did in fact shoot down five of our American boys in flames in their unarmed airplanes and threw their bodies in a heap, and refused to turn them over to us for a decent burial until we gave him an ultimatum. This naughty boy of the Cominform is still a Communist and proud of being one.

---

585 Clissold, Djilas, 212.
587 Report on Negotiations for Tito’s Memoirs (confidential), page 6, (emphasis mine), private collection.
588 “Our Communist Ally,” 71.
In a similar letter to the editor, Allen Hicklin from Cleveland wrote, “Isn’t it bad enough that $20 million is being loaned to Tito, without having to bear several pages of him (LIFE, Sep.12)? Let us not forget for a moment that Tito is an antireligious dictator whose split with Stalin is ideological.”

Pressured by the remarks of both the Yugoslavs and their own readers, Life relinquished the spectacular and idiosyncratic for the sake of the ordinary and typical, rendering Tito as an industrious and conservative statesman. Thus, in contrast to the story of Tito vacationing on the island of Brioni, the narrative focus in 1951 was on the quiet and business-like aspects of his life. Tito’s new public image was clearly inspired by both the Yugoslav dissatisfaction and need to reinforce his political credibility in the West.

**No Time to Play: “Private Life of Tito is Calm but Guarded”**

*LIFE* published new photographs of Tito by John Phillips in the photo-essay titled “Private Life of Tito is Calm but Guarded.” The essay opens with a full-page colour photograph entitled “The Face of Tito.” An iconographic cliché, this image of a suntanned Tito with gray streaks in his hair, looking directly at the camera, was reminiscent of his 1949 *Life* cover (fig. 69). It likewise evoked the masculine ideal of the man in a suit, embodied by Cary Grant in 1950s Hollywood. Replacing the robust cowboy, typified in the 1949 “Broncobuster” article in *Time*, it became the predominant type in Tito’s iconography in the 1950s, contrasting sharply with contemporary, vilifying representations of Stalin in Western press.

The drawing of Stalin by Baker for the cover of the 17 July 1950 issue of *Time* exemplifies negative representations of Stalin in U.S. in this period. It portrays the Soviet leader with the iron gates of Kremlin firmly shut behind him (fig. 70). The gates and Stalin are painted in a uniform shade of grey that suggests his inhuman, rigid and unemotional nature. The

---

590 Ibid.
593 See *Time* cover for 17 July 1950.
drawing represents Stalin as a lifeless creature guarding the Communist world hidden behind the impenetrable Iron Curtain. In contrast to Stalin, his successor Nikita Khrushchev was baptized the first “Human Face of Communism,” due in part to the fact that following the thaw in the U.S.-USSR relations he was rendered in Life photographs as a likable ‘soft’ version of a ‘hard’ communist boss; but, Tito, consistently glamorized in the magazine between 1944 and 195, had set the precedent.594

Five black-and-white images in the Life photo-essay depict Tito at work and leisure.595 Two photos show him playing with Tiger, now agitated and nervous, and a new dog called Tref in the garden of his Belgrade residence (fig. 69). The tall, rusticated garden walls enclosing Tito’s residence indicate his insular lifestyle. Unlike his 1948 Bled and 1949 Brioni photographs in Life, there are no bodyguards, or other attendants, present in these pictures. Thus in 1951 Life fine-tuned the image of Tito’s guarded lifestyle to show him as a solitary statesman instead. Likewise, in 1953, Dedijer gave a detailed account of security for him and his family, comparing it to “the measures taken to protect President Truman when he comes to New York to greet the United Nations,” indicating that Tito was feeling safe and secure in his homeland.596 Three photographs in the essay depict Tito’s son Misha watching a soccer match in the company of his

594 Stéphane Duperray and Raphaëlle Vidaling, Front Page. Covers of the Twentieth Century (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003), 160-161. Khrushchev came to power after a period of internal struggles that rocked the upper echelons of the Soviet party and government following Stalin’s death in March 1953, succeeding Stalin as the First Secretary of the Communist Party and the leader of the USSR. He appeared on a Life cover for the first time on 5 October 1959 during his visit to the U.S.A.. At the height of his popularity the Western media affectionately called him “Mr. Niet.” Not only did Khrushchev’s plump body create an opportunity to construct a more jovial, approachable image of a Communist leader than that of the rigid Stalin, but the color technology used in this photograph made him look more like an ordinary person. A year before his death in 1971, Life magazine published the 1963 Karsh photograph of Khrushchev in a fur coat, whimsically drawing a visual parallel between the image of a Soviet leader and the symbol of the Soviet state, the Russian Bear. In the same issue, Life published Khrushchev’s World War II memoirs. The humanizing treatment Khrushchev received in Life ended the decades of the vilifying representations of Soviet Communist leaders in the U.S. press.

595 This juxtaposition of images of Tito’s work and leisure closely echoes the iconography (minus the uniform) and structural arrangement of Tito’s photographs by Karl Hutton for Picture Post. See: Karl Hutton, “Tito Answers Twelve Questions,” Picture Post 49, no. 7 (18 Nov. 1950): 14-18.

tutor and his personal guard. Their presence points to Tito’s absence as if a sacrifice he and his family made to the state. To underscore this point, the photograph in the middle renders Tito as a hardworking and self-effacing statesman alone in his Belgrade office (fig. 69).

**From the Battlefields to the Office**

While Tito’s war photography revolved around the image of him as a military commander and a strategist, and in his post-war photography to 1949 *Life* focused on his leisure, this image renders Tito in his office performing his public duty during peacetime, which completes the iconography of Tito’s statesmanship in *Life*. The office, like the battlefield, is a central topos of the depiction of modern leaders in Western art. The iconography of Napoleon Bonaparte and George Washington provides an obvious parallel. Celebrating Napoleon as a military commander and commemorating his victories, Jacques-Louis David and Antoine-Jean Gros painted monumental compositions of the French Emperor."^597^ Likewise, Gilbert Stuart rendered George Washington as a heroic commander of the Wars of Independence."^598^ At the same time, David and Stuart depicted Napoleon and Washington as diligent state administrators, intellectuals, and aristocrats. David’s *Napoleon in His Study at the Tuileries* (1812) for example, shows the Emperor writing the Napoleonic Code in the solitude of his office, and Stuart’s Munroe-Lenox *Washington* (1800), depicts Washington as the father of the nation and a legislator, justifying his presidency by deliberate iconographic appropriations of elevating style and subject matter."^599^ Linked to the iconography of kingship and rulers in neoclassical painting, the office photograph was important genre in the depiction of the twentieth-century world leaders.

---

^597^ Typical examples are David’s *Bonaparte Crossing The Great St. Bernard*, 1801; and Gros’s *Napoleon at the Battle of Arcola*, 1796; *Napoleon at the Battle of Eylau*, 1808; *The Capture of Madrid*, 1810; and *Napoleon at the Battle of the Pyramids*, 1812; See: Lorenz Eitner, *An Outline of Nineteenth-century European Painting From David Through Cézanne* (New York: Harpers Collins, 1992), 17-41.


Man and McAvoy

Felix Man’s photographs of Mussolini in his stately office in the Palazzo Venezia taken in January 1931 for the groundbreaking photo essay in the *Munich Illustrated Press*, and Thomas McAvoy’s images for *Time* in 1935 of Frank D. Roosevelt signing the Brazilian Trade Agreement set the norm for the modern depiction of statesmen at work. The distinct architectural framework of their offices not only symbolized the administrative and intellectual aspects of their public duty but also delivered two contrasting iconographic stereotypes. Man’s photographs of a lone Mussolini reading and Mussolini seated at an ornate desk separating him from his secretary that stands obediently facing him, associate the monumental and regal architecture and formal decorum with a glittering, ceremonial totalitarian leadership style. In contrast, the relative simplicity of Roosevelt’s newly renovated Oval Office – with a cluttered desk, cut flowers, medium-size prints and paintings, tied curtains, and large windows - and McAvoy’s close-up cropping of images showing a spontaneous President and his assistants freely buzzing around, befit Roosevelt’s reputation as an industrious and approachable man, dedicated to his duty.

The British Example

In the late 1940s and early 50s, many of Tito’s office photographs showed him in Marshal uniform, seated at an imposing wooden desk cluttered with documents, mail, daily

---

600 Man, *Man with Camera*, (np).
601 *Time* described the circumstances under which McAvoy took these photographs of Roosevelt and his Secretary Marvin McIntyre: “The President, ignoring the cameramen, continued with his work. He glanced at letters and orders. He squiggled his signature, doing his duty and eager to get it done […] All this time, Thomas McAvoy was snapping.” See: “The President at Work,” *Time* (25 Feb. 1935): 15-17.
602 Roosevelt renovated and expanded the Oval Office in 1934. He moved it to the southeast corner of the White House, and made it slightly bigger. He also expanded the West Wing to accommodate the new offices for his administration. *Time* describes the changes approvingly, diffusing the criticism that the new presidential quarters would be extravagant for the times; “Neither a Gothic tower, nor a factory building, nor a replica of the Kremlin nor of Potsdam's ornate Neues Palais awaited President Roosevelt's first official inspection last week. As a matter of fact the work of enlarging the Executive Offices had been done so cunningly that it would take a sharp eye to detect the changes from the outside.” See: “The Presidency: New Quarters,” *Time* (17 Dec. 1934): n.p..
papers, and personal objects, in his office in the White Palace. Most were taken by the British photojournalists who clearly favoured the royal setting. Sometimes, as in Karl Hutton’s photo of Marshal Tito reading in his office, the monumental painting “The Battle of Stubica” (1939) by Krsto Hegedusic, can be seen in the background (fig. 72). In 1953, Bert Hardy took a similar photograph of a bespectacled Tito in a dark suit inspecting a document presented to him by Dedijer, his biographer, also for Picture Post (fig. 73). The majestic setting of Tito’s office (the Hegedusic painting included) gave visual form to British reception of Tito as what Churchill called “an outstanding leader, glorious in the fight for freedom,” which in turn was rooted in the stereotype of the indomitable Slavic spirit established in nineteenth century literary accounts by the European travellers, writers, and essayists visiting the Balkans. David Steen, British celebrity photographer and photojournalist who visited Tito in 1962, reflected on the power of the setting: “This [sight of] a man sitting behind this enormous carved desk and this amazing painting behind him, [was] sort of putting [his character and his personal history] in the perspective,” although the painting did not, as he believed, depict “the time when Tito was fighting Germans during the war, or Russians,” but rather represented a seventeenth-century Croatian peasant rebellion.

605 Winston Churchill’s address to the House of Commons in February 1944, quoted in Michael Padev, Marshal Tito (London: Frederick Muller Ltd., 1944).
606 Maria Todorova, Imagining the Balkans (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). For a Yugoslav audience, likewise, these images might have suggested a parallel between the revolutionary uprising in Hegedusic’s painting and the Partisan Liberation War, thus framing Tito as an incarnation of the mythic and universal Slav rebel spirit.
607 Interview with David Steen, 10 September 2007, in the possession of author. Steen photographed Tito in Belgrade for Queen magazine. His photos of Tito, mainly close-up portraits, were published in the 16 October 1962 issue under the headline “The aim is, of course, communism;” see also “Tito’s Yugoslavia,” in the following issue. Henry Fairlie, a journalist for the Daily Express accompanied Steen. A close-up portrait of Tito by Steen (1962) is published in his book, The Villains and Heroes (Guildford,
Tito at Work: “Keeping Busy” The American Way

In the absence of the official British rhetoric of Tito’s heroism, the Hutton inspired images showed the Communist Marshall literally taking over the King’s office, which could have potentially serve the anti-Tito propaganda. This probably explains why similar photographs of Tito by John Phillips were never published in Life. In Life, the iconography of Tito’s peacetime leadership reflected the U.S. popular culture instead. As images of emperors, dictators, and communist rebels did not resonate in the 1950s America, Life adopted the image of Tito as Puritan that Newsweek had created in 1949, and, reflecting photography of the U.S. presidents and businessmen, portrayed Tito as an industrious, productive, and humble.

Tito’s Costume

The Life photograph, titled “At his desk,” portrays Tito in profile, dressed in suit, talking on the phone, his head lowered and hands resting on a book placed on his cluttered desk. The business suit became a central symbol of postwar American culture with the publication of a photograph of “a suit, American style” in the armchair appeared on the cover of the 7 September 1945 issue of Yank magazine – the issue that announced victory over Japan (fig. 74). For the magazine’s audience of nearly ten million American soldiers, the suite symbolized the end of their duty and reintegration into civilian life. Similarly, Life rendered masculine style as an expression of the power of American men to adjust to their peacetime roles and as a symbol of general cultural demilitarization. A photo of “a civilian Eisenhower dressed in the first civilian suit he has had in six years; a double-breasted gray worsted,” for example, represented the heroic

---

Surry: Genesisi Publication, 2005), 96; All information about Steen’s visit with Tito is from my interview with Steen of 10 September 2007. Also see Dawn Sumner, “Facing up to fame,” British Journal of Photography 149 (6 Nov. 2002): 16-17.

608 See Phillips’ photographs online at the official Life site: http://www.life.com

609 “Private Life of Tito is Calm but Guarded,” 71. In later years, Tito’s official photographers also showed a marked preference for a simple close-up composition depicting Tito in civilian clothes reading or writing in his modest office, their view resonating with the puritan and secular aesthetics of Life.
commander undergoing this symbolic transformation.\textsuperscript{610} Noting that Tito wears “well-tailored business suits most of the time instead of [the] heavily braided uniforms sent to him from Russia when he took over as premier,”\textsuperscript{611} \textit{Life} valorized Tito’s new civilian look, propagating thereby a pacific, less pompous image of him.

\textbf{The Yugoslav President as ‘Businessman’}

The photo story “LIFE Looks At The Habits of U.S. Executives,” (1948) provides a point of reference for Tito’s public image in 1951.\textsuperscript{612} The photographs in the article treat the American executive’s office as a symbolic space bearing the marks of the power, creativity, and style of leading American businessmen. For example, the photographs contrast the collection of objects and memorabilia on the desk of Allan Forbes, President of the Boston’s State Street Trust Company, with the clean and modern style of the office of Frank Stanton, President of the Columbia Broadcasting System. A fitting symbol of his controlling nature and a vehicle of his involved management style is a control panel on his desk wired to four telephones, a phonograph, shortwave, AM and FM radios, and room lights.\textsuperscript{613} Similar to the Stanton’s high-tech headquarters, the compact streamlined space of Tito’s Belgrade office and the deployment of technical gadgets on and around his desk underscore his industrious nature, suggesting that his approach to running the state is akin to the managerial style of American executives.

Tito’s new public image, thus aligned with the contemporary paradigm of the personal success - the American businessman - had important ramifications. In 1950 and 1951, the U.S. government was extending financial and economic aid to Yugoslavia, and in this context, his entrepreneurial style and working habits were reassuring to the Americans. Thus, instead of showing Tito at leisure as it did in 1949, \textit{Life} now represented him at work, re-establishing his

\textsuperscript{610}“Picture of the Week: Mister Dwight Eisenhower models his first suit of civilian clothes,” \textit{Life} 24, no. 10 (8 Mar. 1948): 33.
\textsuperscript{611}“Private Life of Tito is Calm but Guarded,” 71.
\textsuperscript{612}“Life looks at the habits of U.S. Executives,” \textit{Life} 24, no. 26 (28 June 1948): 105-108.
\textsuperscript{613}“Life looks at the habits of U.S. Executives,” 108.
credibility as leader who shared the destiny of his compatriots and therefore deserved U.S. support.

**Hard-Working Men on the Road to Socialism: Reframing Images of Yugoslav Obnova in Life**

A large black-and-white photograph of Yugoslav sailors digging drainage trenches for the Belgrade-Zagreb highway opens the *Life* essay “Our Communist Ally” (fig. 75). The Yugoslav Information Center in New York supplied this photograph to *Life*. Construction of the Belgrade-Zagreb highway typified the post-war *obnova*, the rebuilding of Yugoslav infrastructure, industry and economy, set forth in the First Five-Year Plan for the reconstruction and industrialization of the country launched by the communist government in 1947.

The main focus of the Five-Year Plan was mining, industry, transportation, agriculture, health care, and education, perceived by the government as the springboard for Yugoslavia’s post-war industry and economy. The rebuilding of Yugoslavia’s transportation network, almost completely destroyed during the war, was allotted $1.5 million in financial credits and $1 million in material credits. Economic conditions, however, necessitated such expedients as the unpaid labor of Yugoslav youth brigades, army conscripts, and prisoners – what official rhetoric called the harnessing of “the existing energy and willingness of the working people.” In order to popularize these measures the Yugoslav government fostered the cult of the shock-worker,

---

615 An official information agency of the Yugoslav state, the Yugoslav Information Center distributed publications and magazines printed by the Yugoslav government abroad, and it possibly also handled official pictorial material, including photographs, for distribution to foreign press and interested parties.
616 For a detailed account of the state of the Yugoslav economy and industry in the aftermath of the war, the role of the Yugoslav communist party and various people’s organizations in *obnova* and the general history of the Yugoslav Five-Year Plan see: Branko Petranovic, *Politicka i ekonomskia osnova narodne vlasti u Jugoslaviji za vremen* (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1969), 305-349.
617 Ibid, 321.
618 Ibid.
celebrated manual labour and encouraged the spirit of competition between individuals and youth brigades, organized by the local communist leaders.620

Yugoslav youth brigades, in particular, carried out the major tasks of obnova, including the construction of roads and such railways as the ninety kilometer Brcko-Banovici Railroad in 1946 and the one hundred eighty kilometer Samac-Sarajevo Youth Railroad built in record time between April and November 1947.621 Domestic magazines celebrated the role of Yugoslav youth in the Five-Year Plan through idealized railroad photographs of fit, smiling volunteer workers. These iconic images played a role in the agitprop culture between 1945 and 1952 as allegories of the new social order arising in post-war Yugoslavia.622 The Yugoslav railroad heroes and heroines also embodied a social type of what the propaganda described as “the new man, the builder of socialism, creating great works […] and elevating, bringing up and ennobling himself through the creation of such works.”623 A popular slogan of the times - “We build the railway, railway builds us”624 - summed up the symbolic dimension of the obnova construction projects as vehicles of economic recovery, national unity and social engineering in Tito’s Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav Youth and Socialist Idealism in Yugoslavia Magazine

Yugoslavia, the influential government magazine modeled on Life and intended as a vehicle of foreign propaganda between 1949 and 1958 disseminated this heroic view of the

---

620 On competition as the working method in the obnova see: Petranovic, “Takmicenje kao traji metod rada i njegova uslovlenost,” in Politicka i ekonomska osnova narodne vlasti, 339-348.

621 Of great importance for the economic and industrial development of the country, it connected the mining regions in central Bosnia with the country’s capital, and the passage of the first train between Sarajevo and Belgrade along the new line on 9 May 1948 was timed to coincide with the public celebrations of Dan Pobjede, Victory Day, thus establishing a symbolic link between the revolutionary history of Yugoslavia. Ibid.


623 Fotografija no. 2 (Belgrade, 1948): 17.

624 Drago Crncevic, Nas Tito (Zagreb and Opatija: Spektar, Otokar Kersovani-Rijeka, 1980), 155.
Yugoslav working class, youth and obnova abroad. Vladimir Dedijer praised the accomplishments of the Five-Year Plan in “The Power and Wealth of Yugoslavia,” published in the magazine’s first issue in the fall of 1949:

The first results of the Five-Year Plan lie before us; we see them, we can travel along the new line to Sarajevo, trucks of our own make are already running along new highways, in cinemas our own sound equipment and film projectors are showing films of our own production, and the New Belgrade is rising high. All this will give still greater encouragement to the present generation, which has the historic task of leading Yugoslavia from Balkan backwardness on to the road of socialism, on to the road of complete independence and freedom.

The magazine’s black-and-white and color photographs of numerous construction sites, modern factories and power plants, and of the Yugoslav men and women at their workplace substantiated this official rhetoric. But, it was the Yugoslav youth brigades role in the construction of the country’s transportation network that Yugoslavia celebrated as “the greatest achievement” in the “fight for the building of socialism, the crown of their unsurpassed working heroism.” A close-up portrait of a girl worker from the Samac-Sarajevo railroad, taken by Toso Dabac, and Hristofor Nastic’s photograph of the smiling men and women working in

---

625 The magazine was published by the Jugoslovenska knjiga, in Belgrade. The first issue came out in the fall of 1949. It was superseded by the Review: Yugoslav Illustrated Magazine. Its was distinguished by its large format, high-quality colour images, and well-written feature articles that reflected the interests and ambitions of the magazine’s editor-in-chief, Oto Bihalj-Merin, a Serbian art historian and a professor at the University of Belgrade. The Agitation and Propaganda Comission of CPY considered Yugoslavia one of the key vehicles of foreign propaganda in “Western countries.” Despite of this, the publishers were initially faced by “technical problems,” as the funds for the necessary equipment were not approved by the state. “Organizacion predlozi o radu Odeljenja za spoljnju propagandu,” 4-5, CK CPY Fonds 587, Folder K-1, Archive of Yugoslavia.


unison on the Belgrade-Zagreb highway, project an optimistic image of the new socialist man and woman born out of collective work and the communal spirit (figs. 76 and 77).  

**UNRRA Aid**

The rapid postwar reconstruction of Yugoslavia was in reality greatly helped by $415 million in aid delivered by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA), starting in 1946. In addition to food, clothing, medical supplies, agricultural tools, and industrial equipment, UNRRA aid provided Yugoslavia with enough transport and construction material, equipment and facilities to restore 90 percent of the inland transport network, excluding roads. That 72 percent of this aid came from the U.S. was unsettling for both U.S. and Yugoslav governments. The role of U.S. aid in obnova, therefore, was not publicly acknowledged in Yugoslavia, nor was it mentioned in Yugoslavia in 1949 or later.

**The Belgrade-Zagreb Highway: Builders of Socialism or Cold Warriors?**

The youth brigades, with the help of the Yugoslav Army, then built the Belgrade-Zagreb Highway, the subject of the article “Motor-Road” in the fall 1950 issue of Yugoslavia. Connecting the country’s two main urban centers, Zagreb in Croatia and Belgrade in Serbia, this central section of the major new freeway was begun in 1947. The completed highway ran through the entire country, from Slovenia and Croatia in the west, through Bosnia and Herzegovina in the middle, to Serbia and Macedonia in the south-east. The Belgrade-Zagreb highway opened on 28 July 1950, five months before Life ran the black-and-white photograph of its construction in “Our Communist Ally” (15 January 1951). According to the editors of Yugoslavia it was built by “about 340,000 people.” Called Autoput Bratstvo-Jedinstvo, The

---

630 On the role of UNRRA aid and the U.S. in the reconstruction of Yugoslavia in the postwar period see Lampe, Yugoslavia as History, 238-240.
631 Ibid, 240.
633 Ibid, 118.
Brotherhood and Unity Highway, the highway and its construction, wrote Yugoslavia, assumed a central place in the collective memory of the nation as a symbol of “rapprochement among the Yugoslav peoples, and material proof of the consistent policy of brotherhood and unity.”

Linked to this official view, Tito was credited by his propaganda with the economic and social modernization of Yugoslavia as the chief architect of the Five Year Plan. Miroslav Krleza, a renowned Croatian writer and Tito’s friend, for example, called him the first enlightened man in Yugoslav politics “capable of digging tunnels through the darkest middle ages” of its past.

Although Life reprinted an official image of obnova, it remained critical of the Five-Year Plan. In the absence of Yugoslavia-like official rhetoric, the photograph underscored the primitive conditions of Yugoslav labour and the absence of modern machinery; in it, soldiers are working bare-handed or with simple tools such as wooden carts, shovels and rakes. Unlike the related Yugoslavia images, the photograph’s depersonalized view of the construction site, taken from a high vantage point, precludes possibility of reader’s identification with the photographic subjects. As in 1949, Life saw in Yugoslavia a nation of Cold-Warriors rather than builders of socialism. The editors appropriated the image of toiling sailors at the Zagreb-Belgrade highway to military concerns pertinent to U.S. involvement in Yugoslavia. Life pointed out the strength of Yugoslav army “of 30 well-trained divisions” as one of Yugoslavia’s “two great assets.” The other was the people’s “proud nationalism.” The object of their patriotic feelings - “native beauty” of their homeland - is symbolized in the adjacent colour photograph of Jelena Jovanovic, a seventeen-year old aspiring actress from Montenegro (fig. 75).

---

634 Ibid.
635 Translation is mine. Krleza’s article about the Brcko-Banovic railroad was published in excerpts in the monograph Drago Crncevic, Nas Tito, 119.
636 “Our Communist Ally,” 66.
Glamorizing the Yugoslav Women in *Life*: The Yugoslav Marianne and the Communist Pinup Girl

Jelena Jovanovic exemplifies the popular ideal of Balkan beauty, with a face of high cheekbones, pouting red lips, dark eyes and arching eyebrows framed by heavy dark locks. She is dressed in a poppy-red Montenegrin national costume, a toque, and a white lace shirt with plunging neckline revealing her bosom. The bright blue sky gives the image a postcard-like quality. Her carefully composed portrait functions as an allegory, albeit eroticized, of the Yugoslav communist state, a “Yugoslav Marianne” recalling gendered representations of *la partie* in French republican art. Allegorical female figures, dressed in national costumes, breasts exposed, their faces embodying a classical beauty ideal, appear as symbols of popular revolt and quest for freedom in Eugene Delacroix’s history paintings *Greece on the Ruins of Missolunghi* (1826), representing the Greek’s liberation from Turkish rule, and *Liberty Leading the People* (1830), representing the popular insurrection against King Charles X in Paris in July 1830.

Related to the Delacroix iconography, such overt eroticizing of the female body was foreign to the earlier stereotype of the heroic Yugoslav woman-partisan created in the Western press during the war, in particular in *Life* and *Picture Post*. Philips’s photograph of Jovanovic also clearly departs from the gender stereotypes and iconic rendering of Yugoslav women in socialist realist photography. While continuing to celebrate women in traditional roles as caring mothers and diligent housekeepers, however, Yugoslav photography of the period created the stereotype of the heroine of labour in order to represent socialist woman in the role of “active

---

638 An enduring national symbol, Marianne has been and remains deliberately sexualized in order to inspire male patriotism, as Jean Landes shows in her study of the role of gender in French Republican visual culture. See Landes, “Republican Citizenship and Heterosexual Desire: Concepts of Masculinity in Revolutionary France,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War. Gendering Modern History*, ed. by Stefan Dudnik (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 96-115.
639 Eitner, 186-188.
640 See my discussion of this topic in Chapter 2.
architect of [the country’s socialist] future” equal to men.\textsuperscript{641} Disseminating this idealized view of socialist women’s equality abroad, in the late 1940s and early 1950s \textit{Yugoslavia} magazine frequently featured photographs of hardworking farm girls and female shock-workers toiling alongside their male companions on many co-operative farms, construction sites, and inside the newly-build factories throughout the country (fig. 79).\textsuperscript{642} It also contrasts sharply with the more traditional rendering of Balkan ethnic types in both Yugoslav and Western media, as in Phillips’ earlier photograph of a Bosnian Moslem woman wearing a \textit{burka} at the Sarajevo market, published in \textit{Life} in 1949 (fig. 62), and Toso Dabac’s photograph of a Montenegrin dancer in national costume, illustrating an article about the history and meaning of Yugoslav folk dances in \textit{Yugoslavia} in 1952 (fig. 78).\textsuperscript{643}

Supplanting these documentary and ethnographic paradigms, Phillips created in \textit{Life} a new sexually charged image of Yugoslav women resonant of the Hollywood gender and cultural stereotypes of Eastern European femininity. The American horror movie \textit{Cat People} (1942), directed by Jacques Tourneur and produced by Val Lewton for the RKO Pictures studio, and a sequel to it, \textit{Curse of the Cat People} (1944), feature Simone Simon in the role of Irena Dubrovna, a young Serbian immigrant working in New York as a fashion designer. Rendered in the script as culturally exotic, mysterious, and aggressively sexualized beauty, Irena falls in love with an American named Oliver Reed, played by Kent Smith.\textsuperscript{644} They marry, but their union is doomed to failure, as Irena is a member of a cursed clan of ‘cat people’ who transform into predatory feline when emotionally and sexually aroused, killing those they love. Tourneur’s portrayal of Irena as a \textit{femme fatale}, extremely desirable from the point of view of the American

\textsuperscript{641} Todic, 142.
\textsuperscript{644} The \textit{Cat People} was a popular and financial success. Simone Simon and Kent Smith were also featured in the leading roles in the 1944 sequel, produced by Val Lewton and directed by Gunther von Fritsch and Robert Wise.
male, but also dangerous, casts Serbian/Eastern European femininity as a powerful symbol of the unknown and transgressive in the human psyche.645

This stereotype is visually expressed in the seductive styling of Simone in the movie poster depicting her in a long burgundy night dress with a chiffon shawl around her exposed shoulders, standing in front of a black panther, blood dripping from its jaws. The poster blurb reads: “She Was Marked With The Curse Of Those Who Slink And Court And Kill By Night!” (figs. 80 and 81). *Life’s* 1951 eroticized image of the Yugoslav actress, especially her flashy costume and revealing pose with a shoulder slightly raised and head turned to the side echo the same *femme fatale* iconography. The ultimate aim of this glamorizing was to render the Yugoslav national icon into a communist pinup girl, a product in a market of sexed commodities catering to the male American viewer, and to subliminally engage the register of desire, rather than rational political argument, in the reception of related Yugoslav topics by the U.S. viewers.

**The Communist Arcadia: Yugoslavia as a Tourist Paradise**

In the period between 1952 and 1962 foreign tourism became priority in Yugoslav developing economy as a source of hard foreign currency.646 Motivated by economic gains, the government invested in tourism industry in the 1960s, making Yugoslavia one of the major resort areas in the 1970s and the fifth European country in tourism trade in the early 1980s.647 Parallel to this, in order attract foreign tourists Yugoslavia was portrayed in the West as a cultural and tourist destination in official publications such as *Yugoslavia* and *Yugoslav Review*,

---

645 The 1982 remake by Paul Schrader, also called *Cat People*, features Nastasija Kinski in the role of Irena opposite Malcom McDowell as Paul Gallier. Schrader’s casting choice of Kinski, daughter of a German-Polish actor Klaus Kinski, further exploits cultural stereotypes of Slavic/ European femininity in North-American culture.


published by the Yugoslav Information Center in New York between 1952 and 1956.\footnote{648} Targeting U.S. tourists in particular, *Yugoslav Review* customarily published articles profiling the country’s natural and cultural beauty, tourist facilities, food and services, and offered advice on safe and inexpensive travel itineraries.\footnote{649}

John Phillips was knowledgeable about Yugoslavia’s economic circumstances and supportive of its cause. “The tourists the Yugoslavs are really hoping for these days are the foreigners,” Phillips wrote in an essay “Yugoslavia Today” (1950) that celebrated the country’s natural beauty, cultural monuments, and hospitality of its people.\footnote{650} In April 1971, Phillips approached the editors of a popular U.S. magazine *Travel & Leisure* with a proposal for an illustrated feature on Yugoslavia - “a tourist heaven” in his words - including Tito’s reminiscences on Yugoslav hospitality, food, arts and culture.\footnote{651} Therefore, Phillips was most certainly aware of the role his 1951 colour images casting Yugoslavia, its people, and landscape in *Life* as a tourist paradise could play in the promotion of the country in the U.S.. His photographs echoed those published in the official Yugoslav magazines in the period.

---

\footnote{648} *Yugoslav Review* was published monthly between January 1952 and October 1957 by the Yugoslav Information Center in New York. It was available for subscription in Canada, U.S., Great Britain, India, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia, *Yugoslav Review* 1, no.1 (Jan. 1952): 2.


\footnote{650} Document “Yugoslavia Today,” p. 13, File 14, Yugoslavia 1950, private collection. The essay was not published. Phillips also gives his views on other topics, including Yugoslav-U.S. relations and everyday life in Yugoslavia.

\footnote{651} John Phillips to Vladimir Dedijer, letter, 20 April 1971, p.1, File “Correspondence, V. Dedijer, new projects,” private collection.
Macedonian Dancers

Phillips’ panorama photograph in “Our Communist Ally,” captioned “Dancers from Macedonia,” depicts a group of nine women dressed in colourful national costumes. Posed against the green shrubbery of what the article calls “an old fortress in the Yugoslav capital,” they hold hands as they dance the kolo (fig. 82). Folk dance was central to both Yugoslav culture and its travel industry. Amateur dance clubs multiplied after the war, making folk dance one of the most popular pastimes in Yugoslavia and a popular symbol of national unity. Likewise, Yugoslav professional folk-dance troupes “Kolo,” established in 1948, and “Lado” and “Tanec,” both established in 1949, toured throughout the country and abroad performing regional folk dances and promoting Yugoslav culture. Performances in Great Britain, Canada, and the U.S. were routinely advertised and reviewed in Yugoslav Review in the 1950s. Furthermore, the recordings of Yugoslav folk music and songs by Folkways Records, and films featuring Yugoslav folk dance were made available in the U.S. in the early 1950s. Both Yugoslav Review and Jugoslav featured in illustrated articles folk dances of Yugoslavia as a prime tourist attraction, next only to the Adriatic coast. For example, “The Dances of the Peoples of Yugoslavia,” published in Jugoslav in 1952, in an issue dedicated to the country’s culture and art, featured images of dancers in national costumes from Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia that recalled Life’s rendering of Macedonian dancers. Similar

656 “Visit Jugoslavia,” Yugoslav Review 7, no. 6 (June 1957): 10-11.
photographs appeared in *Yugoslav Review*, including covers with Yugoslav folk dancers in January 1956 and September 1956. Thus, *Life* magazine, like *Yugoslav Review* and *Yugoslavia*, participated in the same official campaign in the early 1950s promoting Yugoslav folk culture and tradition abroad.

**Vacation by the Adriatic Sea: Images of Worker’s Leisure in *Yugoslavia* and *Life***

In “Our Communist Ally,” the colour photograph “Vacationers at Opatija” shows Yugoslav workers and their children enjoying their annual holidays at the Adriatic (fig. 82). The summer vacation by the Adriatic Sea, paid for by the state, was a ritual of socialist leisure in Tito’s Yugoslavia. The government routinely exploited these vacations as tokens of the improved quality of life in communist Yugoslavia, in such articles about the diversity of working-class leisure such as “The Right to Rest” in *Yugoslavia* in 1950. In this article, the black-and-white photographs of men, women, and children vacationing at the Workers’ Rest Centers throughout the country, from the Alpine hills in Slovenia to the Makarska Reviera, show them reading, walking the beach, swimming, boating, sunbathing and chitchatting (figs. 83 and 84).

In the early 1950s, *Yugoslavia* was likewise instrumental in promoting Yugoslav tourism in the West. Although the magazine glorified natural and cultural destinations in all regions of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the small towns and islands along the Adriatic coastline were presented as the country’s jewels. Its summer 1951 issue, for example, was dedicated solely to Dalmatia in Croatia, profiling the coastal towns of Rijeka, Split, Dubrovnik, and the medieval towns of Hvar, on the island of Hvar, and Mliniste, on the island of Brac, all rich in natural beauty and cultural and artistic monuments dating to antiquity. Twelve photographs in the article depict colourful Dalmatian panoramas, with the red brick roofs, white domestic buildings,

---

and tall church towers lining the riva, the main street in the town (fig. 85). Other color photographs in Yugoslavia in 1950-1951 portray vacationers on Adriatic beaches. A woman sunbathes in Toso Dabac’s “On a Dubrovnik terrace: noon.” Small children wade through the turquoise water of the Adriatic in Tihomir Stanojevic’s “The Kids at the Sea” or build sand castles on the sunny beach in Branko Cikota’s “In the Sand.” Couples and families swim, sunbathe or canoe along the shores in Mladen Grcevic’s busy “Dubrovnik Beach.” Taken from a high vantage point, Grcevic’s photograph resembles the photograph of the worker-vacationers at the sunny beach in Opatija published in Life in 1951 (fig. 86). These aestheticized photographs in both Yugoslavia and Life rendered the simplicity of a family-oriented holiday in Dalmatia evoking a popular myth of Arcadian idyll and human harmony with nature as a marketing strategy.

Thus, Yugoslavia featured in Life, and in Yugoslav official magazines, as an ideal tourist destination, a commodity in the American post-war travel industry targeting middle class. Financial benefits awaiting Western travellers were made explicit in the commercial ad for Putnik-preduzece za saobraćaj putnika i turista u FNRJ, “The Traveler - Company for Transportation of the Travellers and Tourists in FNRJ,” which proclaimed: “Visit Jugoslavija - Foreign visitors enjoy the benefits of a 70% discount for all means of transportation on domestic routes.” The same discount was promised in the registered ugostiteljske radnje, “hospitality stores and restaurants,” and for excursions organized by Putnik (fig. 87). The ad was published in Serbo-Croatian, suggesting that the campaign targeted not only foreign tourists but also many expatriates living in Western Europe and U.S.. Yugoslavia Review published similar ads for

---

Yugoslav tours by Putnik and promised special 50% discount for fares through the country to U.S. student travellers.\textsuperscript{663}

\textbf{The Rural Idyll and Image of a Content Nation}

“Our Communist Ally” includes the photograph image “Partisan Picknicking,” which shows the former fighters of the Matija Gubec brigade and their families gathered to celebrate the unit’s eighth anniversary and the war of liberation (fig. 82).\textsuperscript{664} Dressed in white shirts, the men, women, and children are seated under the banners of Federal Yugoslavia, the Republic of Croatia, and the Yugoslav Communist League. Their farms and houses scattered along the slopes of the Croatian hills in the background, the former warriors are captured in an idyllic rural setting. This pastoral photograph pacifies the image of Yugoslav countryside and its inhabitants in order to emphasize the humanizing aspects of communist governance under Tito and counteract \textit{Life}’s prior rendering of Yugoslav peasantry as dissatisfied with agrarian reform (fig. 62).

\textbf{Threat to the Communist Paradise: The Bomb and the Drought}

\textit{Life}’s paradisical image of Yugoslavia existed in the shadow of the apocalyptic U.S. defence plan. As Heuser explains, the plan envisioned a “defensive” use of atomic weapons against the Soviet satellites states “in the event of war with the Soviet Union,” but it also made provisions for exceptional situations in which the use of atomic weapons “might serve to localize the conflict.”\textsuperscript{665} One such exception in 1951 was the possibility of a nuclear attack against the Soviet satellites in the case of a Soviet invasion of Yugoslavia.\textsuperscript{666} Thus, while the contemporary U.S. Cold-War policy drafted an ominous scenario for Yugoslavia and the region, \textit{Life}
propagated more constructive aspects of the government’s involvement in Yugoslavia in the article “U.S. Helps in Drought” on the economic aid to the Yugoslav republic of Serbia stricken by drought in 1951 in the same issue.\textsuperscript{667}

Inspiring sympathy for Serbian peasants and rendering the scope of the crisis, \textit{Life} evoked the documentary aesthetics of the American Dustbowl photography. It juxtaposed a black-and-white portrait of a peasant and an image of the dried mud where the river once irrigated the grain fields of northern Serbia (fig. 88). Attributes of his age, the deep wrinkles on the peasant’s face mirror the pattern of the cracked soil. In contrast to \textit{Life}’s 1949 stereotype of the Yugoslav peasant as uncooperative \textit{kulak} resisting the government’s agricultural reform, the magazine now rendered him as a man whose destiny is tied to the land, and therefore to U.S. aid. The 1951 drought in Yugoslavia also represented a major setback in U.S. defence plans for Europe as it threatened to weaken its communist ally. \textit{Life} made explicit American political and military motivation for aid to Yugoslavia, describing it as an “outright gift based largely on a realistic military consideration: to fight effectively, a nation and its army must first be fed.”\textsuperscript{668}

Furthermore, the pervasive linking of images of natural disasters such as flood, fire, and drought in the Cold-War rhetoric of anticommunism to render the threat and impact of communism in Europe, resonated with the crisis in Serbia.\textsuperscript{669} With these popular metaphors at hand, \textit{Life} was able to conflate the images of the real natural disaster in Yugoslavia with fears of communism and more specifically of the Yugoslav paradise, rendered in “Our Communist Ally,” succumbing to Soviet influence. Furthering its Titoist propaganda, the magazine appropriated the crisis in Yugoslavia and the U.S. response to it to reach to the Soviet satellites: “The American action was an unmistakable announcement to the people of the Iron Curtain countries that if they

\textsuperscript{668} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{669} See Chapter 3 for a brief discussion of the genesis of the natural disasters metaphor in the Truman Doctrine Speech.
would make some effort to work their way free of Russia, there could be help for them too.” In a similar way, *Life*’s idealized images of Yugoslav land and people in the issue were a reminder of what may have come of these countries in the future, had they followed the Tito way.

**Titoism: The Image of the Healthy Communism**

The image of Yugoslavia as tourist destination in *Life* was more than bait for American tourist. It was part of a representational strategy linked to U.S. foreign policy and with ramifications for the destiny of Yugoslavia as an independent communist nation during the Cold War. Inspired by the intention to render American readers sympathetic to American support of Yugoslavia and please the Yugoslavs alike, and enabled by the seductive aspects of color photography, the 1951 rendering of a prosperous Yugoslavia buttressed a positive view of Tito’s government in the West. But, even more so significantly, it served the anti-communist propaganda in Europe.

The pervasive use of the metaphor of disease in Cold-War depictions of communism, discussed in Chapter five, reveals another symbolic dimension in *Life*’s rendering of Tito and Yugoslavia in 1951. In contrast to the images of sick children and homeless elders that featured prominently in *Life*’s iconography of the Soviet satellite states, Tito’s robust appearance and healthy lifestyle as well as the beauty and vitality of the Yugoslav nation and their land, suggested the image of humanity reinvigorated by the victory of Titoism over Stalinism. In this way, *Life*’s image of Titoism as a convalescent communism can be seen as heralding also the victories of the strategy of containment, symbolically connected to the healing aspects of the economic aid given to Yugoslavia by the Western governments in this period.

---

670 “U.S. Helps in Drought,” 74.
Seven  Tito’s Memoirs in *Life*, The Book and The Movie

**Tito Speaks: The Memoirs Idea Takes Shape in 1949**

*Life* magazine published *Tito Speaks* in four instalments between 21 April and 12 May 1952, the first authorized biography of the Yugoslav leader, which it touted as the “inside, personal story of the man who defied Stalin.”671 They were adapted into a book published by Simon and Schuster in February 1953. *Tito Speaks* is a loosely chronological account of his life, spanning his childhood years in a peasant Croatian family at the end of the nineteenth century to 1952, with commentary about contemporary events. In the final form, it reflects the investment of not only Tito’s biographer and friend Vladimir Dedijer, but also his American editors and co-writers who adapted the memoirs to North American tastes. In their opinionated, sometimes antagonistic account of Tito’s break with Stalin, the memoirs reflected a Cold-War view of Stalinism and Titoism.672

John Phillips’ 1949 *Life* photo story on Tito provoked William E. Buckley, manager of the Trade Department at Henry Holt and Company, Inc. Publishers, on the advice of advice of Wilson Hicks, Dan Longwell and Don Burke, to write to Phillips:

I would like very much to know if Marshal Tito would consider writing a book, (or) if you would consider the idea of undertaking the project on an ‘as told to’ basis. I think there is an important book there, and I would like to have your views on the best way to pursue such a project.673

Phillips replied that other publishers, finding the book “important” and promising a “reasonably potential sale” in the North America, were also interested striking a similar deal with Tito. Mr.

---

671 Cover of *Life* (21 April 1952).
672 The archival material for this chapter is found in the personal collection of documents created by John Phillips, now in the care of The John and Annamaria Phillips Foundation in New York. This is an unpublished source. Copies of all documents are in the possession of the author.
673 Buckley to Phillips, 17 October 1949, private collection.
Buckley, nevertheless, asked Phillips to inform him on any progress in facilitating the memoirs, “either as an original by Tito and/or as ‘told to’ by you.”

Though Phillips was initially interested in writing the book, his role in the project changed later on in 1950 following the closer involvement of the Life editors. Phillips had cabled the managing editor of Life, Ed Thompson, “Would you be interested acquiring Tito’s own story ‘The Great Treason’ at cost neighborhood two hundred thousand dollars?” The original plan was to run the story in four installments “a la Windsor.” Inspired by the political issues arising from the Tito-Stalin discord, it would include a description of Tito’s career as a communist leader of the Yugoslav resistance in part one, his early relations with Stalin and their “seeds of discord” in part two, a “prelude to Break with Moscow” in part three, and an analysis of the current situation in Yugoslavia and “her future vis-à-vis possible war” in part four. Phillips proposed Seymour Freidin to adapt “Tito’s own words” into “readable exciting magazine material.” The choice of Freidin was partly motivated by the fact that Tito knew and trusted him, which was of paramount importance given the political sensitivity of the details of the details of Tito’s relationship with Stalin and Moscow. Phillips urged Thompson to handle with “utmost discretion” all details of this “extremely delicate project which might conceivably fail through leakage.”

Believing Tito’s story about his split with the Kremlin to be “a real scoop,” Thompson’s initial reaction was positive: “Memoire proposition most interesting indeed. We are definitely

---

674 Buckley to Phillips, 22 December 1949, private collection.
675 Phillips to Thompson, nd, (File 98: Tito Speaks), private collection. Although the cable itself is not dated, Phillips claims he wrote the proposal in June 1950. See, John Phillips, Yugoslav Story (Belgrade: Jugoslovenska Revija, c. 1980), 179.
676 Ibid.
677 Ibid.
678 Ibid.
679 Ibid.
and seriously interested. Project now being considered [on] all levels.”

Thompson also knew the piece could be controversial:

*Life* was attacked for your previous stories and since this will be very onesided propaganda the firing will be heavier this time. At same time this makes *Life* most desirable medium for publicizing John your mans side of the story.

During the course of their negotiations, Phillips and Thompson clashed on a number of practical points, including Thompson’s desire to attach one of *Life’s* own writers, including Williams, to the project as soon as the “delicate stage of research” was over. Phillips objected, wishing to maintain control of the text, but, in the final arrangements, Phillips and Robert Coughlan, a writer and editor in the magazine, were assigned to the project as *Life’s* representatives. Coughlan’s addition guaranteed *Life’s* editorial presence in the memoir’s preparation, while Phillips, the western journalist Tito and his advisors trusted, would negotiate crucial aspects of the project with Tito.

**Phillips’ Negotiations With *Life*: Content and Style**

Phillips sketched out for Thompson the structure and style of the memoirs. It was to be divided into three chapters. Phillips proposed that he and Williams go to Yugoslavia and spend with Tito and his assistants “whatever time [. . .] may be needed to get the story thrashed out first in conversation, then in edited-down transcription, finally in usable installments.” He described the first part as a “secret history of Tito’s partisan war: running from the night he begun his uprising (in a Belgrade cellar in March 1941, when Germans struck Yugoslavia) to the final liberation of the country.” This was to be punctuated with flashbacks to “untold incidents”

---

680 Thompson to Phillips, 20 August 1950, private collection.
681 Ibid.
682 Burke to Phillips, nd, private collection.
683 Phillips and Williams to Thompson, 19 February 1951, private collection.
684 In a cable to Phillips, Ed Thompson rejected the idea of running the Tito story in four instalments, arguing “that three snappy instalments would be more effective from the point of view of all concerned than four.” Thompson to Phillips, 20 August 1950, private collection.
685 Ibid.
in Tito’s “early relations with the Russians, in which the seeds of later discord were sown,” thus
giving historical context to his conflict with the Kremlin. Although Tito was considered an
Allied hero in the Western press, Phillips planned to “keep the rivalry with the Mihailovich to an
absolute minimum” in part one, so as not to “give Tito a propaganda sounding board,” nor to
antagonize the anti-Tito camp in the U.S.

The second part, “The Russian Interlude,” was to cover Tito’s relations with Stalin from
the end of the war to the expulsion of Yugoslavia from Cominform in June 1948, framing Tito
“as an outcast adrift between east and west.” The “story of great betrayal” in this part would
describe the passage of relations between Tito and Stalin from “good to bad to the breaking
point.” It promised to be “a hell of a story,” Phillips enthused, “if he [Tito] really and truly goes
for it.” In the third part Tito would fight for “survival” and lead Yugoslavia “from a Russian
toward a western orientation.” The memoirs end on a note of optimism with “Tito’s come-and-
get-me defiance,” projecting Yugoslav “staying power” in the face of a Soviet military attack.686

The memoirs reinforced the view popular in the Western press, and in Life in particular,
of Tito as Cold-War hero and Stalin as his opposite. Phillips envisioned the memoirs as a
suspenseful, dramatic “fast-moving adventure story full of mystery,” its narrative echoing the
1940s and the 1950s film noir and action films. Accordingly, the memoirs would deliberately
reduced ideological conflicts between Tito and Stalin to “simple and understandable terms” and
appeal through the first person voice to a north American audience accustomed to digested
accounts of Titoism.

Phillips’ Negotiations in Yugoslavia and the Implications of the Soviet Threat

By February 1951 Phillips considered writing with Williams a profile of close-up on Tito
in case “Tito is under such pressure that he cannot spend time with us that this plan would
require - or if the situation is such that he does not want to talk in the first person on his whole

686 Phillips and Williams to Thompson, 19 February 1951, private collection.
story but is willing to have it published” by Life. Covering the same topics as the proposed memoirs, “well fleshed out with quotes and anecdotes,” approved by Tito but without his by-line, the close-up would be “exclusively Life’s.”\footnote{Ibid.} Phillips was eager to get Thompson’s reaction to this back-up solution.

Phillips went to Yugoslavia in March of 1951 to “find out once and for all from Tito weather the project is on or off.”\footnote{Ibid.} His trip was partially successful, Tito not rejecting the idea but refusing to commit himself before the middle of April with no particular excuse.\footnote{Report on Negotiations for Tito’s Memoirs (confidential), nd, page 1, private collection.} Tito considered “the publication of such memoirs a major political move” in the context of the strained relations between Moscow and Yugoslavia.\footnote{Ibid.} “It might just provoke Stalin past explosion point,” Phillips noted.\footnote{Ibid.} Rather than turn down Life’s offer as he had done to a similar offer made the Daily Mail of London, Tito asked Phillips for more time to thoroughly consider Life’s proposition before making up his mind. Although Tito was cautious, Phillips reassured Thompson that the deal was forthcoming.\footnote{Ibid, 2.}

Motivated by a rumor of a pending Soviet attack on Yugoslavia in early August of 1951, Phillips told Tito that Life was ready to publish a close-up on him instead, but that from the point of view of American readers this was not an adequate substitute for the memoirs.\footnote{Ibid, 3.} Reasoning that in the event of an attack Tito would be unable to give the interview, Phillips was eager to have some kind of publishable material “ready for such an emergency.”\footnote{Ibid, 4.} Thematically and stylistically similar to the proposed memoirs, the close up promised to be a complete and
“sensational story” of the Tito-Stalin split. The images for it would be drawn from the *Life* archive and Yugoslavs promised to share “the early pictures of Tito, including shots of him in jail.” In addition, Phillips planned to take new shots of Tito in uniform “to suit the circumstances if he is fighting when the story appears.”

Although *Life* had supported Tito since 1948, Phillips was unsure if Thompson shared his enthusiasm this time around:

I realize that this close-up is a delicate story to handle. On the one hand Tito is a hero for his fight with Stalin. On the other he is a tough communist. While you are ready to praise him for his anti-Russian attitude, you are not prepared to whitewash his internal policies. You are not, however, ready to knock him down completely, as he is “our communist ally” and a fine gent to have on our side in a scrap.

Phillips did not have any worries about the ideological implications of *Life*’s embrace of the Yugoslav leader. He wrote to Thompson, “it would be foolish at this point of you to give up your privileged position you have with him, through his liking of me, at the time when the lid may blow off and he would take me along with him in the mountains - which is more that I can say for the other journalists.” Phillips argued that even a close-up on Tito in *Life* would be

---

695 The close-up shared the narrative structure and fast-paced cinematic style of the proposed memoirs. According to Phillips’ outlines, its first part, “Tito the agent of Moscow,” covers the Communist uprising in Yugoslavia in 1941, beginning with Tito descending the steps into his subterranean refuge, “the cellar of a residential Belgrade villa in 1941,” to meet his “top politburo colleagues and [issue] the instructions for the uprising to start” in Nazi-occupied Yugoslavia. The description of Tito’s revolutionary activities and fight against the Germans unravels, climaxing in 1943 when he “becomes the Marshal of the most spectacular guerilla outfit the world has known.” The second part, “Tito the Nationalist,” opens with “Tito realizing that Stalin wants to kill him, and the story unwinds as for the reason why,” in a prelude to their disagreement in 1948. The popular narrative style Phillips envisioned for Tito’s memoirs and close-up foreshadows his later idea of a feature movie about Tito he hoped to produce with the help of the Yugoslav film industry and Louis de Rochemont. The movie idea is discussed below. For the close-up’s content and style, see: Ibid, 7.
696 Ibid, 8.
697 Ibid.
699 Ibid.
exceptional in a year when Tito would not give interviews.\textsuperscript{700} Predictably, Thompson argued for the memoirs format: “I do not think that there is any question but that closeup you propose would take edge off big project as far as LIFE is concerned. So lets not discuss it until we know for sure.”\textsuperscript{701} They waited on Tito’s decision.

**Fall of 1951: The Deal With Tito**

In the fall of 1951, Phillips and Bob Coughlan went to Belgrade to meet with Tito to discuss the details of the memoir project. The final negotiations of 28 September to 5 October 1951, are well documented in the correspondence between Phillips, Coughlan, Tito, Dedijer, and Thompson. Phillips negotiated crucial aspects of the deal, of which the most pressing was the nature of Tito’s involvement. The magazine’s objective was for Tito to write the memoirs in the first person and sign the series, not only for authenticity but also to enable the editors to distance themselves from controversial ideas expressed in it. “Because of the vitally important lessons the world can learn from your career,” wrote Phillips to Tito, “it is my hope that you will tell the story in the way that it will bring the widest possible readership; that is, in the first person, as your own declaration to history, signed with your name.”\textsuperscript{702} Phillips argued, “You, after all, are the ultimate authority on these events which have so stirred the world.”\textsuperscript{703}

**The Original Plan: Tito, Phillips and Coughlan**

Initially, the writing of the memoirs involved Tito, Phillips, Coughlan, and Dedijer. In the research stages, Phillips was to play a key role conducting and recording his conversations with Tito; he and Coughlan would write up the draft based on Tito’s deposition in “literary style suitable for publication,” then submit it for Tito’s approval.\textsuperscript{704} Justifying Coughlan’s presence to Tito, Phillips explained that *Life* greatly valued the memoirs project and therefore had involved

\textsuperscript{700} Ibid, 8.
\textsuperscript{701} Thompson to Phillips, cable, 8 June 1951, private collection.
\textsuperscript{702} Letter from Phillips, *Life* bureau in Rome, to Tito, 30 September 1951, private collection.
\textsuperscript{703} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{704} Ibid.
its senior member of the staff, Mr. Robert Coughlan, to assist its development, mentioning also Coughlan’s knowledge of the North American market and his supervising role in Churchill’s memoirs in *Life*.\textsuperscript{705} Phillip’s proposed a Yugoslav authority, Vladimir Dedijer, for the team as Tito’s “liaison” responsible for proofreading and historical verification of the draft. Phillips argued that Dedijer’s “great knowledge would make him a most valuable colleague and surely would save us much time.”\textsuperscript{706} If Tito refused to write “directly for *Life*,” Phillips would offer to be Tito’s literary agent, claiming that the magazine was ready to publish his biography written and signed by Phillips and Coughlan but staying true to the content of the proposed memoirs.\textsuperscript{707}

**Topics For The Memoirs**

Phillips presented to Tito possible topics and “paramount questions” for the memoirs, which were prepared in his conversations with *Life*’s editors and reflected the interest of the general public gleaned from “informal surveys made in Western Europe.”\textsuperscript{708} Although including Tito’s reasons for becoming a communist, and his early communist training and leadership of the CPY, these questions demonstrate that, as much as *Life* was interested in Tito’s political biography and Yugoslavia’s struggle, it was even more eager to obtain an intimate portrait of Stalin.\textsuperscript{709} *Life* solicited Tito’s advice to other “statesman of the free peoples” on how to deal with the Soviet leader; his analysis of the purges in the Cominform countries; and description of the Yugoslav ways of “withstanding the Stalinist pressures [. . .] brutally exerted” since 1948.\textsuperscript{710}

Thus presented, Phillips claimed, “the memoirs can be a mighty weapon in the struggle now in progress for the hearts and minds of humanity.”\textsuperscript{711} This description of Tito’s memoirs as a “mighty weapon” resonated with pragmatic American views of Titoism as Stalin’s nemesis, and

\textsuperscript{705} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{706} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{707} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{708} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{709} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{710} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{711} Ibid.
was thus propaganda in the Cold-War struggle against Communism. This aspect of the memoirs interested *Life* the most, proving the magazine was towing the U.S. government’s anti-Soviet line. For Tito, on the other hand, the *Life* memoirs offered an unprecedented opportunity to strengthen his image in the Western world as an anti-Stalinist ally, and ensure continuing U.S. support to his country.

**Tito Changes the Rules of The Game: Dedijer’s New Role in The Memoirs**

On the morning of 5 October 1951, on Tito’s private Blue Train en route to Kraljevo, Phillips struck an agreement with Tito. The agreement involved several changes to Phillips’ original plan. Phillips reported to Thompson that Tito agreed to the “personal memoirs (good), told in detail and in the first persona and signed by him (good), but (bad) ‘as told to’ one Vladimir Dedijer,” who, Tito told Phillips, was already writing Tito’s “authorized biography.” Tito, thus, “delegated Dedijer to make whatever arrangements he might think wise and desirable with *Life*.”

Tito’s designation of Dedijer as principle writer of his memoirs forced Phillips and Coughlan into the roles of rewriters. Despite the fact known to Phillips and Coughlan that *Life* disliked ‘as told’ device, they urged Thompson to agree to Tito’s terms, as no alternative was left open to them. The new arrangements allowed the Yugoslavs to monopolize the venture; collection and writing of the biographical material was solely Dedijer’s responsibility, and the power to approve the final draft was Tito’s.

**The Memoirs As Anti-Soviet Propaganda and Yugoslav Reaction**

Whether it is true that “Dedijer had not begun his book until some time after the memoir project was proposed to Tito” remains unclear, but the political implications of the memoirs as

---

712 Coughlan and Phillips to Thompson, 25 October 1951, page 1, private collection.
713 Ibid, 2.
714 Ibid, 1.
anti-Soviet propaganda played a role in Tito’s selection of him. Phillips explained that the selection was a tactical device,

a way by which Tito can let *Life* have the memoirs without actually writing them ‘for’ *Life*; a way of protecting himself from charges by the Cominform and from purists in his own Party that he has sold out to the West.\(^\text{715}\)

The Party Agitation and Propaganda Commission (Agitprop) opposed the publication of the memoirs. The head of the Agitprop, Milovan Djilas had already attacked Phillips for his 1949 story on Tito. However, Dedijer as his close friend since 1943 and a second in command at Agitprop would have counteracted internal opposition. Dedijer wrote an official letter, “phrased for the record, to be shown in case anyone accuses him or Tito of writing at *Life*’s initiative,” in which he expressed his interest in *Life*’s offer to publish the material from his authorized biography of Tito.\(^\text{716}\) He was guarding Tito’s reputation at home and abroad.

**Coughlan’s Case: Yugoslavs Resist *Life*’s Editorial Presence**

The Yugoslavs and *Life* both wanted to have the ultimate control of the memoirs content. Although Phillips acknowledged Dedijer as “a professional journalist” with knowledge of “western standards,” he worried that his personal ties with Tito and the political pressures at home would compromise his objectivity and result in “eastern-style biography.”\(^\text{717}\) Thus, he hoped that “the greater part of the material that *Life* wants (covering Tito’s turbulent relations with Moscow)” would remain unwritten, giving Coughlan and him a chance to shape the “malleable” parts in the manuscript.\(^\text{718}\) The Yugoslavs, including Dedijer, actively resisted *Life*’s involvement, initially forbidding Coughlan to meet Tito. After his session with Tito on the Blue Train, Phillips wrote to Dedijer asking that he bring Coughlan to a photographic session with the

\(^{715}\) Ibid, 2.

\(^{716}\) Ibid.

\(^{717}\) Ibid, 4.

\(^{718}\) Ibid, 5.
Marshal, “not for an interview, but simply to meet him and help me when I am taking photographs.” He wrote,

Coughlan is very much interested in the Marshal and his government, and his attitude so far is serious and friendly. After all, he represents the editorial department of *Life* and necessarily will be involved in the development and completion of the story. It is natural that he should be allowed the privilege of at least meeting its subject. I hope that you will think this over seriously and reconsider your earlier opinion.

Though the Yugoslavs conceded to this request, their reserved attitude was rooted in their mistrust of Western journalists.

**The Contract**

On 14 October 1951, Phillips sent a formal letter to Dedijer laying out the terms of the *Life* contract. Upon completion of the memoirs Dedijer would receive $50,000 U.S. while *Life* would retain the rights to North America and the English-speaking world, including the serialization rights in *Life*’s international edition. Coughlan and Phillips were relegated to the role of Thompson’s representatives responsible for the development of the project, the details of that were to be kept in “the outmost confidence until the time of publication.”

Although the team met in Paris in the fall of 1951, the “real work of the articles” did not begin until after Dedijer had signed the agreement with Andrew Heiskell, in January 1952. Pleased with “the diplomatic way” Phillips and Coughlan handled “this most trying affair and enabled *Life* to be the magazine to first publish Tito’s memoirs,” Heiskell congratulated them in a letter mistakenly addressed to Bob Coughlan alone. It seems that this greatly bothered Phillips, to whom Ed Thompson wrote rectifying the mistake and acknowledging his role on the

---

719 Phillips to Dedijer, 9 October 1951, private collection.
720 Ibid.
721 A copy of the agreement between Vladimir Dedijer and Andrew Heiskell, private collection.
722 Ibid.
723 Phillips to Dedijer, 14 October 1951, private collection.
724 Heiskell to Coughlan, 21 January 1952, private collection.
memoirs: “I agree with Bob Coughlan that you were the catalytic agent and that we couldn’t have done it without your tact and journalistic good sense.”

Preparing North American Readers and Their Reactions to “Tito Speaks”

Phillips and Coughlan, who anticipated resistance to the memoirs in the U.S., saw the need to “prepare the public, which is anti-communist-in-any-form, for the shock of reading” it in Life. Thus, they wrote an article about Yugoslavia for the magazine in advance of Tito’s memoirs, to explain to the public the political realities of Tito’s Yugoslavia. Ambassador Allen, and First Secretary Beam, and Mike Handler, the Belgrade correspondent of the New York Times, read the article to verify “its factual content and endorse its theme.” Life’s editors announced the memoirs in the 14 April 1952 issue, and ran them in four instalments between 21 April and 12 May 1952.

Reactions to Tito’s memoirs proved Phillips and Coughlan correct in their assessment of the American public as essentially anti-communist. A fierce letter written by Rev. Vincent G. Burns of the Community Church in Washington D.C exemplifies readers’ criticism of the piece:

I am shocked and amazed at your glorification of the Red dictator, Tito - your cover and full panegyric insight (“Tito speaks,” LIFE, April 21). Have you forgotten that this ruthless Communist has in a thousand ways shown himself to be not a friend of the Christian West, but a bitter Marxist enemy? Now we are rewarding him for his misdeeds by sending him millions of dollars worth of American arms which he will never use to help us. If war should come in Europe, I will give my life that Tito will never fight at our side. He is Stalin’s stalking-horse. And the magazines which plug and praise and boost

725 Thompson to Phillips, 11 February 1952, private collection.
726 Coughlan and Phillips to Emmet and Ed, 27 October 1951, private collection.
727 Ibid.
728 Although he did most of the research for the article, Phillips’ name was excluded from its by-line due to his sensitive role as a key negotiator with the Yugoslavs. They advised Emmet and Ed that “because of the delicacy of Yugoslav feelings, the article should not be published (assuming you like it) without first checking with us.” Ibid.
him are equally treasonous with government officials who coddle him with the gifts of American money, food, arms, and munitions of war.\footnote{Vincent G. Burns, letter to the editor, \textit{Life} 32, no. 19 (12 May 1952): 17.} Another reader censured \textit{Life} for publishing on a man responsible for “the cries of pain and anguish of the priests who have died and are still suffering in the Titoist concentration camps.”\footnote{John A. Dingethal, ibid.}

Others challenged the magazine’s perception of Tito as America’s ally.\footnote{Patrick F. McGucken, ibid. \textit{Life} was again attacked for embracing “Tito as a valuable ally of the U.S.” in the event of the Soviet aggression in Europe. See: S. U. Barnes, letter to the editor, \textit{Life} 32, no. 22 (2 June 1952): 8.}

In a response to these accusations, Ed Thompson wrote:

As LIFE stated in its introduction to the series, it is “aware that many Americans dislike Tito’s Communism and his anti-clericalism. The fact remains that he is an important ally, and that our government is giving him financial and diplomatic support. LIFE believes, moreover, that a man so feared by the Kremlin is one who should be heard by the world.”\footnote{Ibid.}

Thompson’s reply was in line with U.S. policy and with \textit{Life}’s own tradition; Tito was an official ally of the U.S. government in 1952, and the magazine had held him in high esteem since the 1944.\footnote{For example, Captain Richard L. Felman, USAF, expressed an anti-Partisan view in his letter to the editor. Commenting on Mihajlovic’s relations with the Germans, he argued that the Cetnik’s leader had only helped the Americans stranded in the Balkans during the war and could not be accused of treason. \textit{Life} answered by citing Churchill’s assessment of the Balkan situation in his own \textit{Closing the Ring}, where the Cetniks are accused of collaboration with the Axis. See: Richard L. Felman, letter to the editor, \textit{Life} 32, no. 21 (26 May 1952): 7.} Thompson’s editorial accompanying the last installment of “Tito Speaks,” called “Tito: Ally, not Friend,” defended \textit{Life} from repeated accusations that it was “helping to glorify an enemy of religion and a Communist who will desert the west when it suits him.”\footnote{Ed Thompson, “Tito: Ally not a Friend,” \textit{Life} 32, no. 19 (12 May 1952): 30.} Thompson argued that the memoirs were an important historical document, “one of the most important political stories of the 20th Century” and the “only existing official version from Tito’s point of
view” of his discord with Stalin.\textsuperscript{735} This argument appeared to resonate with \textit{Life} readers. One wrote that,

I neither believe in nor advocate Marshal Tito’s form of government, but I believe that the American people can think for themselves. It is such open discussion that makes American what it is today. If articles like “Tito Speaks” were stifled, that fact would destroy the very thing which in turn can destroy Communism - the right of men everywhere to voice their own opinion.\textsuperscript{736}

Another wrote that, “I do not blame you in the least for presenting us with Marshal Tito’s autobiography. We have to know the both sides of any prominent man. Whether we like him or not.”\textsuperscript{737} Liberal views such as these were, however, counterbalanced by belief in the propaganda value of Tito’s defiance of Stalin, and thus that his memoirs provided an example that could “somehow penetrate other Soviet satellites like Czechoslovakia, which also has nationalistic traditions and is exploited by the USSR to the limit.”\textsuperscript{738} Other readers were simply captivated by the exciting narrative: “Tito Speaks - the greatest true-story I have ever read. More, more, more!”\textsuperscript{739} Such enthusiasm encouraged Phillips and Dedijer to publish the \textit{Tito Speaks} book.

\textit{Tito Speaks, American Edition}

The idea of the book was already germinating in 1949, when American publishers approached Phillips to express their interest in Tito’s story.\textsuperscript{740} In February 1952, Phillips and Dedijer made the initial plan for writing \textit{Tito Speaks}.\textsuperscript{741} Phillips went to Belgrade for three months to do “work necessary for the adaptation” with Freidin who was helping with English

\textsuperscript{735} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{736} Carl L. Maenak, letter to the editor, \textit{Life} 32, no. 22 (2 June 1952): 8.
\textsuperscript{737} Joseph C. Kunc, ibid.
\textsuperscript{738} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{741} Dedijer to Phillips, 25 February 1952, private collection.
The difficulties of this publishing venture are documented in the correspondence between Joseph Barnes of Simon and Schuster, the American publisher of *Tito Speaks*, and John Phillips. The first difficulty came in May 1952 when Freidin described it as “one of the damndest - perhaps the most fantastic experiences - I’ve ever had in this business.” Freidin attacked Dedijer for his lack of commitment to the book and his amateurish research, claiming that Dedijer had no material other than the *Life* installments concerning Tito’s years as the Comintern agent and his relations with Moscow ready for the book. Freidin, believing that Dedijer “thought that anything he mentioned (in the book) would go down well, even if it was blatant propaganda,” quit the project.

In the wake of a “crisis over the book,” Phillips wrote to Barnes explaining that research on Tito’s Moscow years between 1934 and 1941 was stalled due to the fact that, enraged over *Life*’s “blistering editorial” in the issue featuring the last installment of Tito’s memoirs, the Yugoslavs canceled Dedijer’s meeting with Tito. Phillips thus arranged for him to come to New York in July 1952 and work on the English translation with the publisher’s editor and writer. Coughlan, for whom Dedijer had “great fondness and confidence,” replaced Freidin as a rewriter, and the Yugoslav embassy in Washington was asked to assist Dedijer if he needed research material from Yugoslavia. Phillips wrote to Barnes that, “While I am convinced that this new scheme will work out I cannot hide from you that we have a big job

---

742 Ibid.
743 Freidin to Barnes, 16 May 1952, private collection.
744 Ibid.
745 Ibid.
746 Phillips to Barnes, 18 May 1952, private collection.
747 Phillips is here referring to the editorial “Tito and Ally Not a Friend,” *Life* 32, 19 (May 12, 1952): 30. According to him, Tito was “deeply disturbed by the editorial.” Cable from Phillips to Thompson, private collection.
748 Phillips to Barnes, 18 May 1952, page 2, private collection.
ahead of us before the book is completed and the chances are that the M.S. will not be ready by July 15th.\textsuperscript{750}

Although the book was still in the preliminary stages, Phillips assured Barnes that Dedijer needed to write it and publish or would “have his own troubles with Tito.”\textsuperscript{751} He explained that “The \textit{LIFE} series are supposed to be extracts from this book. If no book is forthcoming, it will be apparent to the world that Tito wrote ’ the memoirs at the behest of \textit{Life}.\textsuperscript{752} More specifically, the Yugoslavs feared that Tito’s deal with \textit{Life} would enrage the party puritans at home. Phillips added that Tito was pleased with the series and thus inclined to support the book.\textsuperscript{753}

Phillips defended to book project to Simon and Schuster:

I still believe the book is possible. It is also such an important book with so many revelations, the Comintern, the Cominform etc . . . inside story of the Russian side from the early thirties until today which are completely unknown that I believe every effort should be made. I hope you feel the same way.\textsuperscript{754}

In the letter he asked Barnes to comment on the book outlines and proposed themes, and to specify which “essential” points “should be amplified” by Tito and Dedijer.\textsuperscript{755} Phillips wanted Barnes to ask the duo to address certain Tito-Stalin topics important for the prestige of the book in the Western world, including “their meetings, how Kremlin looked from inside, Tito’s views or Yugoslav politicians [and] the leading Soviet leaders of today” and the “minutes of Tito’s trip to

\textsuperscript{750} Ibid, page 1.
\textsuperscript{751} Ibid, page 2.
\textsuperscript{752} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{753} Phillips to Barnes, 18 May 1952, page 3, private collection.
\textsuperscript{754} Ibid, page 6.
\textsuperscript{755} Phillips to Barnes, 19 May 1952, private collection.
Phillips sent Barnes clippings of “the first Russian blasts” of the *Life* memoirs, adding that the Soviet reviews “should make pretty amusing copy for your promotion.”757

Barnes, pessimistic following Freidin’s departure from Belgrade, replied that “We had better freeze all our plans until we see the detailed report which you have promised us.”758 In reply, Phillips summarized the book’s progress: the rough draft of the prologue and the first two parts, covering Tito’s early life between 1892 and 1934 and his political career as Comintern agent between 1934 and 1941, were completed. Barnes thus confirmed the contract for *Tito Speaks*, grateful to Phillips for “the frankness with which you have reported” about the difficulties had in May 1952.759 Barnes then asked for assurance that Dedijer had and was “willing to publish” the promised controversial material:

> We are still assuming that he (Dedijer) plans to get here in July and we will then, on your advice and instructions, do our very best to see whether or not he has himself, in actual material and not in some outline we might prepare for him, the kind of material after 1934 that would make this book what it most certainly could be.760

Phillips assured Barnes that Dedijer’s manuscript covered the period up to 1941 and had been approved by Tito during their final session on the island of Brioni, and that Dedijer was due to arrive to the U.S. soon.761

**American Readership, Style, and Politics**

Phillips and Dedijer envisioned a U.S. market niche for *Tito Speaks* consisting of general readers, students of political science, and even a “feminine audience who would otherwise have

756 Ibid.
757 Ibid. Although Phillips mentions the Russian reactions to “the book” in his letter, it is rather probable that the Russians were commenting on the *Life* memoirs series instead, as at this point Dedijer’s biography of Tito was still not even written.
758 Barnes to Phillips, 28 May 1952, private collection.
759 Barnes to Phillips, 11 June 1952, private collection.
760 Ibid, page 2.
761 Phillips to Barnes, 11 June 1952, private collection.
little interest for the book” were it not for its treatment of the role of the suffering of Yugoslav women in the National Liberation War. They discovered this potential appeal of the book to women when a female typist, otherwise unsympathetic to the communists, remarked upon finishing a passage describing the wounding and a death of Dedijer’s wife Olga, a partisan doctor, that her “attitude towards Yugoslavia” was “affected by the text.” This episode prompted Phillips and Dedijer to “gather up material concerning the part women played in the war” for a “small additional chapter,” continuing a Life and Picture Post tradition of celebrating the war heroism of Yugoslav women, civilians and soldiers alike.

Phillips also saw a market appeal in what he described as the “slightly […] thousand and one nights flavour” and “a distinctly Balkan” character of Dedijer’s prose. The outlandish narrative of Tito’s life created “certain qualities of mood which a rewrite man could not hope to capture” that gave it a “strong sense of reality and truthfulness.” This “Balkan whiff of the book,” its use of unpublished archival sources, and Tito’s undersigning of it, would distinguish the book from other biographies in its culturally specific mood. Phillips was captured by the exotic character of Dedijer’s prose, convinced that it “has gained immensely through the fact that Vlado himself has done the first draft,” instead of having the help of the English rewriter from the start, as planned initially. Dedijer’s style “forced such a personal imprint on the manuscript that it will survive good editing and rewriting.”

The book’s American publisher expected Dedijer and Tito to produce a political text that indicted Stalin. Yet all parties agreed that the book’s success did not hinge on its role as propaganda. Phillips, mindful of the anti-Tito camp in the U.S., pointed out to Barnes how the

---

762 Phillips to Barnes, 18 June 1952, private collection.
763 Ibid.
764 Ibid. For a discussion of articles in the Western press representing the plight and heroism of Yugoslav women during war, see Chapter two.
765 Phillips to Barnes, 18 May 1952, private collection.
766 Phillips to Barnes, 11 June 1952, page 1, private collection.
767 Phillips to Barnes, 16 June 1952, private collection.
768 Ibid.
book was “damning to the Soviet Union,” yet downplayed it as a Titoist tool, insisting that nothing in it would “get Americans to rush out and try and abolish their form of government.”\textsuperscript{769} Phillips concluded that the book rather “has a tragic sense of truthfulness.”\textsuperscript{770} Phillips’ defense of the book underscore how peculiar the U.S. publication of Tito’s memoirs was in the context of the early Cold War.

**The Completion of *Tito Speaks* and Competition**

Although some reactions to the *Life* series were antagonistic, Barnes believed that “there was no substantial reader protest against the pieces,” but instead “a very fair volume of genuine interest” for Tito and Yugoslavia.\textsuperscript{771} This interest was confirmed by the publication of Louis Adamic’s book *The Eagle and The Roots* (Doubleday) in the summer of 1952.\textsuperscript{772} The spectre of competition eroded Barnes’s patience with Dedijer and Phillips. “Almost half of [Adamic’s] book is a biography of Tito, and this is based on some thirty hours of direct personal conversation,” Barnes noted, adding that the book “has caused no great scandal and has been well reviewed.”\textsuperscript{773} The publication of *The Eagle and The Roots* further increased the pressure on Dedijer to deliver on his promise of “hors concours” material for the book.\textsuperscript{774} Dedijer completed the manuscript at the end of June.\textsuperscript{775} Following a short stay in Lausanne, he boarded a ship arriving to New York on 18 July 1952, where he met with Barnes and started rewriting and editing of the final draft.\textsuperscript{776}

\textsuperscript{769} Phillips to Barnes, 11 June 1952, page 2, private collection.
\textsuperscript{770} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{771} Barnes to Phillips, 11 June 1952, page 2; 24 June 1952, private collection.
\textsuperscript{774} Barnes to Phillips, 11 June 1952, page 2, private collection.
\textsuperscript{775} Phillips to Barnes, 30 June 1952, private collection.
\textsuperscript{776} Phillips to Barnes, 12 July 1952, page 1, private collection.
Relieved that the first phase of the writing was over and happy to have Dedijer in New York, Phillips prophesized the book’s triumph: “You are going to have the most extraordinary and fantastic document of our times. It is also going to prove the greatest indictment of Stalin and Communism.”777 A large portion of the “top level” material in it, unpublished in the Life installments, was “absolutely unknown to the non communist world, including their foreign offices” as it was to “the rank and file communists.”778 Tito’s positive reaction to the Life’s installments apparently precipitated the release of this classified material from the Yugoslav archives.779 Phillips thanked Barnes for his patience, and anticipated that the book would be a “tremendous best seller [that was] going to make a pot of money” for Simon and Schuster and “render a great public service to the Free world.”780

Barnes hired Steve White, the assistant managing editor of LOOK, to begin the copy-editing the book with Dedijer in the first week of August 1952.781 This choice pleased Dedijer and Phillips.782 The additional work on the manuscript was “a major job,” including a “routine cleaning up,” rewrite of the prologue and the drafting of additional three chapters.783 Dedijer and White worked fast, completing the final edit by mid August; Dedijer left New York on 20 August 1952.784 When he finally saw the completed manuscript, Barnes observed that Dedijer had shared much of his research material with Adamic. This fact did not displease Barnes, but rather forced him to take Dedijer’s book more seriously: “At this moment, it seems to me a much more important and much less sensational book than it did when we talked about it some months ago.”785

777 Ibid.
778 Ibid.
781 Barnes to Phillips, 31 July 1952, private collection.
782 Phillips to Barnes, 9 August 1952; and Dedijer to Phillips, 5 August 1952, private collection.
783 Barnes to Phillips, 31 July 1952, private collection.
784 Dedijer to Phillips, 5 August 1952, private collection.
785 Barnes to Phillips, 31 July 1952, private collection.
Promotion in the U.S.

Phillips was responsible for the promotion of the book in the U.S. Familiar with American audiences and well-connected in the media world, he planned to “present Dedijer as a Yugoslav Harry Hopkins” and have him appear on various radio and TV programs during his next visit to the U.S. as the delegate to the UN, which coincided with the book’s publication. The comparison of Vladimir Dedijer with Harry Hopkins, the advisor to President Roosevelt, recognized that both men had special roles and exercised significant influence in the political circles around Tito and Roosevelt respectively. In the North American context, it was also a shorthand way of establishing the authority of an otherwise unknown Yugoslav writer and politician. As a promotion strategy, Barnes suggested that Tito sign a short letter for the dust jacket, endorsing the contents and giving his approval. When Tito Speaks was published in the U.S. on 1 February 1953, Barnes observed that “the reviews were superb,” including one in Newsweek and “a most favourable paragraph in the New Yorker.”

Publishing and Serialization

Phillips, “frantically busy” in the summer and fall of 1952 negotiated the worldwide release of Tito Speaks, including English, French, Italian, Spanish, Austrian, Spanish, Brazilian, Japanese, Israeli and Scandinavian editions, and sold serialization rights in the major European magazines, the Sunday Times, Picture Post and Le Figaro. The Sunday Times serialization consisted of three instalments in January 1953, and a book review on 1 February 1953, a day

786 Phillips to Barnes, 25 August 1952, private collection.
791 Phillips to Dedijer, 11 August 1952, private collection.
before the English edition of Tito’s autobiography published by Weidenfeld came out. The prestige of the *Sunday Times* in British booksellers’ circles was crucial. “They rely very heavily on the *Sunday Times*, and as they are very conservative in their approach to choosing books this should do us enormous good for the book,” Phillips explained to Dedijer. Furthermore, he orchestrated that the *Le Figaro* serialization in France and the *Mondadori* serialization in Italy were simultaneous with one in the *Times*, and negotiated a second serialization in Great Britain with *Picture Post*.

Following the *Sunday Times*, *Picture Post* started a six-week serialization in March 1953, “with national advertising and posters of the old man all over the country.” This hard-won deal represented “the first time in British publishing that one book has had two different serializations.” The pronounced British interest in the book related to Tito’s impending visit to Great Britain in mid-March of the same year. His first official trip to a western country since the end of the war generated enormous publicity. *Picture Post* sent Sylvan Mangeot, their journalist, and Bert Hardy, British photojournalist and veteran *Post* staffer since the late 1930s, to Belgrade to conduct an interview with Tito before his visit. They came back with a story featuring photographs of Tito and his young wife, Jovanka Broz, who was virtually unknown to the general public abroad. There can be no doubt that the marketing of *Tito Speaks* and Tito’s visit to the Queen fed off each other. Even the book’s American publisher hoped that “the great man’s trip to England will give the book a big boost,” as it so quickly followed its U.S. release.

---

793 Phillips to Dedijer, 19 October 1952, page 1, private collection.
794 Phillips to Dedijer, 11 November 1952, page 1, private collection.
795 Ibid. Tito’s biography in *Picture Post* came out in four instalments. The last instalment was published in the 28 March. See: “Tito’s Own Story,” *Picture Post* 58, no. 10 (7 March 1953): 13+.
796 Phillips to Dedijer, 11 November 1952, page 1, private collection.
798 Barnes to Phillips, 19 February 1953, private collection.
Despite the media hype, it helped the book only temporarily, for the public interest dwindled and sales dropped “suddenly the day after the departure of the old man,” noted the British publisher.\(^{799}\)

**The Tito Movie**

Phillips and Dedijer had other grand projects on mind. They planned to film Tito’s story, produced by Louis de Rochemont with the Yugoslav film industry. Preliminary negotiations were already under way in October 1952. The initial financial offer made by Rochemont to the Yugoslavs and Dedijer included a “20% of the producers share” in addition to the payment of all financial expenditures incurred during the filming.\(^{800}\) Unsatisfied, the Yugoslavs asked Phillips to renegotiate a higher percentage on their behalf. As the disagreements about the movie’s finances brought the film idea to a halt, Phillips moved into action. Determined to commit the Yugoslavs to work with de Rochemont, he pointed out that the director’s status as an influential film-maker was acknowledged in U.S. media including the *Saturday Evening Post, Time,* and *Reader’s Digest*.\(^{801}\)

As no screenplay is known, it is not possible to analyze the style or content of the Tito movie,\(^{802}\) but the selection of de Rochemont as its producer and possible director indicates Phillips’ preference for a semi-documentary genre. De Rochemont began his film career as a newsreel cameraman; in 1934 he and Roy E. Larsen created the Academy Award winning series *The March of Time.*\(^{803}\) A typical *March of Time* episode covered one subject, was twenty-five minutes long, and combined documentary footage with acted dramatizations of events.\(^{804}\) During

\(^{799}\) Phillips to Dedijer, 28 April 1953, page 1, private collection.
\(^{800}\) Phillips to Dedijer, 19 October 1952, page 4, private collection.
\(^{801}\) Ibid.
\(^{802}\) Following my initial research in Phillips’ private archives in The Phillips and Annamaria Foundation, New York, I have requested copies of unchecked documents possibly detailing aspects of the movie from “File 21: Yugoslavia. Research Material for Film Idea: “The Trial.” To this day my request was not answered by the custodians.
\(^{803}\) Katz, *The Film Encyclopedia,* 361.
the war de Rochemont directed and produced documentary features, including *The Ramparts We Watch* (1940) for the *March of Time*, and in 1943 *The Fighting Lady*, a 20th Century Fox film created in collaboration with the U.S. Navy. De Rochemont later became known for his innovative semi-documentary approach in Hollywood features such as *The House on the 92nd Street*, a spy movie about the FBI shot on-location with FBI agents and Hollywood actors. De Rochemont’s penchant for the documentary, on-site shooting, and the dramatic reconstruction of events allows us to imagine the collage quality and epic scale of his Tito movie, had it been made. It is possible that, in addition to filming dramatized sequences on authentic locations in Yugoslavia, de Rochemont would have incorporated Partisan news reels documenting the events in the National Liberation War in Yugoslavia, to reinforce a sense of authenticity in the rendering of Tito’s war leadership. These ideas about the structure and style of the movie remain, for now, only assumptions.

Phillips asked Dedijer to support the movie project: “I would be very sorry to see such a project fail, as I feel we have both done such a good job on the book we could certainly repeat it on the picture.” Dedijer was interested. In November 1952, advised by de Rochemont, Phillips flew to London to meet Borden Mace, an American movie producer working with de Rochemont, to discuss the Tito movie and show him photographs, provided by Dedijer, of the Filmski Grad, the Yugoslav movie studio on the outskirts of the capital city. Impressed, Mace planned a preliminary trip to Belgrade where he was to meet with Dedijer and “look over first hand all the installations at Filmski Grad, etc. […] to get an idea of the shooting facilities.”

Judging Mace’s report about the Yugoslav facilities and his enthusiasm decisive when “talking money, and contracts” with the producer, Phillips advised Dedijer to orchestrate a “first rate

---

805 Phillips mentions *The House on the 92nd Street* in to Dedijer in a discussion of movie royalties for authors. Phillips to Dedijer, 19 October 1952, page 4, private collection.
806 Ibid.
807 Phillips to Dedijer, 11 November 1952, page 2, private collection.
reception in Belgrade” for him. These details about Mace’s scouting visit to Belgrade indicate that the Yugoslavs were ready to finalize the deal with de Rochemont. The final negotiations between de Rochemont, Phillips and Dedijer took place in New York following Phillips’ arrival from Paris around 18 November 1952, and the contract was probably signed before the end of the year.

In April 1953, however, Phillips wrote to Dedijer about “two problems” plaguing the move project; the first involved Hollywood concerns that the public craze over 3-D movies such as Arch Obolero’s low-budget action film Bawan Devil released in March 1953 may threaten the “flat” studio films, and the second was of a political nature. Phillips explained that “the Russian peace offensive” following Stalin’s death in March of 1953 did not do much good to a Tito movie replete, as the Dedijer book was, with details damning of Stalin and the USSR. While the indicting of Stalin and the Russians in Tito’s biography in 1952 was considered important by its U.S. publishers and Phillips, it was inappropriate in the new climate of a slow de-Stalinization of the Soviet Union and its rapprochement with the U.S. Despite circumstances unfavourable to the movie, Rochemont was “doing all in his power to get the Columbia people to go along on the deal.” The movie was never made. Had it been, made, it would have represented the most ambitious aspect of cooperation between the U.S. and Yugoslav film industries, begun after the end of the war and continuous through to the end of the century, and

808 Ibid.
809 Ibid.
811 Phillips to Dedijer, 28 April 1953, page 2, private collection.
812 Ibid.
would possibly also be regarded today as a landmark in the popular glorification of the Yugoslav communist leader in the West.

That the film was planned at all is striking, as Tito allegedly disliked the idea of seeing himself on the big screen. His aversion arose from the rendering of the Partisan war and his Marshal character, played by the Russian actor Ivan Bersenev, in the 1946 Mosfilm movie *V Gorah Jugoslavii*, “In the mountains of Yugoslavia,” directed by Avram Room. Perhaps Tito personally approved the film expecting that his American friends would render the history of the Partisan War and his fight with the Comintern as sympathetically on the big screen as they had done in print.

---

814 Tito disapproved of the movie and its rendering of his character in his conversations with Veljko Buajic. See: Archive of Yugoslavia, Fond Kabineta Predsjednika, Box 3, “Stenografske beleske razgovora predsednika Republike Josipa broza Tita sa clanovima filmskih zajednica “Bitka na Neretvi” i “Sutjeska” i direkторa nasih filmskih preduzeca,” [Minutes of the President’s Meeting with the Movie Cooperatives “Sutjeska” and “Neretva” and Yugoslav Film Production Companies], page 34. Yugoslav movie critics and filmmakers likewise objected to it, seeing in its belittling depiction of the Yugoslav resistance a form of Soviet filmic imperialism.

Yousuf Karsh photographed Tito in two sessions in Belgrade in 1954 and 1962. At the time, both men were internationally renowned, Karsh as one of the most influential celebrity photographers of the century, and Tito as a world statesmen.816

Born in Armenia in 1908, Karsh immigrated to Canada in 1925. Following his apprenticeship with the American studio photographer John H. Garo in Boston, Karsh returned to Ottawa in 1931 and opened his own studio in 1933. He quickly became known on Parliament Hill. Canadian socialites frequented his studio, and his photographs of celebrities were featured in such prestigious illustrated magazines as the Canadian weekly *Saturday Night*.817 During World War Two, Karsh developed an international reputation. With the help of the Leonard W. Brockington of the Department of External Affairs, and the Canadian Wartime Information Board, Karsh went to London to photograph Britain’s wartime leaders for the Canadian archives.818 Following this seminal trip, *Life* hired Karsh to make a similar series of portraits of America’s wartime leaders in Washington D.C., and to go to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco.819 His photographs of British and U.S. government officials were published in *Life*, beginning in 1942 with a famous portrait of Winston Churchill, taken after he had addressed the Canadian House of Commons, in the Speaker’s Chambers.820 These were followed in 1944 by Karsh’s notable series of official portraits of Churchill government ministers and

---


818 Ibid.

819 Ibid.

British army commanders, “The Leaders of Britain.” After the end of the war, Karsh photographed the key personalities in the Roosevelt administration, as well as President Truman. Karsh’s portrait of him as a pensive and gentle man with a trustworthy face, was published on the cover of the 23 April 1945 issue mourning Roosevelt’s death and marking the beginnings of Truman’s presidency. These numerous photographs of Canadian, British, and the U.S. leaders established his reputation as the photographer of the Anglo-American political establishment.

Karsh’s style was dramatic and focused on technical perfection. It was forever marked by his apprenticeship with Boston studio photographer Johan H. Garo and his experience as the official photographer for the Ottawa Drama League productions staged at the Ottawa Little Theatre and the Dominion Drama Festival in the early 1930s. Garo directed Karsh to study the classical tradition of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century portraiture and the Old Masters in the city’s museums and art books for formal and compositional solutions as well as expressive deployment of light. Karsh’s knowledge of the traditional portrait painting was augmented by his experience as a theatrical photographer in Ottawa. There he mastered the use of artificial light sources to communicate the mood of his subjects, and learned the drama and symbolism of theatrical body language. Henceforth merging the traditional and theatrical arts, Karsh would experiment with staging his sitters and light arrangements to attain symbolic and dramatic effects in his character studies. Over the years he perfected the close-up and mid distance shoots of the sitter’s face, torso, and hands, taken against a simple background, which allowed for a play of contrasting light and dark areas in the manner of Rembrandt.

---

822 For Karsh’s photograph of Truman see cover page and the article, “Roosevelt’s men” *Life* 18, no. 17 (23 April 1945): 73-81. In contrast to W. Eugene Smith’s almost comical photograph of Truman for the cover of *Life* 25, no. 21 (22 Nov. 1948) Karsh’s portrait is compassionate and dignified.
824 Maria Tippet, 62-63, 67-72.
825 This particular approach earned Karsh the appellation of the Rembrandt of Photography. Ibid, 43.
Although Karsh believed that portrait photography could and ought to show the ‘unique’ and ‘true nature’ of his sitters, pushed by Garo towards the classical painting he perpetuated certain representational stereotypes quoting freely the tradition of Western portraiture of social elite. Portraiture of the French nobility and bourgeois by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres provided him with many examples. As a result, Karsh amassed a huge collection of society portraits sharing similar iconography, and a certain gender convention associated with the traditional portrait painting gave his female and male portraits a distinct look. While Karsh’s portraits of male subjects were particularly direct and revealing akin to Hans Holbein’s naturalism, as he used harsher light to illuminate the sitter’s face and a fewer props, his photographs of female sitters were more flattering with a softer light, styling, gracious pose and makeup enhancing their natural appearance, in the manner of the van Dyck and the British portraitists. This was the case with his portraits of Tito and Jovanka, as we show in detail later. Karsh also investigated the interests and history of his sitters in order to personalize the genre of celebrity portrait.\(^{826}\) Karsh’s personal respect for his subjects shaped their portraits, making him a favourite society photographer sought after by influential personalities.

**Karsh’s Books: Historical Record and Selective Vision**

After the war, portraiture remained central to Karsh’s practice, but gained a larger significance as the vehicle of his lifetime ambition to create a comprehensive pictorial record of the twentieth-century distinguished and influential personalities in the format of the photo book. Despite the breath of Karsh’s books and his universalist humanist approach, the vision of modern history and leadership in them was burdened by political, cultural, and gender bias.

---

\(^{826}\) For Karsh’s descriptions of his working method and goals, see, for example, Karsh, *Faces of Destiny*, 6.
His first book, *Faces of Destiny*, published in 1946, featured his war portraits of the Allied commanders and leaders.\textsuperscript{827} In his introduction, Karsh described his sitters as “the world’s most distinguished men and women” with “vital, interesting, and human” personalities, and their portraits as “contemporary historical documents.”\textsuperscript{828} In describing them this way, Karsh made an explicit claim that his work was extremely important. To Karsh, the photographic medium seemed to rival literature as a vehicle for narrating Western men’s leading place in modern history, and his role was that of a photographer-historian. Like other modern photographers including John Phillips who claimed his 1944 photographs of Tito on the island of Vis made the Yugoslav leader a historical personality, Karsh was sensitive to the power of his photographs to confer importance on his subjects, and likewise pursued the distinction his powerful subjects brought to him.\textsuperscript{829} At the same time, Karsh believed in the transparency of the medium, its capacity to render true character and not only appearances, and, implicitly, in his neutral stance towards his subjects and their social role.

*Faces of Destiny* was followed by *Portraits of Greatness* in 1959, *Karsh Portfolio* in 1967, *Faces of Our Time* in 1971, *Karsh Portraits* in 1976, *Karsh Canadians* in 1978, and *Karsh: American Legends: Photographs and Commentary* in 1992.\textsuperscript{830} With the exception of the first and last, the University of Toronto Press (UTP) published all of Karsh’s books. Although Karsh was closely involved with all of his publishing ventures, from the preliminary ideas through to the design of the book, his editors at UTP played an important role in shaping each

\textsuperscript{828} Karsh, *Faces of Destiny*, 5-6.
\textsuperscript{829} For Phillips and Tito on Vis see Chapter 2.
one of these publications. The creative relationship between Karsh and his UTP editors is especially important with respect to Karsh’s engagement with Tito.\textsuperscript{831}


Karsh imagined \textit{Portraits of Greatness} as a book celebrating personalities “who have made the greatest contribution to contemporary society […] science, medicine, religion philosophy and all of the art,” and a “selection of great industrialists.”\textsuperscript{832} The scope of the book was ambitious; it was to contain around one hundred black-and-white portraits and four in colour, with texts written by Karsh, “revealing anecdotes and comments concerning the subject” and providing technical information about each photograph.\textsuperscript{833} Karsh envisioned his new book was an item of general interest reaching “the widest possible world market at a price not beyond the average citizen.”\textsuperscript{834} Entrepreneurial by experience, he wanted to make it a perfect Christmas item that many would want to buy and would be able to afford. Beyond the book’s commercial potential, both Karsh and his publisher recognized its potential as “the most unique public relations project”\textsuperscript{835} - an attractive vehicle of personal promotion for the select few featured in it. \textit{Portraits of Greatness} and other Karsh’s books offered his subjects a sophisticated way of widespread and enduring self-promotion in conjunction with the exhibitions that routinely followed his publications.

\textsuperscript{831} The University of Toronto Archives contain the fonds from the UTP Archive, including material on Karsh books published buy UTP. See: The University of Toronto Archives, University of Toronto Press Fonds, Accession #: A-89-0009. Boxes 005-015 contain the Files of the Director, The Associate Director, Assistant Director and the Editor from 1942-1973. They are arranged in alphabetical order. A key to files is enclosed in the accession case, file dated October 1967.

\textsuperscript{832} “A Proposed Book by Yousuf Karsh,” Container 313, File 24, “General Correspondence 1951-1967” (4 of 5). YKF. R613. NAC. The proposal also outlines the production related details for the book. The engravings of the photos were to be made in Zurich. The cost of the project was estimated at $40,000 for 500 copies or $60,000 for 10,000 copies. The book was planned to be made available in early December.

\textsuperscript{833} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{834} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{835} Ibid.
Choosing Subjects for *Portraits of Greatness*: The Preliminary “Knopf’s List”

The first major step in the fifteen-year enterprise of *Portraits of Greatness* was to prepare the list of sitters and to facilitate access to them, with the assistance of the Canadian Embassies and Diplomats in the countries Karsh visited. The initial list of subjects, the so called “Knopf List” of 20 January 1954 was compiled by Alfred Knopf, the American publisher and founder of the Knopf Publishing House. Solange Karsh, in a letter dated 18 February 1954 to Karsh’s agent Leon Danniel, a photojournalist of Pix Incorporated (New York), included a copy of the Knopf list asking him to comment on and return “the more or less final list [of the sitters].” According to Knopf’s list, the personalities - what we would now consider celebrities - Karsh was considering for the book were divided into the following groups: Playwrights, Actors, Movie Stars, Theatre and Movie Personalities, Dancers, Writers, Scientists, Artists and Sculptors, Humanitarians, Architects, Sports Figures, Explorers, Musicians, Portraits already appearing in *Faces of Destiny*, and Politicians, Statesmen, and Public Figures. Included in this last category are President Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson, Bernard Baruch, Jawaharlal Nehru, Helen Keller, Walter Lippmann, Juan Domingo Peron, Spain’s Franco, and Tito. Harry Truman, Henry and Clare Luce, and Queen Elizabeth and Prince Phillip appear in the same category with a question mark next to their names. A dash follows the names of Muhammad Naguib, Daniel François Malan, Haile Selassie, Hirohito, Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-Shek. Solange explained to Mr. Daniel: “A tick (√) means Yousuf has already made the photograph, (-) out, (?) to be further considered.”

---

836 Solange Karsh to Mr. Leon Daniel, Pix Incorporated, 18 February 1954, Container 313-File 21, “General Correspondence 1951-1967” (1 of 5), YKF, R 613, NAC.
837 The name of the American architect Frank Lloyd Wright appears as the sole entry under this category on the Knopf’s List. Ibid.
838 With marks next to their name, the personalities that appear under this subheading on Knopf’s list are “Winston Churchill, Eleanor Roosevelt (?), John L. Lewis (?), G.B. Shaw, David Low (-).” Ibid.
839 Ibid.
840 The suggested additions for the book included a number of prominent personalities grouped in the following categories: Canadians who should be included, Miscellaneous, and Industrialists represented by one of the Duponts, Charles E. Wilson, and Henry Ford II. Ibid.
The preliminary list of personalities for *Portraits of Greatness* was diverse. Its roster of contemporary politicians and statesmen was dominated by the leaders of the Anglo-American world but included political leaders from African countries, China and Japan. These later, however, were rejected in the preliminary stages of the book preparation. Moreover, the list included Tito and other ‘dictators,’ Franco in Spain and Peron in Argentina.\(^{841}\)

**Tito’s Place in The Book, A Karsh Choice?**

The list of sitters for *Portraits of Greatness* was revised many times between 1949 and 1956. Tito appears on all of the subject lists deposited in the Karsh Fonds in the NAC, as an indication of Karsh’s intention to include a photograph of him in the new book and of the special status the Yugoslav President commanded in Karsh’s view of contemporary history.\(^{842}\) For example, in one of the NAC preliminary lists, Tito appears in the category “important yet to be made” in the company of Eleanor Roosevelt, Konrad Adenauer, and Eamon de Valera, in one of the NAC preliminary lists. The other subjects in the same list are grouped in order of importance in the three remaining categories marked as “important already taken,” “less important yet to be made,” and “less important.” Strangely, the last category includes President Truman and Sir Anthony Eden.\(^{843}\) Another personality list from the same file, includes in the following order “Eisenhower, B. Baruch, Tito, Queen Elizabeth,” under the category of “already photographed important.” Finally, Tito appears again in the company of other European “dictators,” Spain’s Franco and Portugal’s Salazar,\(^{844}\) together with Germany’s Adenauer, as the only European subjects on the third list of “Personalities required for the Book. Of Prime Importance.”\(^{845}\)

Karsh’s interest in the Yugoslav leader reflects, to some extent, Tito’s prestige in the West as an Allied leader of the Partisan army during the war, and the fact that Tito’s popularity,

---

\(^{841}\) Juan Domingo Perón was Argentinean President between 1946 and 1955, and between 1973 and 1974.


\(^{843}\) Ibid.

\(^{844}\) António de Oliveira Salazar was the Prime Minister and dictator of Portugal between 1932-1968.

\(^{845}\) “Personalities required for the Book. Of Prime Importance.” Container 314-8, YKF, R 613, NAC.
although not uncontested, was solidified in such Western media as *Life* following his break with Stalin in 1948. Albeit sounding slightly anti-communist when he called him a “Yugo-Slav-Dictator,” Karsh was eager to meet and photograph Tito for the book in the summer of 1954. Following his visit to Yugoslavia, Karsh wrote in high spirits to Wilfrid Bovey in December 1954 about his vast photographic project: “As you know, I have spent several years recording for our contemporaries and for our posterity the portraits of the most significant personalities of our time.” Attached to this letter was a list of sitters that again included Tito. As late as 27 April 1956, Tito’s name appeared under the neutral-sounding appellation of “statesmen” in the company of other world leaders such as “President Eisenhower, Sir. W. Churchill, Queen Elizabeth, Nehru, Adenauer, and Hon Vincent Massey,” on the list of “Personalities already photographed for possible inclusion in the new book.”

**1954: Karsh in Yugoslavia**

Karsh’s working method reversed the tradition of studio portrait photography where the sitter sought out the photographer. Karsh travelled with his assistants and equipment to photograph his sitters in their familiar environments. Karsh’s willingness to arrange individual sittings according to the schedule and desires of his sitters enabled him to engage with them and create a sense of closeness and domestic ease in his photographs, though the setting were often subtly and carefully staged. By his 1954 trip to Europe, Karsh he had fully mastered his role of as itinerant photographer of the international establishment:

> The European trip was an extremely arduous one, but tremendously interesting and photographically rewarding. I photographed some 54 outstanding personalities […] you may be interested to know that among other people photographed were; Marshal Tito (in

---


848 “List/personalities List,” Container 314-File 12, YKF, R 613, NAC.
Yugoslavia on his b-day), Dr. Abot Schweitzer, Sir Laurence Olivier, Vivien Leigh, . . . Picasso . . . Dior

The initial arrangements for Karsh’s first visit to Yugoslavia were made by his assistant Joyce Large and the Yugoslav Embassy in Ottawa. At that time, Yousuf and Solange Karsh were already in Paris taking photos for *Portraits of Greatness*. On 20 May 1954, Joyce sent a telegraph to Karsh informing him that Tito was available only on 25 May 1954. Following the hasty preparations for his meeting with the Yugoslav President made with the help of J. Scott Macdonald, Canadian Ambassador in Yugoslavia, and the officials in Yugoslav External Affairs, Karsh took the Orient Express to Yugoslavia on 23 May 1954. Solange stayed in Paris while Karsh travelled alone to Yugoslavia still uncertain of many details regarding his visit.

Karsh arrived in Belgrade on the morning of 25 May 1954. Although the then Yugoslav Ambassador in Canada Dr. Rajko Djermanovic had enthusiastically recommended Karsh to Dr. Joza Vilfan, the Head of the Cabinet of the President of Yugoslavia, his visit with Tito was beset with problems. Initially invited to Tito’s birthday ceremony on 25 May 1954, Yugoslav authorities expected Karsh to take only “a few snapshots during the reception” at the Marshalat in Belgrade following the official celebration. Karsh, however, pressed them for more time alone with Tito. A copy of *Faces of Destiny* swayed the Yugoslavs; “We can understand why

---

849 Karsh to John S. Meikle Esq, 24 September 1954, page 2, 48-29 M (1 of 2) Correspondence 1954. YKF, R 613, NAC.
851 Large to Karsh, telegraph, 20 May 1954, Container 314, File 15: “Marshal Tito.” YKF, R 613, NAC.
853 The spelling of the name of the Yugoslav ambassador to Canada in the documents from the Karsh fonds is not consistent. It appears in two forms, as either Dr. Djermanovic or Dr. Jermanovic. His full name was Dr. Rajko Djermanovic.
854 Document “Dr. Jova Vilfan, Cabinet of the President of the Republic, Belgrade,” page 2, File 15: “Marshal Tito.” YKF, R 613, NAC. The invitation to the birthday celebration is included in the file.
you want time and preparation to make such pictures,” he was told approvingly, “we can also understand the reasons for the extreme enthusiasm expressed in the letters from Dr. Jermanovic.” Finally, Karsh was given a new appointment on 27 May 1954 to photograph Tito in a private session in his Belgrade residence in the presence of Dr. Joza Vilfan.

Karsh reported the change in his schedule to Solange, but she promptly warned him that a prolonged stay in Yugoslavia was conflicting with the appointments already made with Lord Ismay and Marshal Montgomery. Karsh, however, considered his session with Tito a priority and an opportunity not to be missed. He was back in Paris the following weekend in spite of Solange’s concern. “After much trials and tribulations,” Karsh wrote to Joyce on 30 May 1954, the visit with Tito in Belgrade “was a great success.”

Karsh’s Questions for Tito: Searching For the Twentieth-Century Man of Destiny

Karsh had a custom of sending prepared questionnaires to his sitters to broaden his knowledge of their personal lives, interests, and careers, and to prepare himself “mentally for a sitting” by “‘discovering’ the subject, visually and emotionally.” Although it is possible that Karsh wrote some of these questionnaires himself, the correspondence between Solange and

---

855 Ibid, 2.
856 We know that Karsh photographed Tito on 27 May 1954, as this date appears in the photographer’s record about the negatives and orders he received at his studio in Ottawa. The order no. 21821 for the negative no. 11021 for Tito’s photograph made on 27 May 1954 in Yugoslavia is recorded in 153-13 “Order Numbers. Negative Numbers Book 1946-1956,” Pages 132-167, YKF, NAC.
857 Karsh replied: “Regret photo possible only Thursday (note: may 27th, 1954) arrive Saturday morning love Yousuf.” In the related letter to Joyce Large, Solange also notes their troubles in arranging meetings with the French personalities. New “NATO people” were added to the list of people to be photographed, but with no intention to include them in the book. Solange explains, “some of them (are) hardly for the book but will become useful for selling purposes.” As the whole trip was operated on a tight budget, and a crazy-busy schedule, Solange declared “this rushed trip to Belgrade has certainly cost plenty […]. It would have been much cheaper to have done it by car from Italy.” She was equally dismayed over the difficulties they were facing with arranging the sittings with their chosen Italian, German and Irish subjects. See: Solange to Karsh, 26 May, 1954 and Karsh to Solange, 26 May 1954, telegraph; and Solange Karsh to Joyce, 24 May 1954. Container 49, File 29. “Travelling Correspondence, 1954,” YKF, R 613, NAC.
858 Karsh to Joyce, 30 May 1954, Container 49, File 29: “Travelling Correspondence, 1954,” YKF, R 613, NAC. His positive remarks are mostly about personal impressions of Tito and their sitting, as at this point the photos he took in Belgrade were probably not ready yet.
859 Portraits of Greatness, 12.
Joyce indicates that, in Tito’s case, he had asked Ted Bullock and Tom Blau, the founder of Camera Press and Karsh’s representative in Europe, for help.860 While waiting for a word from Bullock, Solange confided to Joyce that Blau “has come across with his efficient and clever style,” and “sent questions re Tito (I phoned him) by wire which were a masterpiece of diplomacy […] from the wire you could not have had the slightest inkling as to the personage involved!”861 Karsh had also asked Blau and Bullock to write questions for a number of other European sitters for the *Portraits of Greatness* in 1954. As with the Tito sitting, Blau alone wrote the questions.862

The questions in the Tito-Karsh interview address such diverse political, social and personal subjects such as the role of “new (atomic) weapons” in international politics and the preservation of world peace; the “traditional enmity between nations” and the ways to “overcome” it; the relevance of intuition and knowledge of history to modern statesmanship; Tito’s passion for chess; and the improvement of the world for the future generations.863 Other questions seek to illuminate Tito’s self-perception and sense of self-worth. For example, Karsh proposed the invincible conqueror Alexander the Great as his “historical counterpart” and a role model, but Tito replied humbly that he “always admired many historical figures but never myself thought in these terms.”864 Karsh was similarly thwarted when he asked Tito to name “the

---

860 In addition to handling the release of Karsh’s photographs in Europe at the time, Tom Blau also used to do preliminary research on Karsh’s subjects, helping the photographer prepare for the shootings. I am grateful to Mr. Jerry Fielder for sharing his information with me about the identity of Mr. Blau in a phone conversation in May 2007.
862 Ted Bullock failed to respond to Karsh’s request for the questions, according to the exchange on this topic from letters between Joyce Large and Solange written in the summer of 1954. See: Large to Karshes, 26 May 1954; Solange to Large, 30 May, 1954; Large to Karshes, 3 June 1954; Solange to Large, 24 June 1954. Container 49, File 29: “Travelling Correspondence,” YKF, R 613, NAC.
863 A copy of Blau’s questions and Tito’s brief answers to Karsh is in the Yousuf Karsh fonds in the National Archive of Canada. See: “Questions and Notes on Special. The Book “Q &N” file,” Box 314, File 15, “Marshal Tito,” YKF, R 613, NAC.
864 “Questions and Notes on Special. The Book “Q &N” file,” Box 314, File 15, “Marshal Tito,” YKF, R 613, NAC.
twentieth-century man of destiny.” Tactfully avoiding a direct answer, the sixty-three-years-old Tito laconically replied: “Let us wait for the end of the twentieth century, then come and see me. I will give you the answer.”

**Karsh’s Tito: Man of the People or Hollywood Actor**

Karsh’s handwritten note, “I want to photograph the man of the people,” reveals his preconception of Tito’s personality and the nature of his leadership. Yet during the sitting Karsh found himself in the company of an elegantly dressed man who wore “great coat” and “wedgey hat,” smoked Solange’s Canadian cigarettes in his “signature cigarette holder,” and chatted with ease about his busy life as a statesman during the sitting. Karsh was impressed with Tito’s appearance and bearing: “If you ever visit Hollywood, they will most certainly want to keep you there.” The glamorous images of Tito Karsh produced in 1954 did not match the modest and populist ideal he expected the Yugoslav President to embody.

**Facing Destiny: Iconography of Tito’s 1954 Portraits and Faces of Destiny Template**

Mindful, as usual, of the range of possible “official and press requirements” of his photographs, Karsh took a large number of black-and-white portraits of Tito in both military and civilian clothing. Tito’s portraits recycle various representational stereotypes Karsh used to depict world leaders. Specifically, the similarities between the iconography of Tito’s images and

---

865 Ibid.
866 Ibid.
867 Note from Box 314, File 15, “Marshal Tito,” YKF, R 613, NAC.
868 The populist flair underscoring Karsh’s view about Tito in 1954 owes something to the conventional depictions of Tito as a Yugoslav patriot and a proven national leader established and cultivated in the U.S. press towards the end of the war. The fact that in person Tito did not fit the stereotype of the-man-of-the-people did not disappoint Karsh. He was genuinely impressed by him and liked his company anyway.
869 Document with “Impressions” about Karsh’s sitting with Tito in 1954, Box 314, File 15, “Marshal Tito,” YKF, R 613, NAC.
870 For the purposes of my research I have consulted Karsh’s images of Tito on file with his previous representative, Comstock Photofile Ltd., in Toronto, and a group of images in the National Archives of Canada. The Comstock does not exist any more. The NAC barcode for the boxes with Tito’s photographs are 2000765435 and 2000773452.
certain portraits from *Faces of Destiny* suggest that the book was an iconographical source both the photographer and his sitter revisited.

**The Assertive Leader**

Karsh photographed Tito in his Marshal uniform against a plain background, smoking a cigarette in a cigarette holder shaped like a miniature pipe (fig. 89). In a related image Tito sits at a table with silver astray before him (fig. 90). His inquisitive expression, stocky figure, forceful pose with one hand leaning on the table, the other resting on the back of a chair, and the neutral background make this photograph compositionally similar to Ingres’s portraits of the high-bourgeois male subjects, banker *Jacques-Louis Leblanc* (1823), and *Louis-François Bertin* (1832), the influential newspaperman, in particular. While Tito’s photo is compositionally closer to the portrait of Leblanc seated at the table, Ingre’s *Bertin* and Karsh’s *Tito* share similar assertive energy, with their imposing square bodies, heavy hands and piercing gaze projecting authority. Another photograph from the same group shows the Marshal in profile, a transparent arabesque of the smoke rising from his burning cigarette visible against a neutral dark-grey background. Like in many 1940s and 1950s Karsh portraits of male writers and actors such as British playwright Noel Coward (1943), André Marlaux (1954), Thomas Man (1946), Tennessee Williams (1956), Clark Gable (1948), Peter Lorre (1946), Humphrey Bogart (1946), and John Ernst Steinbeck (1954), smoking appears in this photo of Tito as an attribute of his manliness.

---

872 Karsh prints No. 7, Box 1 Prints. Yousuf Karsh. 1987-054, YKF, R 613, NAC.
873 Karsh, print No. 24, Box 1 Prints. Yousuf Karsh. 1987-054, YKF, R 613, NAC. Image is also available online, from the Boston Museum of Art. This photograph is variously dated in 1954 or 1962 in NAC, but the later date is a mistake, referring to the date of the making of a copy of it and not the date when the shooting took place.
875 Karsh prints No. 1, Box 1 Prints. Yousuf Karsh. 1987-054, YKF, R 613, NAC. Ordering from NAC for the final copy.
and confidence. Its decorative rendering of the cigarette smoke and compact head-and-shoulders composition are particularly reminiscent of Karsh’s 1946 portrait of Humphrey Bogart, the “tender-tough hero” of the Hollywood film noir. Both men embodied the American mature masculine ideal of the time.

Another image of Tito in uniform from the series shows him looking at the camera with an expression of keen interest and concentration. He strikes a dynamic pose, propping one leg up and leaning forwards, while supporting his broad chest on arms crossed over the knee, a cigarette holder in his right hand. Despite the old-fashioned uniform, Tito is rather fashionably accessorized, sporting a man’s diamond ring and a watch peaking out from underneath the cuff of his left sleeve (figs. 91 and 92). Tito’s pose embodies his reputation as a self-confident and experienced man. It is, however, identical to that of Field Marshal and Viscount of Tunis and Errigal, Harold Rupert Leofric George Alexander, in Karsh’s *Faces of Destiny*, whom Karsh described as an accomplished “soldier, sportsman, democrat” possessing “the charm and the strength of character of a well-rounded and pleasant personality.”

Viscount’s image and personality was a powerful role model rendered in the book. As *Faces of Destiny* was shown to Tito’s advisors prior to the Marshal’s sitting with the photographer, it is possible that they, or Dr. Djermanovic, had likewise passed it on to Tito in order to introduce Karsh. Granting this happened, it is also quite possible that the book had made a strong impression on Tito who internalized the attributes in Karsh’s many photographs of powerful men and projected their grace and stance as his own during his session with the

---

878 One exception to this gender convention is Karsh’s 1948 portrait of Joan Crawford. See, Yousuf Karsh, *Karsh. A Fifty-Year Retrospective*, 168.
879 Ibid, 179.
880 Karsh was commissioned by *Life* to go to Hollywood and take images of twenty movie stars. See Maria Tippet, 192-202.
881 See discussion of Tito’s iconography in *Life* in Chapter 5.
882 Karsh prints, No. 20, and No. 19 a variation showing Tito in the same pose but looking to the side. Box 1. Prints. Yousuf Karsh. 1987-054, YKF, R 613, NAC.
photographer. The only significant difference between Tito’s and Viscount’s portrait in *Faces of Destiny* is the clothes; while the former posed in his Marshal uniform, the later wore a tweed jacket.

A similar pose suggesting strength, power and masculine vitality, is employed in Karsh’s portrait of Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller “of the famous American oil family,” also in *Faces of Destiny*, taken “against a large map of the Americas” to reflect his “principal interest” as the Assistant Secretary of State and the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs in 1945.\(^88^4\) The pose reappears in a three-quarter portrait of Thomas Terry Connally, U.S. senator and American delegate to the UN.\(^88^5\) Impressing Karsh “by his stature and authority,” Connally is shown standing in profile, his leg raised on a chair, his face supported in the palm of a hand. In his other hand, he holds a pair of round black glasses.\(^88^6\) Rockefeller’s and Connally’s portraits, like those of Viscount Alexander and Tito, typify the iconography of what might be called “executive leadership” in Karsh portraits of modern politicians and businessman.

**The Thinker**

A close-up image of Tito’s head in profile, also taken in 1954, represents a more sombre view of Karsh’s subject.\(^88^7\) The dramatic light falling from above sharply outlines Tito’s aquiline profile against the dark background, illuminating his high forehead, his focused expression with his eyes gazing straight ahead, and strong chin supported by the thumbs of his clasped hands (fig. 93). The power of the composition, symbolizing Tito’s determination and intellectual strength, is due to its tight cropping that eliminates less flattering details, such the folds of skin on the back of his neck that are visible in the original.\(^88^8\) Its iconography embodies the thinker stereotype found frequently in other Karsh’s portraits. Among the intellectuals photographed for *Portraits*
of Greatness, Gilbert Murray, the Oxford philosopher and scholar of Greek language and literature, exemplifies this stereotype. In this portrait Karsh focuses on Murray’s self-contained, downward gaze to portray him as immersed in thoughts. Supported by his aged hands, Murray’s head is situated in the very center of the image. A web of deep wrinkles covers his face and forehead, reinforcing the expressive powers of the portrait and creating the image of aged wisdom.

Karsh used the thinker type to represent modern statesmen who, in his opinion, possessed exceptional personalities, embodied charismatic leadership and had great public appeal. This is evident in his striking image of Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, published in Portraits of Greatness in 1959 and in Karsh Portfolio in 1967. Impressed by Nehru, a “philosopher, statesman, and practical politician by turns, and no doubt a giant of history,” Karsh depicted his gentle character, will, and thoughtfulness in a composition almost identical with his 1954 portrait of Tito. It shows Nehru’s delicate head crowned with the eponymous white cap, in profile against a bare background, his chin supported by clasped hands. Nehru’s downward gaze indicates pensive withdrawal. His face seems radiant in the Rembrantesque light that symbolizes the near-divine inspiration of the Prime Minister who, for Karsh, was an influential “interpreter of Western and Asiatic worlds.”

Finally, Karsh’s photograph of John Fitzgerald Kennedy published in Karsh Portfolio in 1967 and in Faces of Our Time in 1971 represents a modern icon of sublime leadership based on the same iconographic formula. Karsh took this photograph during the 1960 Presidential race, capturing Kennedy at the moment when “the door opened and Johnson came in,” and the

889 Karsh, Portraits of Greatness, 136-137.
891 Karsh, Portraits of Greatness, 140.
892 Ibid.
President looked up at his running mate “as they discussed some details of campaign strategy.” Excluding Johnson’s presence, Karsh infused Kennedy’s portrait with a mood of piety depicting him with hands clasped in front of his chest in a gesture evocative of a prayer. Gazing skyward, his profile bathed in halo-like light against a tar-dark background, his image evokes Francisco de Zurbarán’s seventeen-century single-figure portraits of Christian saints. Taken three years before Kennedy’s assassination in 1963, the portrait’s symbolism, quasi-religious composition and solemn mood, render it today a strange premonition of his personal sacrifice.

A variation of the same ‘thinker’ type is the *Faces of Destiny*, head-and-shoulders portrait in of Harold Leclair Ickes, U.S. Secretary of the Interior (1933-1945) seated in an armchair, facing the camera, and supporting his chin in the palm of a hand. The photograph’s composition and the sitter’s pose, his intense and curious gaze bespeaking of determination and intellectual engagement, were repeated in a series of portraits of a pensive Tito seated in an armchair, supporting his chin, and gazing to the side or at the camera (fig. 94). These portraits were designed to emphasize Tito’s personal charisma, but also communicated his arrogance and self-esteem. One was published in tandem with the close-up portrait of him as a visionary thinker in the May 1980 issue of *Paris Match* mourning Tito’s death (fig. 95).

The Stately Image of Tito

In contrast to the contemplative mood of Karsh’s portraits of Tito as a pensive leader, his three-quarter-length photograph of the proud Marshal in uniform against an ornate doorframe emphasizes regal stature, and alludes to his stately authority (fig. 96). Striking the signature

---

894 Karsh, *Faces of Our Time*, 90.
895 See for example his clichéd representations of St. Francis praying, in Jeannine Baticle, *Zurbaran* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art & Abrams, c. 1987). This subject was probably also known to Karsh, a devout Roman Catholic.
896 Karsh, *Faces of Destiny*, 82-83.
897 See print “No. 5,” Box 1. Prints. Yousuf Karsh. 1987-054, YKF, R 613, NAC.
898 This particular photograph was marked “No. 2” in the Comstock archive, Toronto. See: “L’Album intime du dernier des grandes,” *Paris Match* (16 May, 1980).
899 See print “No. 3,” Box 1. Prints. Yousuf Karsh. 1987-054, YKF, R 613, NAC.
pose of both Napoleon and Stalin with one hand thrust into his coat, cigarette holder in the other, Tito gazes to the side, his expression reserved. The ceremonial doorway behind him frames his stocky figure and adds drama, evoking the Hollywood film stills of the 1930s and 1940s with actors commonly posed in open doorways.\textsuperscript{900} Compositionally, Tito’s photograph is similar to Karsh’s ceremonial portraits of Allied war commanders, diplomats, and intellectuals. These photos also staged his subjects against ornate doorframes, and deliberately mimicked the stately look of traditional painted portraiture of nobility, including the sitter’s dignified bearing, ceremonial costume, and symbolic background. The 1842 full-length portrait by Ingres of Ferdinand-Philippe Duke of Orléans is one example.\textsuperscript{901} The Duke’s slender figure, dressed in a decorated uniform of an army lieutenant general, his right hand resting on a sword, a matching bicorne and a glove in his left, is posed in his luxurious Palais des Tuileries salon underscoring his regal appearance. Duke’s composed face is brightly illuminated, emerging from the darkness. The portrait’s official inscription is painted in gold on the palatial wall, as is the case with the inscription in Ingres’s 1826 portrait \textit{Amédée-David, Comete de Pastoret}.\textsuperscript{902}

In Karsh’s portraits, the doorways function as a compositional convention with a symbolic dimension, an architectural prop alluding to the public status of Karsh’s famous sitters. Karsh’s July 1944 portrait of a uniformed General Charles De Gaule, President of the Provisional Government of the French Republic stands in the Canadian House of Commons in front of the door of the Prime Minister’s office.\textsuperscript{903} The words “Integrity, Justice, Fidelity” inscribed in the door’s lintel caption the image and allude to De Gaule’s dedication to these ideals in his role as the leader of the French Resistance. Recycling the same compositional

\textsuperscript{900} Daniel Herman, \textit{Behind the Silver Screen: Hollywood Stills Photography From the 1930s to the 1950s} (Neshannock, Pennsylvania: Hermes Press, 2009).

\textsuperscript{901} Gary Tinterow and Philip Conisbee, \textit{Portraits by Ingres}, 386-393.

\textsuperscript{902} Pastoret is shown in an embroidered black uniform of councillor of the state wearing the cross of the Legion of Honour on a ribbon around his neck, his gold-and-pearl sword on a belt, and a pair of white gloves and a hat on a chair. Ibid, 295-299.

\textsuperscript{903} Karsh, \textit{Portraits of Greatness}, 56-57.
formula but in a more grand format, Karsh photographed Lord Louis Mountbatten, Supreme Allied Commander, South East Asia, and Chief of Combined Operations (1942-1943) against a gilded doorframe. His hands tusks in the side pockets, Mountbatten wears a dark admiral uniform with golden trim, brass buttons, and a matching cape. His bearing is solemn and he gazes at the camera. The palatial architectural staging of the portrait befits the “fighting prince with the looks of a Hollywood star, a record of personal bravery, and the brains that have mastered a host of technical accomplishments,” Mountbatten’s personal glory enhanced by the “beautiful, imposing doorway [...] as decorative as” he was.  

Lord Mountbatten’s pose, uniform, and the background are reminiscent of Karsh’s 1954 photograph of Marshal Tito standing in the doorframe of his Belgrade residence, and establish a visual parallel between the England’s “sailor-prince” and the Yugoslav leader. Finally, less important but related to the iconography of Tito’s image, Karsh photographed T. V. Soong, a Chinese diplomat and delegate to the UN with family ties to Madame Chiang Kai-shek, standing impatiently in a simple doorframe and smoking. His *Portraits of Greatness* photograph of the American diplomat Sumner Wells repeats the same formula, depicting this “grave and sensitive gentleman who feels keenly of the world’s problems” with arms crossed defensively, standing in the ornamental wooden doorway to his home library.

**Aristocratic Look and Personal Authority**

Some of Tito’s 1954 portraits show him in a dark suit, seated in a wooden armchair with decorative carvings on the back and hand-rests (figs. 97 and 98). These photographs echo the iconography of Karsh’s *Faces of Destiny* portraits of Sir Anthony Eden and Charles Evans

---

908 See prints “No.10” and “No. 11,” Box 1. Prints. Yousuf Karsh. 1987-054, YKF, R613, NAC; And prints “No. 7” and “No.8”, in Comstock, Toronto.
Hughes, American Chief Justice. The imposing armchair appears as the significant prop in all three cases.

The staging of the Chief Justice Hughes photograph with ornate armchair and robe quotes the Renaissance tradition of Papal and Imperial portraiture typified by Raphael’s painting of Pope Julius II, and Titian’s paintings of Pope Paul III Farnese (1543, 1548) and Charles V (1548). The conventional iconography of official authority and personal power embodied Karsh’s belief that in the guise of Justice Hughes “democracy produces great aristocrats.” The same formula is repeated in his 1958 portrait of Pope John XXII, and in his photograph of the aristocrat, politician and flamboyant public figure, Sir. Anthony Eden, Britain’s Wartime Foreign Affairs Minister and Leader of the House of Commons, 1942-1945. Looking to the left and seemingly unaware of the camera, Sir Anthony Eden sits in an elegant armchair, his delicate hands folded on his knees. Similarly, Karsh portrayed Tito as an aristocrat and patriarch in a seated image of him used for the dust-jacket of Tito’s pictorial biography written by his British friend Fitzroy Maclean.

Not Like The Russian

Karsh’s aristocratic portraits of the Yugoslav President distinguished his public image from that of the Soviet leaders Karsh photographed for Faces of Destiny, such as Vaycheslav Mikhailovch Molotov, Premier and Foreign Commissar of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Leaning against a mantel, Molotov looks passively to the side, clasping hands on his chest in a contained gesture, his expression blasé and uninterested. His simple business suit, round glasses, calm face, and square chin protruding on a strong neck, create a generic image of a state

910 Karsh, Faces of Destiny, 78-79.
911 Karsh, Portraits of Greatness, 102-103.
912 Karsh, Faces of Destiny, 60-61.
914 Karsh, Faces of Destiny, 106-07.
bureaucrat. Karsh’s varied and empowering iconography of Tito’s intelligence, executive assertiveness, regal status, aristocratic bearing and princely authority adhered to Western ideals of masculinity and leadership. As such, Karsh’s 1954 portraits of Tito could have functioned as publicity, if not intentional propaganda, had they ever been published in one of Karsh’s books.

**The Visit to Brioni of July 1954**

Pleased with the 1954 sitting, Tito invited Karsh and Solange for a repeat visit that summer. “We may go to Yugo-Slavia to photograph Tito and his wife in their summer home on the Island of Brioni (off the Dalmatian coast),” wrote Solange to Joyce, describing the Belgrade session with Tito as a “stupendous success.” Joyce found the prospect “wonderful” and the opportunity for Karsh to take new photos of the Marshal and his young wife, Jovanka Broz, “mighty interesting.” On 24 June 1954 Karsh wrote to Dr. Joza Vilfan that he would “greatly like to take advantage of the Marshall’s kind invitation to visit him at Brioni to photograph both himself and Madame Tito also to show The Marshal proofs of his portraits,” which he described as “very interesting and successful.”

Despite their mutual enthusiasm and the preparations for the trip already underway in June 1954, Karsh’s Brioni visit did not materialize. Had they met as planned that summer, Karsh would have had a unique opportunity to be the first Western photographer to take

---

915 Karsh to Large, 30 May 1954, Container 49, File 29 “Travelling Correspondence, 1954,” YKF, R 613, NAC.
916 Solange Karsh to Large, 24 June 1954, Container 49, File 29 “Travelling Correspondence, 1954,” YKF, R 613, NAC.
917 Large to Solange and Yousuf Karsh, 29 June 1954, Container 49, File 29 “Travelling Correspondence, 1954,” YKF, R 613, NAC.
918 Karsh to Dr. Joza Vilfan, 24 June 1954, Box 314, File 15 “Marshal Tito,” YKF, R 613, NAC.
919 On 26 June 1954, Karsh sent a letter to Mr. Milan Dedinač, Cultural Attaché, Yugoslav Embassy in Paris, asking him to send his reply regarding the Brioni visit to the Canadian embassy in Paris. Mr. Dedinač sent an official letter authorizing Karsh to visit Josip Broz Tito to take his photographs at Brioni on 8 July 1954. This letter was to be shown at the Yugoslav border upon entering the country. The date of the visit was reconfirmed in a telegram from Dr. Joza Vilfan, The Head of the Cabinet of the President of the Republic, to Karsh dated 29 June 1954. Subsequently, however, in a telegram from 5 July 1954, Dr. Vilfan informed Karsh that his appointment with the president had to be changed to 13 July 1954 instead. See: Karsh to Dedinač, 24 June 1954; Dedinač to Karsh; Vilfan to Karsh, 29 June 1954; Vilfan to Karsh, 5 July 1954, Box 314, File 15 “Marshal Tito,” YKF, R 613, NAC.
exclusive, unofficial photos of the Yugoslav presidential couple at their home. Demand for this kind of private image of the Brozes, we can imagine, existed in such magazines as *Life, Picture Post*, and *Paris Match*, prime venues of celebrity journalism that had closely followed Tito’s political career and life since the mid-1940s.

**The Gaze of Love: Karsh’s 1962 Photographs of Jovanka as Tito’s Personal Gifts and Pendant Portraits**

Karsh met the Brozes during his second official trip to Yugoslavia between 10 and 20 May 1962, taking a number of photographs in their Belgrade home. This time it was Tito’s elegant wife who commanded Karsh’s attention. In contrast to the awkward garden portraits of the Brozes in afternoon dress standing next to a monumental sculpture of two wounded Partisans, Karsh’s portraits of Mrs. Broz as a virtuous housewife, upper-class woman, and exquisite beauty, drew on conventions of Post-Renaissance female portraiture (from the seventeen century Dutch and French painting, to the eighteen century English portraiture, and Ingres’s rendering of the French social elite).

In an image reminiscent of Dutch paintings idealizing feminine domestic life and chastity, Karsh portrayed Jovanka in a dark dress and pearls, seated in the living room, a vase of roses and carnations on the table before her. Her hands gracefully clasped, she looks to the side, as if unaware of the photographer’s presence. In the background is a huge potted plant - a symbol of domesticity - while soft light cast by a large window infuses the photograph with a tranquil...

---


mood (fig. 99).

A photograph from the same series shows Jovanka standing alone in their living room, her lingering gaze turned away from the camera (fig. 100). During the same session, Karsh photographed a meditative Jovanka in the privacy of her study, holding a book and leaning against a mantelpiece supporting a marble sculpture of a woman reading (fig. 101). This image recalls the iconography of the “cultivated women” in the seventeenth-century French paintings of female royalty, *haute bourgeoisie*, writers, and composers, as well as the enlightenment ideal of *femme savante* embodied in portraits of Madame Pompadour, in order to cast Jovanka as a woman of culture, intellect, and taste.

Similar type is pursued in the eighteenth-century English paintings of wealthy and educated women, such as Sir Joshua Reynolds’s 1753 portrait by of the Duchess of Leinster in her study, contemplating the contents of the book she is reading, and the 1769 Joseph Wright of Derby’s portrait of Mrs Hesketh.

In another related image, Jovanka poses on a sunny terrace, seemingly oblivious of the photographer’s presence (fig. 102). The overall staging of Jovanka’s photograph, including her costume, pose, props, and a landscape setting, hark back to the conventions of English eighteenth-century portraiture illustrated by Gainsborough’s paintings *Mrs Thomas Graham*, 1777; *Mary, Duchess of Richmond*, 1786-87; and *Mrs Bate-Dudley*, 1787. Like the fashionable and wealthy women in Gainsborough’s paintings, Jovanka wears a well-tailored dress and

---

923 On the back of the photograph, there is an inscription “Madame Broz Tito No. 27,” Box 1. Prints. Yousuf Karsh. 1987-054, YKF, R 613, NAC.
924 Image “No. 26,” Box 1. Prints. Yousuf Karsh. 1987-054, YKF, R 613, NAC.
925 On the back of the photograph, there is an inscription “No.16,” Box 1. Prints. Yousuf Karsh. 1987-054, YKF, R 613, NAC.
928 The inscription on the back of this photograph reads, “Madame Broz Tito. No. 28,” Box 1. Prints. Yousuf Karsh. 1987-054, YKF. R 613. NAC.
expensive jewellery, and leans gently against a Doric column topped with a neo-classical urn of Ivy flowers, the view of nature opening in the background. This classical iconography clearly reinforces the rhetoric of class and power in Karsh’s portrait of Jovanka. Her chin up, one hand touching the side of her neck and cheek, she gazes into the distance. Jovanka’s dramatic pose indicating contemplation, but also vanity, furthermore evokes the expressive arrangement of sitter’s hands and head in Mrs Bate-Dudley and in Sir Joshua Reynolds’s Lady Louisa Manners, 1779, in particular. The similar pose would become a staple symbol of feminine charm in the nineteenth-century photography of theatrical actresses, such as Nadar’s 1864 sophisticated studio portrait Sarah Bernhardt,930 and the more formulaic 1862 cartes de visite portrait by C.D. Fredericks of a melancholic Maggie Mitchell leaning on a balustrade pillar.931 Inspired by traditional painting and studio photography, but more forceful, Hollywood stills photography and celebrity portrait photography between the 1920s and 1950s employed elaborate poses, fashionable clothes, dramatic hand gestures and a melancholic upward gaze, in countless images of female stars.932 Karsh adopted this dramatic mode in his head-and-hands portraits of Katharine Cornell (1947), American actress; Dame Edith Evans (1954), British actress; Martha Graham (1948), American dancer and choreographer; and Wanda Landowska (1945), Polish harpsichordist, to mention only a few examples.933 Mimicking conventions of Hollywood glamour photography appropriated in Karsh’s female portraits of stage personalities, Jovanka’s terrace image contrast with the more formal composition of his First Ladies portraits; in 1944, Karsh rendered Eleanor Roosevelt as an inspired writer, a pen in her hand, and his 1960 portrait

of Jacqueline Kennedy in a white embroidered evening dress with a dark gown around her shoulders exudes royal grandeur.\textsuperscript{934}

Finally, in a number of head-and-shoulder studies, Karsh idealized Mrs. Broz, showing her classical features bathed in a soft light against a neutral background.\textsuperscript{935} The studied simplicity of Karsh’s composition evokes Ingres’s flattering portrait of \textit{Madame Duvacey}, 1807.\textsuperscript{936} In the most elaborate of these studies, a floral arrangement of orchids placed on a table punctuates Jovanka’s feminine appeal, while her hand gently touches her chin (fig. 103).\textsuperscript{937} The flowers and the elegant hand gesture in this photograph recall conventions of female portraiture in Ingres’s \textit{Vicomtesse d’Haussonville}, 1845, and \textit{Baronne James de Rothschild}, 1848.\textsuperscript{938}

Jovanka’s graceful, feminine portraits function as a counterpoint to the 1954 images of Tito the assertive leader. That is, Karsh’s iconography of the Brozes evokes the pendant tradition of the eighteenth-century English portraiture of social elite and its “emphasis on marital propriety and […] assertion of adherence to normative gendered characteristics and roles.”\textsuperscript{939} Compositionally similar to Jovanka’s terrace image, John Hoppner’s \textit{Frederica, Duchess of York}, was conceived as a pendent painting to his 1792 \textit{Frederick, Duke of York}, showing the Duke in the uniform, his page, and a black stallion in the background.\textsuperscript{940} John Singleton Copley’s 1779 pendant paintings of Admiral Clark Gayton, in uniform of a naval commander, map in hand and his ship in the background, and Mrs Gayton, rendered as a contemplative leisured lady seated in a drawing room, provide another example of this tradition.\textsuperscript{941} The conventions of the pendant portraiture in Copley, as in Hoppner, establish the ‘public’ persona, social rank, and

\begin{flushleft}
\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{935} See prints “1, 2, 3, and 8,” Box 1. Prints. Yousuf Karsh. 1987-054, YKF, R613, NAC.
\textsuperscript{936} Gary Tinterow and Philip Conisbee, \textit{Portraits by Ingres}, 102.
\textsuperscript{937} See print “No. 1,” Box 1. Prints. Yousuf Karsh. 1987-054, YKF, R 613, NAC.
\textsuperscript{938} Gary Tinterow and Philip Conisbee, \textit{Portraits by Ingres}, 401-425.
\textsuperscript{939} Kate Retford, \textit{The Art of Domestic Life}, 20.
\textsuperscript{940} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{941} For a discussion of Copley’s paintings and images see ibid, 26-29.
\end{footnotesize}
\end{flushleft}
profession of the male sitters in the male pendant, in contrast to the female pendants casting their wives in ‘private’ and domestic female roles. This gendered iconography is clearly echoed in Karsh’s photographs of the Brozes, with Tito rendered in a role of a military leader and a statesman, and Jovanka as his loyal, elegant, and worthy wife. Although Karsh claimed to be able to reveal the authentic character of his subjects, their inner life so to speak, his images of the Brozes clearly partake in the tradition of the Western portraiture of nobility and bourgeoisie where the record of the sitter’s public status or office, expressed by the costume, pose, gestures, props, and staging, was as important as the individual. As there are no Karsh portraits of Tito from 1962, it is possible that Tito asked the photographer only to photograph Jovanka. Despite their distinct iconography, there is no record of any of Jovanka’s 1962 images ever being published, which indicates that they were likely conceived as Tito’s gifts to her.

**Mirroring Western Greatness: Selective View of Modern History and the Editing Tito Out Of the Karsh Books by UTP**

Karsh’s first book published by University of Toronto Press, *Portraits of Greatness* was according to UTP director Marsh Jeanneret “an event of exceptional importance in the history of Canadian publishing.” Jeanneret prized the book as a state-of-the-art pictorial monograph that set “a new standard of quality in graphic arts reproduction,” and the ninety-six images in it as Karsh’s “most memorable photographic portraits.” He also certainly shared Karsh’s view of the book as “the most unique public relation project,” and must have been aware of Karsh’s intention to include in it Tito, whom he considered one of his most important subjects.

In spite of this, Tito’s photograph was excluded from *Portraits of Greatness*. The first indication of Karsh’s doubt as the inclusion of Tito dates from mid-May 1956, when he put a

---

942 Letter dated 24 November 1959, signed by M. Jeanneret, in “Karsh: In search of Greatness (general file),” Box 012: G to Karsh, Director’s Office Files, University of Toronto Press Fonds, Accession No: A-89-0009, The University of Toronto Archives.
943 Ibid.
944 See note 802.
question mark next to Tito’s name on the list of “photographs for possible inclusion in the New Book.” There is also an undated list showing the name of “Marshal Tito” energetically crossed off in red pencil, indicating a decision to drop him from the book altogether. Then in 1971 Tito was excluded from Faces of Our Time, also published by UTP, despite Karsh’s plans to include the Yugoslav President, “once a guerrilla fighter, now a decisive national leader,” in the new book. In both cases, factors beyond the photographer’s control were in play.

**Political Context: Tito, A Russian Friend?**

The new rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the USSR in 1955 affected the decision to exclude Tito. Considered by the West a heroic Partisan guerrilla leader during war, then a Communist ally following his break with Stalin in 1948, in May 1955 Tito made peace with Soviet Russia, meeting Khrushchev in Belgrade. The West viewed this gesture as proof that the Yugoslav leader had changed sides in the Cold War rivalry. Time was unforgiving, branding Tito a “friend” of the USSR, his loyalty to the West compromised. Karsh’s personal respect of Tito was possibly undermined in this context, and the absence of Tito from Karsh’s books reflected the changing public opinion about the Yugoslav President in the West in the late 1950s.

**The Editorial View**

As the textual records from the Director’s Office of UTP documenting the preparation of Portraits of Greatness are missing from their designated files in the University of Toronto Archive, I focus on remarks about the book’s content and scope by UTP Director Marsh Jeanneret. Commenting on the book’s list of personalities, he wrote to Karsh: “For example I

---

949 I refer to a missing file created by the Director’s Office of the UTP, presumably containing documents about the publisher’s negotiations with the photographer on the terms and conditions under which
do not expect many people to ask us where the Russians are, whether these are portraits of western greatness.”

Originating from the highest executive levels inside the house, Jeanneret’s comment reveals anti-communist sentiments and conservative mindset, for UTP adhered to the prevalent view of the superiority of Anglo-American over Soviet civilization. It took advantage of the official and public mindset of the Cold War to justify its marginalization of the Soviets. Among the ninety-eight personalities in *Portraits of Greatness*, only two are USSR nationals: Igor Sikorsky and Igor Stravinsky. Although Tito was not a Russian, Jeanneret’s remark obliquely applied to him, as he was their friend and a fellow communist.

The conservative outlook of Karsh’s UTP books involves also a biased representation of the role of women in modern history. Although successful women appear in Karsh’s monographs, they represent a minority. With only three female-politicians in the *Portraits of Greatness* - Queen Elizabeth II, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Madame Ranjit S. Pandit - the book reflected the conventional view prevalent in the 1950s U.S. culture of politics as a male domain. Accordingly, the other female subjects in the book worked in creative professions as actresses, actresses, actresses.

---

*Portraits of Greatness* appeared, including details about its scope, size, technical specifications, etc. As per the UTP finding aid, this file should be in Box 013: Karsh to M, Director’s Office Files, University of Toronto Press Fonds, Accession No: A-89-0009, The University of Toronto Archives.  

950 M. Jeanneret to Karsh, 13 August 1958, Box 018: Day Files, Reels 1-85. 2 July 1957 to 3 March 1972, University of Toronto Press Fonds, Accession No: A-89-0009, The University of Toronto Archives.  

951 Karsh, *Portraits of Greatness*, 184, 188. The general hostility toward the Soviet state and leadership fostered in the popular culture of the Cold War only gradually gave way to a more relaxed attitude following Nikita Khrushchev’s rise to power after Stalin’s death in 1953. Karsh’s 1967 book *Karsh Portfolio* included a photograph of Khrushchev as did his *Faces of Our Time* in 1972. Taken during Karsh’s visit to Khrushchev’s dacha in 1963, the photograph shows the Head of the Soviet Party and State bundled up in a hooded leopard fur coat. Karsh hoped for this photograph to represent “the face of the eternal peasant, perhaps the collective portrait of a great people, pained like Cromwell, warts and all.” Despite the disarming honesty of Khrushchev’s gaze and his broad smile, the image is a product of a deliberate ‘costumed’ diplomacy. A big and round man, dressed in a fur coat Khrushchev posed for Karsh parodying the look of the ‘Russian Bear,’ a traditional mascot of the Soviet state. In comparison to the warming witticism of Karsh’s portrait of the Soviet head of state, his photographs of Tito are markedly glamorous. It is interesting to note that in December 1964 David Bailey, a British celebrity photographer, took a photo of Mick Jagger, the lead singer of the British rock-band the Rolling Stones, dressed in a hooded fur coat for his book *David Bailey’s Box of Pin-ups* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1965). Described as “classic David Bailey image,” it closely resembles Karsh’s photograph of Nikita Khrushchev from 1963.
singers, and artists. The same gender bias characterized Karsh’s *Faces of Our Time*, published in 1971 in the decade seeing the strengthening of the global feminist movement. This was one of the book’s obvious shortcomings, noticed by a certain “IM” who made a biting suggestion to Mr. Jeanneret to change its title into the “Men Whom Make the World.”

**Selective Vision: Political and Cultural Bias in Karsh’s Books**

The Tito case underscores the nature of Karsh’s books as political monographs celebrating the cultural and political establishment of the Western world manifest in prominent Western politicians, statesmen, artists, scientists, and writers. In 1946, *Faces of Destiny* had been shaped by historical circumstances and the practical aspects of Karsh’s assignments during the war. This pattern repeated itself in his later publications, to reveal the systematic bias in their view of modern history.

The selection of personalities in *Portraits of Greatness* (1959) and *Faces of Our Time* (1971) reinforces a strong pro-Western bias in Karsh’s books, typifying also the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet sentiments shared by the political establishment and pervasive in the popular culture of Cold War America. Both books feature influential personalities from the U.S., Canada, Great Britain, and Western Europe, glorify their accomplishments, disseminate a belief in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon culture, and embrace the optimistic view of the post-war U.S. as the cultural and intellectual hotbed of modern civilization. Although second- and the third-world leaders appeared on the preliminary list of subjects for Karsh’s books, they represent a minority in the final publications.

---

952 The women represented in *Portraits of Greatness* are Marian Anderson, American singer; Pearl S. Buck, American writer; Katharine Cornell, American actress; Queen Elizabeth the Second; Dame Edith Evans; Audrey Hepburn, British actress; Dame Margot Fonteyn De Arias, British ballerina; Martha Graham, American dancer and choreographer; Julie Harris, American actresses; Wanda Landowska, Polish musician; Anna Magnani, Italian actress; Georgia O’Keeffe, American artist; Madame Ranjit S. Pandit; A. Eleanor Roosevelt; and Hellen Keller and her companion Miss Polly Thompson.

That Karsh showed a more liberal attitude in his understanding of “world’s greatness,” choosing unconventional and sometimes notorious subjects, seems to suggest that the strong pro-Western bias in the final form of his books reflects the views and concerns of his UTP editors. They were able to re-shape each book by narrowing down the photographer’s original list of personalities. The editing of Tito’s image out of *Portraits of Greatness* and *Faces of Our Time* is only one case of their power to do this.
Nine   Tito’s Official Photography

1940s: TANJUG and Presidential Photography

Established in 1945, the Presidential Office, headed by the President’s Chief of Staff, was in charge of public relations aspects for Tito’s presidency. Between 1945 and 1951, before a Photographic Department was formed in the Presidential Office, experienced photographers and photojournalists with the Telegraphic and News Agency of New Yugoslavia (TANJUG) handled Tito’s photography. They worked to maintain his positive image created in the West in American and British war photographs of him. Established on 5 November 1943 by the Yugoslav Partisans in Jajce to organize the release of news about the National Liberation War in Yugoslavia and abroad, TANJUG was the main news agency in Socialist Yugoslavia in charge of domestic and international news distribution, including news photography. Also established during the war, the TANJUG Photo Department was the cradle of Yugoslav photojournalism. To this day, TANJUG’s vast photo collection remains the single most important resource of visual material for the study of photography in Socialist Yugoslavia. It spans a period of over seventy years and contains several million images gathered from various domestic and international sources since its foundation in 1943. Its negatives, contact copies, and photographs are organized thematically and cover almost every aspect of political and social life in wartime and post-war Yugoslavia.

With their reputations established during the war or soon thereafter, TANJUG photographers

Danilo Kabic, Jovan Ritopecki, Hristofor Nastic, and later Zika Vucic enjoyed regular access to the President.957

**Danilo Kabic: The President’s First Photographer?**

Born in Dalmatia, Croatia, Danilo Kabic began his career during the war as a Partisan photographer. After the war, he worked for TANJUG and later became the first director of the Photo Department of *Borba* magazine and publishing house in Belgrade, photographers Aca Simic and Nikola Bibic succeeding him in this role. In the late 1950s, he moved from Belgrade to Split to accept the position of the Editor of Photography for the *Slobodna Dalmacija*.958 Kabic’s photographic training and education remain obscure, but a classical composition and sophisticated manipulation of light in his portrait of Tito published in *Fotografija* magazine in January 1949, suggest that Kabic was a trained studio photographer (fig. 104).959 Although lacking the psychological depth of Karsh’s portraits, Kabic’s style is similar to that of the famous celebrity photographer. It is likely that Kabic also authored other undated studies in the TANJUG photo archive of Tito in Marshal uniform and of him dressed in a dark suite and smoking, as their composition, dark background, strong contrast and staging echo the *Fotografija* portrait (fig. 105).960 It is possible that the Presidential Office hired Kabic at some point during the late 1940s in some more defined capacity, perhaps even as his first official photographer.961

---

958 Goran Malic, e-mail to author, 27 August 2007; and Aleksic, *Tanjug 1943-1963*, 11.
959 See Danilo Kabic’s photograph entitled “Tito” in *Fotografija* 2, no. 1 (January 1949): n.p..
960 See contact copies of images, “President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito,” the TANJUG Archive, Film Number 9016, Catalogue Card Number NA.
961 Contact copies numbers “17” and “21” depict Tito wearing the Soviet Order of Victory awarded 29 November 1945. It is possible that Kabic took these portraits between late 1945 and summer of 1948, when the political implications of the Tito-Stalin split threatened his status as a war hero in the USSR, symbolized by the Soviet medal.
Bachelor’s Vacation: Jovan Ritopecki’s Photographs in *Newsweek* (1952)

A highly contested territory with the potential to ruin or improve his reputation abroad, the representation of Tito’s private life was the object of journalistic wars fought between *Life* and *Picture Post*, and other less sympathetic American and Soviet papers in the late 1940s and early 1950s. *Newsweek*’s misuse of Jovan Ritopecki’s photograph of Tito on the island of Brioni during the June 1952 visit of Austrian Foreign Minister Dr. Karl Gruber is a case in point. A trusted member of Tito’s circle since the National Liberation War, Ritopecki started his career as a Partisan photojournalist in the Headquarters of the III Yugoslav Army. In the post-war period he worked for TANJUG in the 1950s, then transferred to *Politika* daily paper in 1957. More personal than typical news photographs, Ritopecki’s 1952 Brioni snapshots capture the spontaneity of the President-Bachelor and his all-male party (figs. 106 and 107). They depict a relaxed Tito, his Austrian guest, and his old Partisan comrades Vladimir Dedijer and Koca Popovic smoking, drinking, and talking in the shade of an umbrella, around a patio table set with a wine flask and half-filled glasses. The casual expressions and informal clothes - summer hats, white pants, light jackets, and striped vests – make these photographs more casual than Phillips’ images of Tito on Brioni, which nevertheless inspired them.

On 28 July 1952, in the article about forthcoming U.S. military aid to Yugoslavia *Newsweek* published one of the Ritopecki images. The magazine stressed it showed a carefree Tito on vacation, “out of a uniform with a bottle of stout and his famous pipe-shaped cigarette holder beneath a gaily striped umbrella” (fig. 106, image “10”). Juxtaposing the image of a nonchalant Tito with the news of the U.S. promise to “ship him tanks, heavy artillery, and jet planes in the next year to balance the Soviet build-up in the Balkans,” *Newsweek* appropriated...
Ritopecki’s image in a way that challenged Tito’s credibility as a political ally. The *Newsweek* episode represented the sort of publicity blunder involving domestic photographers and foreign press of which the Yugoslavs would henceforth be mindful. His photographers set about forging a more dignified image of Tito in private life.

**The Brozes in The Western Press in 1950s**

The renewed interest of the Western press in the Yugoslav president in 1952-1953 coincided with his marriage to Jovanka Budisavljevic (7 December 1924 - ), a Serbian girl from Croatia and a major in the Yugoslav Army, in a secret ceremony in April 1952. This attention revealed to Yugoslav photographers the publicity value of romance. The black-and-white photograph of the Brozes in the 29 September 1952 *Newsweek* depicted them in a Belgrade meeting with the British Foreign Secretary Sir Anthony Eden. Eden clad in a white tuxedo, and Tito in his white marshal uniform, flank Jovanka dressed in an evening gown in the middle. *Newsweek* wrote that the “social sensation” caused by Jovanka’s debut appearance overshadowed “what little political news was made by the Tito-Eden discussion on such subjects as Trieste, Balkan defense, and Yugoslav relations with NATO.” Next, a colour photograph by Bert Hardy of the Brozes at their home in Belgrade appeared on the cover of the March 1953 issue of *Picture Post*. Under the headline “The Titos. Exclusive Pictures,” it shows an animated and smiling Tito embracing Jovanka. Dressed in a dark-blue suit with a golden necklace, she looks at her husband approvingly. Her hands neatly folded on her lap, Jovanka’s graceful pose and attentive look contrast with Tito’s vivid energy. Akin to affectionate snapshots

---

966 A comment made by Tito’s photographer Ivo Eterovic about his reluctance to photograph Tito drinking proves that this instance of mismanagement of his public image was probably long remembered by Tito’s public relations people. Ivo Eterovic, personal interview, 17 September 2001, 1. All translations from Serbo-Croatian are mine.


of ordinary couples, this and accompanying photographs in the *Post* humanize the Brozes (figs. 108 and 109).  

Finally, Tito and Jovanka appeared on the cover of the May 1956 *Paris Match* in 1956, as a romantic couple seated on a garden bench, flirting in the mid-day sun (fig. 110). Although the author of the *Paris Match* cover photograph remains unknown, its composition and garden setting are similar to a photograph by Tito’s first official photographer Dragutin Grbic, depicting Tito in Marshal uniform in the company of his wife and their pet dog (fig. 111). These similarities imply Grbic’s possible authorship of the *Paris Match* cover. If this is the case, it stands as an early example of Yugoslavs perpetuating the private image of Tito abroad, one that rectifies the mishaps associated with Tito’s photographs as a flamboyant bachelor.

**Grbic (1951–1963)**

The Serbian Grbic’s TANJUG career between 1945 and 1951 landed him the job of Tito’s first official photographer. While working for the Presidential Office in this capacity until 1963, Grbic established the official iconography of Tito’s married life and private personality. He portrayed Tito as the Hollywood ideal of the successful man happily married to a much younger beauty, highlighting their conventional gender roles. His photograph of a

---

969 A contact copy of Hardy’s photograph is also found in the TANJUG Photo Archive. It is grouped with five images from Film Number 690, representing “The Life of Marshal Tito.” Two photographs on the same catalogue card show Tito and Jovanka seated at a coffee table with Tito’s grandchildren. The remaining two images depict the formally dressed presidential couple against a dark background, and Tito playing a piano. In their formal photograph, Jovanka, dressed in an evening gown, is seated while Tito stands protectively next to her smiling, his hand tucked in the pocket of his dark suit. It is possible that Hardy took some of these photographs during the same session (see fig. 119, images “10” and “12”).


971 Image “17,” “From the Private Life of President Tito (reproductions),” TANJUG Photo Archive, Film Number 06979.

972 In the absence of official documentation from this period, I have acquired most of my information about the work of Tito’s official photographers in my conversations with Serbian photographers and historians of photography. According to Goran Malic and Stevan Kragujevic, a photojournalist and photo editor at the *Politika* daily, Grbic was the first photographer to work for Tito in the post war period. Malic, e-mail to author, 27 August 2007; and Stevan Kragujevic, personal interview, 2 August 2001.

973 See Chapter 5 of this study.
Jovanka amused by Tito mouth-feeding the goldfish in a small round basin and a related image of the couple looking at a pair of canary birds in a cage fashioned an amorous iconography pursued by Tito’s other photographers (fig. 112).974 Taken after their marriage in 1952, Grbic’s photographs were inspired by the traditional eighteen-century French iconography of amorous couples engaged in the playful and decorous courtship. Rococo paintings of lovers with birds in cages as symbols of the concept of love’s “sweet slavery,” such as in Nicolas Lancret’s pastoral paintings La Cage, in the Louvre, and The Bird Cage (1735), in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich;975 and Jean-Francois de Troy’s Rendezvous at the Fountain (1727), depicting an elegantly dressed couple frolicking at the fountain, provide relevant examples of this tradition.976 Derived from the iconography of love gardens, elaborate fountains appear in Rubens’s Garden of Love (1634-35), showing fashionable couples in contemporary dress pursuing leisurely activities and love interests,977 and in Fragonard’s allegorical painting of desire and consummation, The Fountain of Love (1780s), with two youthful lovers eagerly approaching the overflowing fountain and the cupids offering its water to them in a chalice.978 Grbic’s photograph of the Brozes at the fountain evokes this tradition, in order to render their married love as sensuous and blissful.

Grbic redefined almost every aspect of Tito’s ‘private life’ to include Jovanka.979 For example, he re-worked the staple theme of the President’s vacation at Brioni, rendering a relaxed domestic atmosphere around the couple enjoying each other’s and the company of children in

974 See my discussion of the iconography of marriage and love in Eterovic’s photographs of the Brozes in Chapter 10.
979 “From the private Life of President Tito (reproductions).” TANJUG Photo Archive, Film number 06979.
their family. In one related photograph, Jovanka and Tito serve a mid-day lunch to Tito’s teenage son Misha and his grandchildren Zlatica and Joza (fig. 112, image “1”). Their simple lifestyle, infused with warmth and ease, creates a familiar and a ‘familial’ view of the Yugoslav president. The snapshot aesthetics of this and other photographs of the Brozes by Grbic, like one of Tito barbequing fish, furthermore reinforced the sense of Tito’s domestic ordinariness (fig. 113, image “18”).

When they appear alone in Grbic’s photos, Jovanka and Tito are openly affectionate, as in the photographs of them conversing on the terrace, or leisurely strolling hand in hand down a marble path in the garden (fig. 112, images “2,” “4-5,” “11;” and fig. 113, image “13”). The iconography of marital harmony in these images can be associated with the genre of informal double portraits of aristocratic and bourgeois couples by the English eighteenth-century artists Thomas Gainsborough and Arthur Devis. Like in the Broz terrace image, Devis’s Duke and Duchess of Leinster of 1753, shows the Duke and the Duchess as a respectable couple, seated on the terrace of their home, and planning together the future of their estate symbolized by the plan spread on the table before the Duchess.980 The so-called “companionate portraits,” such as Gainsborough’s 1785 Mr and Mrs Hallett: The Morning Walk,981 likewise conveyed the emotional bond and intimacy between the husband and wife while preserving their conventional gender roles in marriage. Gainsborough posed the elegant strolling couple in the natural setting that alludes to their marriage as “natural” and “productive union of […] masculine and feminine virtues,” with Mrs Hallett in the role of a gracious companion and Mr Hallett as having “the leadership in marriage.”982 Grbic perpetuated this gendered iconography, rendering Jovanka lead by her husband, her hand tucked through Tito’s arm, her head lowered, while his gaze meets the camera in a more self-conscious fashion as they stroll towards the photographer. Some

982 Retford, 49 and 51.
photographs depict them as proud and conscientious landowners caring for their garden, exotic animals and pets (fig. 113, images “15,” “17,” “21”). Finally, Grbic depicts Tito cruising in his Chris-craft around the island, his wife by his side (fig. 112, image “6”).

In conclusion, Jovanka’s presence in Grbic’s photographs enriched the iconography of Tito’s private life, creating opportunities for the public display of an emotional self that could weigh against the overtly masculine iconography of Tito as warrior and a bachelor leader proliferating in the Western press since the war. If the conceptual move from the battlefields to the villa and the office represented a paradigmatic shift in Tito’s iconography in the immediate post-war period, the next step in transforming and updating his public image was to depict the Brozes as a romantic couple, with Jovanka as the epitome of graceful womanhood and Tito of virility.

**The Review: Marshalling Yugoslavia Globally and Championing the President**

The major publication featuring this new iconography was *Review: Yugoslav Monthly Magazine*, published by the Yugoslav government between March 1961 and September 1978.983 *Review* replaced *Yugoslavia* as a vehicle of government propaganda, to provide “a general picture of the life (and culture) in Yugoslavia - past and present.”984 It was distributed in forty-two counties in Russian, Spanish, English, French, and German editions.985 The journal covered art, literature, music, film, theatre, science, sports, tourism, television and radio, domestic politics, the economy, and foreign affairs. *Review’s* beginnings in 1961 and 1962 were modest, its covers and photographs generally black-and-white.986

---

983 The magazine was continued by *Yugoslav Review*, published by Jugoslovenska Revija, between 1979 and 1989 in Belgrade.
985 A list in the December 1963 issue includes nineteen European countries and the USSR, Canada, USA, Australia, New Zealand, Iceland, India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Japan, Iraq, Iran, UAR, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Israel, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Ghana, Br. Guiana, and Cyprus. Ibid.
986 During this time, the Belgrade publishing house Borba operated the magazine.
To promote Socialist Yugoslavia globally *Review* also featured news items and stories related to Tito’s statesmanship. An over painted photograph of Tito aboard a sailing ship appeared on the cover of the first issue under the headline “President Tito - Seeking Direct Contact” (fig. 114). In the early sixties, Tito engaged in an intense foreign relations campaign in support of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), which he had founded in September 1961. *Review* regularly reported on his foreign visits and praised his role as a founding father of the NAM and as a politician opposed to “the traditional division of the world into big and small countries” who sought instead to engage all countries and fight for “equal rights” in a global community of nations. The accompanying black-and-white news photographs of Tito in the company of his foreign hosts, shaking hands, receiving official credentials, or touring cities and villages in the countries of Africa and Asia, were, however, cliché (figs. 115-117).

**1962: “At Home With Tito”**

Capitalizing on popular interest in the private life of public personalities, *Review* also pictured Tito in special illustrated features appearing usually in conjunction with his birthday. The first such feature, published in May 1962, was entitled “At Home With Tito.” Although it lacks the visual appeal and sophistication of the magazine’s later features about Tito, the 1962 article is important as it represents the first instance of the presidential image management by Yugoslav journalists, photographers and editors, who aimed to portray Tito as an ordinary man.

---

990 “At Home With Tito,” *Review* 2, no. 5 (May 1962): 8-9. A head-and-shoulders photograph of Marshal Tito appeared on the cover of the same issue. The author and the date of this image are not known, but it was most likely taken after Tito was proclaimed the Yugoslav Marshal at the Second Session of AVNOJ in November 1943. A short biographical article reviewing the celebrations of Tito’s birthday was also published: “President Tito’s Birthday,” ibid, 3; and Ljubo Vuckovic, “Tito’s Concern for The Wounded Partisans,” ibid, 6; and “Anecdotes About Tito,” ibid, 7.
“We wanted to show the man who carries the greatest responsibilities and cares of state, in his own home, in his family circle, to find out what he does when he has a short breathing space, his favorite hobbies and forms of relaxation.” The story was modestly laid out on two pages with only four black-and-white illustrations, whose iconography centered on romance, domesticity, family and travel (fig. 118).

A Romance
Captioned “Putting the Garden in Shape,” the first of the four images shows Tito dressed in a flannel suit working the land on his Brioni property. Amused at the sight of her husband vigorously swinging the long scythe to clear the bushes in preparation for the installation of a park, a glamorously dressed Jovanka follows behind him. Her dark silhouette blends with tall birch trees in the background (fig. 118). Gender and class stereotypes resonate in this photograph of the Brozes engaged in the popular middle-class hobby of gardening, taken by Grbic in the spring of 1957. This iconography was deployed in later photographs of the couple in the seclusion of gardens of their Belgrade residence and their Brioni summer home.

Fatherly Love: Images of Tito as Family Man and Father of the Nation
The image of Tito as a family man was the subject of the second photograph in the article, captioned “At Home with the Family - A Happy Atmosphere,” which showed the Brozes in the company of Tito’s grandchildren Zlatica and Jozek. Dressed in a dark coat and short pants, Jozek sits on Tito’s lap, hugging him gently. They both turn affectionately towards Jovanka and Zlatica, whose white lace dress contrasts with Jovanka’s dark gown and echoes the white peonies on the coffee table in the foreground. Their expressions convey mutual admiration and pride, while the living-room setting creates a sense of calm (fig. 118). In the post-war period Tito’s

---

991 “At Home With Tito,” 8.
992 A contact copy, number 15, of the same photograph appears on the catalogue card, “From the Private Life of President Tito (reproductions),” in the TANJUG Photo Archive, film number 06979. According to the image legend, Grbic made it in the spring of 1957.
family life became one of the key themes in his official iconography, as evidenced by images in the TANJUG archive of the extended Broz family (fig. 119).

The third photograph in the series, captioned “Sharing the Joys of The Young Generations,” depicts Tito and members of the Yugoslav Pioneer League, an umbrella youth organization created by the CPY on 27 December 1942. Most likely taken during the receptions hosted annually for them on May 25 in Tito’s home, this photograph shows a casual Tito, one hand in his pocket and the other holding a miniature cigarette holder (fig. 118). The children encircling him are dressed in simple clothes, with pioneer scarves on their shoulders. The body language in this photograph conveys a friendly intimacy between the President and his young guests. The children’s faces bespeak of their enthusiasm for their host and their amusement with the photographers swarming around him. This juxtaposition of the mature and collected President with the young, excitable children empowers his image as a loving and fatherly figure. He is the obvious source of ‘their joy’ and the principal object of the camera gaze at the same time.

In the Yugoslav context, photographs such as this one reinforced Tito’s authority promoting a popular view of him as the father of the nation and compassionate protector of the nation’s youth. Grbic and the Politika photojournalist Stevan Kragujevic, helped to establish this genre of pioneer photographs. Grbic’s photographs of Tito and the Pioneers, and Kragujevic’s image of Tito surrounded by Yugoslav Naval cadets share the same compositional schema of Tito in the centre and with youth crowding around him (figs. 113, images “16” and “23;” and

---

993 See photographs from film 690, depicting the theme of “The Life of Marshal Tito” in TANJUG archive. In those photographs, Tito and Jovanka are seated around a coffee table in their living room, Jozek and Zlatica sitting on their laps. The huge lamp in the background splits the image vertically in two, with the boy and his grandfather on one side, and Jovanka and Zlatica on the other. The author of these photographs is not identified on the catalogue card.


995 See for example photographs in Momcilo Stefanovic and Stevan Kragujevic, Tito i pioniri (Belgrade: Mlados, Savet saveza Pionira Jugoslovije, 1980).
120). In these photographs, the compressed space and the tightly packed bodies metaphorically allude to the people’s embrace of their leader. Merging the cult of youth with the personality cult of the leader, similar photographs of Tito and the Pioneers were routinely reproduced in textbooks published in Socialist Yugoslavia during his lifetime.\footnote{See a colour photograph of “Tito and Pioneers,” in Desanka Stojic-Janjusevic, Vladimir Milaric, and Bozidar Timotijevic, Moja prva knjiga. Bukvar za prvi razred osnovne skole [My First Book. Bukvar For The First Grade of Elementary School], 3rd edition (Belgrade: “Narodna Knjiga,” 1974), 69.}

Semi-documentary movies were made to the same effect by the Yugoslav news-reel house Filmske Novosti.\footnote{The Movie “Stafeta Mladosti (posla iz Kumroveca)” number 22 in the collection of documentary films in the Filmske Novosti in Belgrade depicts the celebrations of Tito’s birthday and the official Day of Youth in Yugoslavia in May 1957, linking the cult of Youth and the cult of the leader. The movie is exceptionally well crafted and stands out in comparison to other Yugoslav documentary films with the same theme. It combines colour and black-and-white footage. In the opening colour sequence a group of Yugoslav pioneers play outdoors, dressed in white uniform shirts, with red bandanas on their shoulders. From the Yugoslav mountains, to the Dalmatian coast, to the lakes, they are pictured running, carrying the Stafeta mladosti, the “youth baton,” to be delivered to Tito on his birthday as an expression of their love. They also march and sing revolutionary songs. The movie establishes a symbolic parallel between the cyclical renewal of nature and the annual celebrations associated with Youth Day and Tito’s birthday, giving a mythic dimension to everyday life in Socialist Yugoslavia.}

However, due to their resonance with the 1930s iconography of Stalin as \textit{otets} or “father” of the nation, and mindful of foreign audiences and their possible objections to the genre’s overtly nationalist and socialist content, \textit{Review} dropped the pioneer photographs in the subsequent 1963 story on Tito.\footnote{This aspect of Stalin’s iconography is discussed in Victoria E. Bonnell, \textit{Iconography of Power}, 165, 168, (and especially Fig. 6.13 of a later Nina Vatolina poster “Thank You Dear Stalin for a Happy Childhood,”); and Mathew Cullerne Bown, \textit{Art Under Stalin} (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1991), 98-99.}

**The Turning Point: Mirko Lovric in the Photographic Department**

While little is known of the context of the work of Tito’s official photographers in the Presidential Office Photo Department in the 1950s, an interview with Serbian photographer and art historian Mirko Lovric, Head of the Photo Department between 1963 and 1971, provides a first-hand account of the period of the 1960s and early 1970s.\footnote{The interview with Mirko Lovric was conducted in Belgrade on 21 August 2007. The author sent questions to Mirko Lovric via e-mail, and Goran Malic supplied the additional questions while conducting the interview with Lovric on behalf of the author. A written copy of the interview phonogram and a letter of consent from Mirko Lovric were sent to the author in an e-mail by Malic on 29 August 2007.} An artist trained in photography...
at the Zagreb Academy of Applied Arts between 1953 and 1956, and an art history graduate from the Belgrade University in 1961, Lovric was hired in 1963 to replace Grbic who was hired by *Politika*. At this time there were two other senior photographers working in the Photo Department, Aleksandar Stojanovic and Milos Raseta.\(^{1000}\) Although their junior, Lovric was appointed the first Head of the Photo Department in part due to his strong exhibition record and formal education. In contrast to Lovric, his older colleagues were trained in the traditional manner as apprentices of Serbian studio photographers, Raseta with Uros Vlahovic in Belgrade, and Stojanovic in a photo-studio in the town of Gnjilane, Kosovo.\(^{1001}\) The President’s General Secretary recommended Lovric to Tito, who approved of the young photographer’s appointment, reflecting his inclination to “surround himself with the people who were experts in their own domains” and often his juniors by many years.\(^{1002}\) Prior to Lovric’s appointment, the position of Head of the Photo Department did not exist and the President’s photographers and photo technicians worked under the sole guidance of the President’s Chief for the News.

The arrival of the ambitious Lovric to the Photographic Department was a sign of a deliberate structural change necessitated in part by the growing demand on the Department to supply news and official photography of the Yugoslav president. Lovric describes the enormity of his and his colleagues’ task:

> My working duty was to record all the activities of the President of the Republic, both official and private ones. This means, [that I was to photograph] all of his official visits, all the personalities he was to receive during the official meetings, starting with the heads of the states, ambassadors, and the leading personalities from the world of culture etc. About all this, we have made, in essence, a photographic chronicle. Absolutely every event related to him was recorded.\(^{1003}\)

\(^{1000}\) According to Goran Malic, a Serbian historian of photography and a critic, Raseta was Tito’s photographer since 1945, while Stojanovic held the position for two decades between 1960-1980 when he retired. Goran Malic, e-mail to the author, 9 March 2001.

\(^{1001}\) Mirko Lovric, personal interview, 29 August 2007, 2. All translations from Serbian are mine.

\(^{1002}\) Lovric, personal interview, 1.

\(^{1003}\) Lovric, personal interview, 2.
To accommodate this activity, the Photo Department was organized as a typical news agency, though it employed fewer staff. The Office photographers and cameramen rotated on various assignments, with no explicit presidential oversight determining which photographer was to be assigned to a particular job. The photographic apprentices working in the Department’s lab developed negatives and printed images daily. Finally, Tito’s official photographers were not credited with their photographs in the newspapers or magazines that published them. Their entire output was considered state property, and their negatives, contact copies, and images were entrusted to the Photographic Archive of the Presidential Office. This is why the personal archives of Tito’s official photographers, as a rule, do not contain negatives or images from this period.

The resources in the Presidential Photographic Archive were used in various official, semi-official, and private contexts. A selection of black-and-white photographs documenting Tito’s working day and private moments was destined for the President’s private collection of photographic albums, and stored in his private library at his Belgrade home.

---

1004 Ibid, 3.
1005 The negatives were also routinely dispatched to the TANJUG Agency, where the photographs were developed and dispatched to world news agencies via TANJUG’S telephoto service. Ibid, 2.
1006 While the mandate of the Photographic Archive of the Presidential Office was to care for the visual material relating to Tito’s presidency, the centralized organization of the Presidential Office and the place of the Photographic Department in it has complicated research into presidential photography in Socialist Yugoslavia. An object of the cultural and museum wars in the aftermath of the dissolution of Socialist Yugoslavia in the 1990s, the current location of the Presidential Photographic Archive is unknown. Most of the Archive’s fonds are, allegedly, held in the collection of the Museum of History of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, but access to it remains restricted for various reasons, such as the unresolved status of the museum’s various collections and an apparent lack of space for the handling and viewing of the archival material. I am indebted to Goran Malic, the President of The National Association For Photography in Belgrade, Serbia, and the Serbian photographers; the late Stevan Kragujevic; Ivo Eterovic; and Mirko Lovric for sharing their enormous knowledge, experience, collections, and memories of the period and facilitating my research.
1007 For example, Lovric does not have a single photograph from his days at the Office in his own possession. Lovric, personal interview, 2.
1008 Apparently, Tito had a habit of entertaining influential guests, including world politicians and heads of state, during their less formal meetings with the images in his photo albums. Uniform in size, these photos were arranged in individual bookbinders in chronological order with short inscriptions identifying
Department also prepared special photo albums containing sometimes up to six hundred images, that were presented to Tito’s friends and political counterparts as mementoes and diplomatic gifts. The Office also routinely supplied visual material for exhibitions throughout Socialist Yugoslavia commemorating the history of the Communist Party, the Yugoslav state, and Tito’s life.

**Working With the Foreign and Domestic Press: Stereotyping Tito**

The primary task of the Photo Department was to fulfill requests from foreign magazines and papers for Tito’s photographs. Lovric assigned photographers to various events, then handled the release of their images to the publications placing orders with the Presidential Office. The selection of the photographs was also solely his responsibility, though always subject to Tito’s approval.

Lovric’s editorial approach was based on his insight into the cultural, professional, and aesthetic attitudes of foreign publishers, and his knowledge of international public opinion about the Yugoslav president in a given country, and was subject to what he termed a voluntary ‘self-censorship’ ensuring positive international reception. Thus, he routinely used images of Tito that catered to the cultural and societal norm of the prospective audience. For example, Lovric withheld images for British papers of Tito hunting when the British were in the midst of a major campaign for the protection of wildlife. He filled the requests from Arabic and African countries with photographs of Tito on visits to their countries, and also presented photo albums to ordinary Yugoslavs as presidential gifts commemorating Tito’s visits to their working collectives, cities, schools, or farms. Lovric’s comments were generally simple, consisting mostly of the short note, “I approve the selection.”

The contents of each album by date, event, and the names of the personalities represented in the photographs. The whereabouts of Tito’s private photo album collection are also uncertain. Lovric, personal interview, 3, 7.

1009 Following the official state visit of Reza Pahlavi, the Shah of Iran, in 1966, Tito sent photographic albums with images of the Shah’s visit to his wife, Farah Diba Pahlavi, who had to stay behind in Iran due to family reasons. The photo albums were also customarily presented to ordinary Yugoslavs as presidential gifts commemorating Tito’s visits to their working collectives, cities, schools, or farms. Lovric, personal interview, 4.

1010 Tito’s comments were generally simple, consisting mostly of the short note, “I approve the selection.” Ibid, 2-3.

1011 On the subject of voluntary self-censorship as an aspect of working ethics at the Photo Department, Lovric echoes other journalists and photographers from Socialist Yugoslavia. It was an expression of their “patriotic professionalism.” Ibid, 4-5.
with photographs infused “with some military feel to them, celebrating Tito as a military commander, or showing Tito during a hunt,” as he felt that these themes resonated with stereotypes of leadership there.\(^{1012}\)

The Presidential Performance and Tito’s Official Photographers As ‘Privileged Observers’

Unlike photojournalists working for various Yugoslav newspapers, Tito’s official photographers were members of his entourage with unlimited access to him. Although they were not given specific directions about how to take their photos, their work was created in the highly organized context of the state events planned by the public relations people in Tito’s office or in the offices of his counterparts.\(^{1013}\) According to Lovric, his working day began with a briefing by the President’s Chief of News, who informed him about Tito’s daily schedule and coordinated the details of the weekly photo sessions. “There were precise programs written up for the visits of the heads of state where the entire visit was programmed down to the last minute, including when and how […] certain things would happen.”\(^{1014}\) Office photographers were given a document containing the details of each visit, according to which they planned their \textit{snimanje} or “recording” of the event. Grbic, Lovric, Raseta and Stojanovic were, therefore, cast in the role of ‘privileged observers’\(^{1015}\) of the presidential spectacle taking place before and for their camera.

Lovric observes that their work was fraught with contradictions. Although embedded in the state protocol, he downplays any notion of the staged character of the images he and his team took, arguing that they engaged the rhetoric of photographic realism instead. He evokes the notion of the objectivity and neutrality of the camera in order to shield himself and his colleagues

\(^{1012}\) Lovric, personal interview, 3. 
\(^{1013}\) Ibid, 2. 
\(^{1014}\) Ibid, 8. 
\(^{1015}\) Todic, \textit{Photography and Propaganda}, 131. Todic uses this term to refer to Yugoslav photographers and photojournalists who documented public parades and mass spectacles in Yugoslavia.
at the Photographic Department from the accusations that they were “political apparatchiks” and “court photographers,”¹⁰¹⁶ mere propagators of Tito’s personality cult:

> We did not retouch the photos, we did not change anything, we did not use the montage, and there was no digital photography at that time. [Our] photographs rendered [everyday] reality [of Tito’s statesmanship].¹⁰¹⁷

However, Lovric is aware of the role Tito’s official photographers played in crafting and maintaining his positive public image, and their imperative not to “belittle but to affirm” their subject.¹⁰¹⁸ Yet he found their role similar to that of celebrity and official photographers of “other heads of states, great actors, scientists, and artists,”¹⁰¹⁹ who similarly crafted the empowering public image of their personalities in carefully staged photographs. Hence, the new Yugoslav presidential photography in the 1960s and 70s demonstrated a conceptual and formal maturity based around a clear definition of it as a tool of presidential image management. Absorbing iconographic traditions of the representation of statesmen and public personalities from Western photography, art and popular culture, Tito’s official photographers defined a canonical style and iconography of his leadership, for both domestic and international audiences.


A picturesque color image of the medieval Mostar Bridge on the cover page of *Review* in April 1963 signified a turning point in the magazine’s history (fig. 121).¹⁰²⁰ It was at this time that *Review* was transferred to Turisticka stampa, a Yugoslav publisher of high quality illustrated books and magazines, and that Nebojsa Tomasevic was appointed Editor in Chief, succeeding

---


¹⁰¹⁷ Lovric, personal interview, 4.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ibid, 5.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰²⁰ This issue included an illustrated article on the architecture of Yugoslav bridges.
Bogdan Pesic. The new publisher and editor set high standards for the magazine’s design and print quality, and increased the number of color illustrations, including photographs in articles and advertisements. In the same year that Lovric came to the Photo Department, Review was turned into a luxurious publication rivaling its Western counterparts.

1963 “Bound for Latin America:” The Diplomatic Globetrotter and The Family Man

Tito in Colour

Soon after the magazine was equipped with colour technology, it featured an image of a lone, meditative Tito taking “a brief respite from his duties,” walking camera in hand in the Yugoslav countryside, a crisp blue lake with a small waterfall in the mid-ground and the rolling hills on the horizon. Among Tito’s Review covers, this one is exceptional for its iconography of leisure, contrasting with more conventional representations of Tito in his office. It exploits the traditional Romantic theme of man in nature while aestheticizing Yugoslav countryside (fig. 122).

The Globetrotter

The feature in the same issue, “Bound for Latin America,” reports on Tito’s official visit to four Latin American states - Mexico, Brazil, Bolivia and Chile - celebrating it as the first step that ushered “magnitude of the possibilities” for economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and these countries. The feature opens with a black-and-white photograph by Raseta of Tito as a smiling diplomatic globetrotter standing on the deck of a sailing ship and holding a camera (fig. 123). Its iconography repeats standard features in the 1961 Review cover, such as the staging of Tito onboard the ship, his formal clothes, and handy camera. The angle and mood in Raseta’s photo are however more informal.

---

1021 Tomasevic’s career in the publishing industry was from its beginnings associated with Review. Between 1961 and 1962, he worked for the magazine as a translator, and was the magazine’s Editor in Chief from 1963 to 1978.
1022 See cover and commentary in Review (September 1963): np.
Straightening the Iconography of Tito’s Leisure: Metalworking and Reading

In contrast with the public, foreign affairs subject matter of the article, virtually all the black-and-white and color images in it depict Tito’s private life. A black-and-white photograph by Grbic of Tito in his Brioni workshop, and another by Stojanovic of Tito reading newspapers, exemplify the two new stereotypes in his iconography, both resonating with his official biography by Dedijer and with socialist ideals of leisure (fig. 123). The workshop photograph depicts Tito in profile in his modest home workshop, a small file in his hand, working a piece of metal fixed in the clamp attached to a simple wooden table. Clearly, this image departs from the images by John Phillips in *Life*, who had in 1949 depicted Tito pursuing such middle-class and expensive hobbies as horse riding, motor-boating, and a billiard. Instead, Grbic’s image reject’s these bourgeois stereotypes, taking cues from accounts in Dedijer’s official autobiography of Tito’s youth as a locksmith’s apprentice in Zagreb, and mechanic at the Kraljevica Shipyards.\(^\text{1024}\) The caption makes this biographical reference explicit: “In his home workshop, the President still keeps hand in at a craft which once earned him his livelihood - metalworking.”\(^\text{1025}\) This stereotype renders Tito as a man of the people and of personal integrity, proud of his working-class origins and immune to the political fame.

Furthermore, the workshop photograph exploits the popular cult of the shock-worker, the hero of Socialist labour celebrated in photographs depicting the economic and industrial *obnova* in *Jugoslavia* and *Fotografija* magazines.\(^\text{1026}\) The Yugoslav shock-workers usually came from the ranks of manual and skilled laborers employed in mining and heavy industry, and the metalworker, in particular, was often pictured to embody the Socialist virtues of perseverance, physical strength, technical competence and hard work. This stereotype is best exemplified in M. Jojic’s iconic images of the Yugoslav miners, *Portret Rudara* and *Nikola Skobic*, reproduced in

\(^{1024}\) Dedijer, *Tito*, 49, 56.

\(^{1025}\) “Bound For Latin America,” 23.

Grbic’s image grafts these attributes of the male Socialist icon to Tito’s image, making him a role model to Yugoslav people.

The image of Tito as metalworker became a staple of his iconography that challenged the previously Westernized public image of him with a decidedly Socialist paradigm. Its counterpart, a photograph of a formally dressed Tito reading *Politika* and other newspapers, rendered reading an aspect of his duty, but also a favorite pastime and vehicle of self-improvement rooted in his revolutionary youth. Dedijer returns to this topic several times, notably with respect Tito’s time in the prisons of Lepoglava and Maribor in 1929, where the Communist inmates had organized reading groups and comrade-taught courses. It also matched his description of Tito’s passion for books:

> After lunch Tito returns to his room. He then usually reads books. The most important books which are published in Yugoslavia are placed every day on Tito’s desk. He goes through them all and takes those he thinks are most interesting to his private library. His favourite foreign authors are Balzac and Stendhal, Goethe, Dreiser, Mark Twain, Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, Kipling and Brehm.

As a major stereotype, the image of Tito as the avid reader was created in an earlier formal photographic portrait of him in his library found in TANJUG’s archive (fig. 105, images “6” and “7”). Depicting a bespectacled Tito in front of a tall, glassed bookcase in profile smoking pipe and reading a thick volume in his hand, this image was compositionally based on a 1952 Soviet

---


1028 Possibly also underlying this stereotype is a biting political joke referring to Tito’s crafty manipulation of Stalin, ‘the man of steel’, and his ‘piercing of the iron curtain’ in 1948.

1027 In this context, he described Tito’s love of reading as a tool of his Communist education and as an expression of his curious and free-spirited nature, rendering him as both a revolutionary and an avid reader. This stereotype also relates to the progressive belief in the importance of universal education and literacy as vehicles of social mobility and progress in Socialist Yugoslavia. Dedijer, *Novi priloz za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1979 c.), 189, 201; and Dedijer, *Tito*, 57, 83-85.

1030 Dedijer, *Tito*, 413.

**The Brozes at Home: Mestrovic, Domestic Harmony and Matrimonial Romance**

The two color photographs that follow in a double-page spread of “Bound for Latin Americ” depict the harmonious domestic life and matrimonial romance of Tito and Jovanka (fig. 124). A photograph by Grbic shows them in the living room of their Belgrade home, sitting opposite each other in antique armchairs with luxurious floral upholstery and decoratively carved wooden hand-rests and legs. Dressed in a dark suit with a silver watch dangling off his wrist, Tito holds a book in his left hand and a cigarette holder in his right. He faces Jovanka, who seems to be talking to him. She wears a cobalt-blue evening dress with a deep neckline, a pair of diamond earrings and a matching bracelet and ring of dark gems. Two traditional coffee sets - each containing a *djezva*, a brass coffeepot, and a *filzdan*, a small rounded coffee cup without handles – sit in a tray on a carved coffee table, adding a local Balkan flavor to the upper-class interior. The room also features a huge fireplace flanked by the heavy wrought-iron candleholders.

A bronze relief *Girl With Lute* by the Yugoslav expatiate sculptor Ivan Mestrovic, is displayed on the mantelpiece, occupying a focal place in the décor of the room and in the composition of the image. The relief deals with what Mestrovic had vaguely defined as cosmological harmony “between ourselves and all things around.” This transcendental subject was explored by the artist in his other musically-themed pieces, such as his *Distant Accords* (1918) and *Girl Lutanist* (1927). An example of Mestrovic’s most intimate and meditative

---

1031 For an analysis and image of Ivanov’s poster see Bonnell, *Iconography of Power*, 254-255.
1033 Ibid, 29-32. A bronze copy of *Distant Accords*, 1918, is in the Mestrovic Gallery, Split, and there is another copy of this work in Art Gallery Dubrovnik. A black marble *Girl Lutanist* is in the Tate Gallery. Other Mestrovic marble reliefs of women playing musical instruments are in Mestrovic Gallery, including *Woman Violinist*, 1922, and *Girl Harper-Girl Lutanist*, 1924.
works, *Girl With Lute* is a fitting symbol of the harmonious private life of the Broz couple. In contrast to the earlier depiction of him in *Life* as a champion of Socialist-Realist art in *Life*, it also alludes to Tito’s sophisticated artistic taste and preference for lyrical academic art.

There is a further political dimension to this prominent staging of Mestrovic’s sculpture. A proponent of the idea of Yugoslav unity, Mestrovic chose a life of exile at the end of the war. From Rome, where he spent the mid-1940s, Mestrovic and his family left for the U.S. in 1945, where he lived until his death in 1962. He taught sculpture at Syracuse University from 1944, and at Notre Dame University from 1955.1034 Protesting the “abuse of the rights and liberties of his [Yugoslav] countrymen,” Mestrovic rejected Tito’s invitation to return to Yugoslavia in 1949, and met with him only once during his brief visit to his home country in 1959.1035 Given Mestrovic’s biography and his American reputation as an anti-communist and anti-Titoist, the inclusion of his work in Grbic’s portrait of Tito was implicitly political, projecting an image of Tito as a liberal person capable of separating his private life and interests from the matters of the state.

Opposite the Grbic, the other color photograph by Stojanovic shows Tito and Jovanka relaxing in the garden of their Belgrade home.1036 Dressed in summer clothes, seated under the striped umbrella of the patio swing, they chat and smile to each other. Merging the rococo iconography of courting couples in verdant gardens and the vernacular aesthetics of snapshot photography representing the everyday leisure of middle-classes, Stojanovic like Grbic before him evokes the matrimonial romance and bon-vivant lifestyle of the Yugoslav presidential couple (fig. 124).

---

1034 Ibid, 22-25.
1036 “Bound For Latin America,” 25.
Tito the *Domacin*

A black-and-white photograph of Tito’s Acovic Villa at 15 Uzicka Street, Belgrade, with its garden and decorative fountain, caters to the voyeuristic instincts of *Review’s* readers (fig. 125). Built before the war for the Acovic family, the villa was renovated in late 1944 and early 1945, and again between 1958 and 1960. Its eclectic architecture incorporates references to local building traditions. Typical of this eclecticism is its garden fountain with a sculptural group of five caryatids dressed in national costumes and dancing the *kolo*, an allegory of national unity that combines modern design with national content.

On the same page, a black-and-white photograph by Stojanovic casts Tito in the role of *domacin*, or “host,” traditional to Yugoslav patriarchic culture and family life. Typically the oldest male member of the family, the *domacin* is symbol of unchallenged authority and power. It is a practice that, a *domacin* ceremonially prepares and offers food and drinks to his guests, as expressions of his and his family’s hospitality. This ritual offering of food and shelter indicates personal humility and respect towards the others. The guests acknowledge the patriarch’s special status by participating in the ceremony as the recipients of his goodwill. Facing the camera, in Stojanovic’s photograph Tito wears a white apron over his black suit and poses next to his “La Caaimali” espresso machine. Its shiny surface and round streamlined shapes give a modern touch to the representation of the traditional coffee-making ceremony. The iconography of this image positions Tito as both observant of traditions and a consumer of modern goods, *pater familias* and a stylish trendsetter.

---

“Fishing Story”: Presidential Endorsement of the Yugoslav Tourism Industry

The Review article ends with Grbic’s full-page black-and-white photograph of Tito inspecting a “successful catch from one of his fishing trips” in the Adriatic. Suntanned, dressed in a summer shirt, shorts, flip-flops, and a white beret, he smiles at the camera, holding an enormous eel and standing on the marble pavement of the riva or pier. The image includes Jovanka Broz admiring a huge fish carried by a man in their entourage. A motor-boat is docked to the left, and a young Yugoslav naval cadet is in the background (fig. 125).

In comparison to various other photographs of Tito fishing, including Phillips’ photograph of him string-fishing, another image by Grbic of Tito net-fishing probably taken on the same trip, and a formal photograph published in Review in 1962 of the Brozes fishing during an official visit to Egypt, this image stands out for its informal atmosphere and hybrid iconography. It mixes the vernacular aesthetic of the holiday snapshot, the Dutch fish still life painting iconography, and advertising photography for marine tourism and sport. Staged to impress the viewer with Tito’s fishing skills and with the richness of Adriatic marine life, the photo is effectively an advertisement for the Yugoslav tourism and hospitality industry, with Tito in the role of a celebrity promoting the country’s natural resources and the Dalmatian coastal towns as a destination for sport fishing. The issue’s colour, cover photograph of Tito by the lake functions similarly, giving center stage to the unspoiled Yugoslav landscape. Grasping the advertising and propaganda possibilities in this genre of presidential ‘leisure’ photography, the Review editors consistently deployed in subsequent issues to promote simultaneously Yugoslav industry, recreational sports, tourism, and natural resources, and the image of Tito as an ‘ordinary man.’

1038 “Bound For Latin America,” 27.
1039 See a contact copy of the reproduction of this image in TANJUG archive, Film number 12081BR-9, image 7.
1969 “Josip Broz Tito”: Depicting Tito’s Private Life

Cover: Tito Working

Stojanovic’s semi-official portrait of Tito in the office, captioned “President Tito Working At His Desk,” appeared on the cover of the May 1969 issue of Review. Dressed in a dark suit and a tie, wearing glasses, a cigarette holder in his hands, he is seated at a luxurious desk. Tito’s expression is solemn, but he looks tired and aged. His creased brow and gray crescent of hair convey a sense of experience and intellectual power (fig. 126). Pink potted flowers on a wooden pedestal in the background add elegance. The setting, and particularly the monumental armchair as a symbol of authority, evokes Karsh’s portraits of Tito from 1954, and photographs of him in the While Palace study by British photojournalists.

Embedded in this tradition, Stojanovic’s portrait contrasts to the stripped-down, more contemporary look of Lovric’s May 1967 Review cover portrait of Tito in his office (fig. 127). This photograph depicts Tito in a simple gray jacket and a shirt, reading a document in his streamlined, modern study. Its shallow, compressed pictorial space and tight framing allude to the solitary nature of Tito’s work as statesman. His forehead symbolically illuminated, Tito does not address the camera. His pose expresses a contemplative sense of alienation. The minimalist setting and isolated mood of Lovric’s photograph relate to the earlier stereotype, propagated in Newsweek and Life, of Tito as a hardworking and down-to-earth puritan.

Essay: Tito At Leisure

In the same issue, a four-page photo essay entitled “Josip Broz Tito” published a selection of official color photographs of the Brozes by Lovric, Raseta, and Stojanovic. Depicting domestic leisure, they worked with existing and created new stereotypes in Tito’s photography, honoring the narrative and gender clichés employed in earlier Review stories about the Brozes. The feature opens with a full-page colour image by Lovric of Tito as Domacin, a

---

1041 For discussion of the British examples and Karsh’s images of Tito, see Chapters 6 and 8.
stereotype featured in the 1963 Review story. Formally dressed, Tito is posed behind a bar in his Belgrade home, pouring a cocktail into crystal glasses. A bouquet of red carnations and an ice bucket shaped as elephant foot adorn the bar (fig. 128). The arrangement of the objects in front of Tito, his position in the center of the photograph, and the shallow space behind the bar, deliberately recall Eduard Manet’s famous A Bar at the Folies-Bergère (1881-1882). Lovric valued a “certain aesthetic dimension” of his work, “especially in [its] formal aspects.”1043 His use of Western art as a source of formal and compositional solutions in his photographs was a consequence of his education and his belief in the importance of a personal photographic style.

**Tito the Photographer**

The essay includes a double-page spread of four color photographs that depict Tito photographing, hunting, wine-tasting and playing with his pets in the company of Jovanka Broz (fig. 129). In the first image to the left, editors introduce Tito as “a keen photographer.”1044 Seated on a low patio chair and holding a camera, Tito is in the company of his wife Jovanka and the two men, probably his security staff. The group’s casual clothes, relaxed poses, and smiling expressions, allude to the informal nature of the presidential outing in the orchards. Similar images of Tito as photographer proliferated in the 1960s and 1970s. In view of the popular conception of photography as a pastime for the masses, its prominent iconography as a presidential hobby is at odds with the aristocratic hobbies, such as hunting or horse riding, the Western journalists depicted Tito pursuing.

Modern U.S. leaders choose traditional pastimes and sports popular today as hobbies: Eisenhower was photographed hunting and painting, Truman fishing, Kennedy sailing, Lyndon Johnson herding on his ranch, Regan horseback riding in the company of the Queen, Nixon playing piano and Clinton practicing the saxophone for a TV appearance, G. W. Bush jogging

---

1043 Lovric, personal interview, 8.
1044 “Josip Broz Tito,” 11.
and Gerald Ford golfing.\textsuperscript{1045} In contrast to the British Royal family, most notably Queen Victoria and Princess Alexandra who were photography’s patrons,\textsuperscript{1046} Winston Churchill favored traditional easel painting. The January 1946 \textit{Life} cover showed a Hans Wild photo of Churchill in his painting suit, brush in one hand, painting an impressionistic landscape in his home studio in Chartwell, Kent.\textsuperscript{1047} The magazine called him “one of England’s most indefatigable amateur painters,” and reproduced some of his Italian landscapes.\textsuperscript{1048} Thus, Tito’s interest in photography, a uniquely modern medium, seems unconventional and personal. It can be linked to his image as a hands-on-man interested in technical hobbies; photography and metalworking both belong into this category. His many photographs in the Brioni darkroom also reinforce the popular view of Tito’s sophisticated knowledge of the photographic techniques and equipment. According to Eterovic, Tito developed color photos manually in his lab and used a whole range of cameras, including small-size Leika, Polaroid, and a sophisticated Swedish-made Hasselblad camera, which is popular among professionals and ambitious amateur photographers.\textsuperscript{1049}

In the Socialist Yugoslavia, photography was given a new class character as a technology of workers self-representation and socially responsible art form popularized by \textit{Fotografija} magazine. Its presidential endorsement was relevant in this context. Tito was often the official patron of exhibits of amateur and artistic photography. For example, a photograph of his visit to the First International Exhibit of Photography in Belgrade in 1952 was published on the cover of \textit{Fotografija}, and in 1966 he was the official sponsor of the Second Yugoslav Cup of

\textsuperscript{1047} Cover of \textit{Life} 20, no. 1 (7 Jan. 1946).
\textsuperscript{1049} Eterovic, \textit{Njihovi dani} (Tito’s Private Life), (Belgrade: Jugoslovenska revija, 1973), 97.
Photography. In the same spirit, Tito submitted his own work to domestic photo shows, such as the Maribor Photo-Club Exhibit in 1963, and sent an official letter of support, published in Fotografija magazine, to the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the International Union of Amateur Film.

**Tito the Hunter**

Another image in this photo essay exploited the stereotype established in the 1960s of Tito as a hunter. His entourage cropped out of this photograph, Tito takes center stage. Dressed in his hunting costume - a dark-blue jacket, brown pants, a matching hat, and a pair of high leather boots - he stands alert, rifle in hand. The pheasants he appears to have shot, are arranged in neat rows on the ground before him (fig. 129).

The composition and iconography of this photograph derive from traditional Western iconography of hunting pictures. With roots in Roman imperial art, official paintings of European monarchs in hunting apparel became the vehicle of royal propaganda signifying their military might and virtue, as exemplified by Anthony Van Dyck’s 1635 painting *Charles I at the Hunt*. Despite the preponderance of hunting images in Tito’s presidential photography, explicit references to Imperial game and royal hunt are rare in his hunting photographs in

---

1050 See Fotografija 5, no. 2 (March-April 1952); “Ten years of the Yugoslav Photo and Film Amateurs Association,” Fotografija 9, no. 6 (December, 1956): 4-5; and “Predsednik Tito pokrovitelj 2 kupa jugoslovenske fotografije,” Foto-kino revija 19, no. 11 (November 1966): 273.

1051 He participated in the Maribor Photo-Club Exhibit with over 80 of his photographs taken during various trips to Africa and Asia. See: Foto-kino revija 16, no. 1 (January 1963); and Foto-kino revija 18, no.11 (November 1965): 281.

1052 “Josip Broz Tito,” 11-12.

1053 Hunting scenes gained a special prominence as a tool of Imperial propaganda in Roman art during Hadrian’s rule (AD 117-138), a celebrated example of which are the eight monumental roundels now found in the Arch of Constantine. See Nancy H. Ramage and Andrew Ramage, *Roman Art. Romulus to Constantine*, 4th ed. (New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), 233-235.


More significant is the ascendance of hunting as a popular, and virtuous, pastime of European nobility and wealthy landowners, and the related flourishing between 1700 and 1860 of sporting art in Britain, France, and America, with noblemen in the dual role as patrons of paintings and sitters. John Wootten, British proponent of the genre, rendered Frederick Prince of Wales seated in landscape with dead game on the ground, accompanied by, John Spencer, Ranger of Windsor Great Park, and Charles, Douglas Duke of Queensberry, and their hunting dogs and servants in *The Shooting Party* (1740). Similarly, the 1755 painting by Gainsborough, *Major John Dade of Tannington, Suffolk*, was commissioned by the Major who is depicted in it shooting in the country in the company of his hunting dogs, a rifle in hand, and his game on the ground. Paintings such as this made the social status of the wealthy sitters explicit by visualizing their exclusive privilege to leisurely hunt and by testifying to their might to commission artworks. This tradition is echoed in photographs of Tito shooting for leisure in order to ennoble his public image and elevate his status.

Finally, modern appropriation of hunting themes in contemporary photography of world leaders, including U.S. presidents, as popular signs of their masculinity is important for reception of Tito’s hunting images abroad. As *Life* magazine playfully noted, the “camera rules for becoming a president” demanded hunting photos demonstrating the virility of candidates and

---

1056 There is direct reference to Imperial iconography in photographs of Tito as hunter published in Yugoslavia only after his death. The most memorable of all is a witty image of Tito triumphantly stepping over a large brown bear, traditionally considered Imperial game but also a symbol of Russian state. For a discussion of the political relevance and iconography of this image, see Chapter 5.


presidents alike, especially in their old age. Likewise, numerous images of Tito as hunter proliferated in the late 1960s and 1970s, conveying the message of his strength and leadership despite his senior years.

In order to depict Yugoslavia as a hunting destination, *Review* regularly published such illustrated articles as “Hunting: New Species of Game in Yugoslavia” in 1963; “Happy Hunting” in 1965, celebrating the performance of Yugoslav recreational huntsmen at various international sporting competitions; and “Where Game Abounds” in 1966, discussing the plentitude of the domestic game, the shooting regulations and reserve locations throughout the country. The last article featured black-and-white and colour photographs of jovial huntsmen shooting pheasant, wild boar, and red deer in the Yugoslav marshes and mountains (fig. 130). These images resonate with the *Review*’s rendering of Tito as a recreational hunter.

*Review*’s depiction of Tito as an avid sportsman continued the magazine’s tradition of popularizing Yugoslav tourism, while also figuring the president as a virile male leader. *Review* had already deployed Tito’s leisure photographs promoting simultaneously Yugoslav leadership and the Yugoslav countryside in 1963, notably in the image of him fishing in the Adriatic and hiking against an impressive backdrop of the Yugoslav wilderness.

**The Later Years of Tito’s Family Life**

*Review* depicted the later years of the Brozes’s private life as noble and quiet in 1969. One nocturnal image portrays Tito and Jovanka in the garden of their Belgrade home, oblivious to the photographer’s presence, “playing with their pet, Alsatian, Tiger, the President’s inseparable companion, and their two poodles” (fig. 129). The staging of this garden photograph - a picturesque autumn tree in the background, the Brozes sitting together on a low

---

1062 “Josip Broz Tito,” 12.
bench, and the trio of pet-dogs establish a placid, genteel mood. Prancing around Jovanka, toy poodles are an attribute or their noble lifestyle and marital fidelity. The breed was popular with European royalty and aristocracy and commonly found in the European courts of the eighteenth century. It was a favorite pet of the British Queen Anne and the French Monarch Louis XVI. The iconography of this image can be associated with the conversation pieces by Francis Hayman, Thomas Gainsborough and Arthur Devis. This genre of informal group portrait showed two or more figures, usually couples and their children, in the landscape settings. Popular among provincial gentility, it is exemplified by Gainsborough’s *Mr and Mrs Andrews*, 1750, showing the wealthy couple on their Essex estate attended by their dog. The painting celebrated their union in marriage, social status, and ownership of the land. Tito’s elite habits are rendered in the photograph of him, attended by a servant, tasting wine of his own making in his Brioni vineyards. This image contrasts with the spontaneous pictures in Ritopecki’s series from 1952 of a jovial Tito drinking wine with his comrades and members of the Yugoslav government. Rather, it stages Tito as a connoisseur, a man of taste and breeding (fig. 129).

**Representational Consistency As A Strategy of Tito’s Image Management**

The photo essay concludes with the juxtaposition of two stereotypes, Tito as book-lover (here depicted reading in the upscale cabin of his private jet) and Tito as metalworker in order to reiterate the point about his personal integrity and humble nature from the 1963 magazine’s Tito story (fig. 131). This fixed iconography and its conventional narrative exemplifies the role of narrative and iconographic repetition in *Review*. Such repetition was meant to ensure representational consistency and official control over the reception of Tito’s public image in the

---

1066 “Josip Broz Tito,” 12.
competitive world of celebrity and political image management. In other words, Yugoslav photographers and media personnel recognized that Tito needed to “maintain consistency in how [he] presents [himself] to a given audience” in order to increase his political power, and they helped him do that by reinforcing certain stereotypes unifying his public image. They created and managed the official image of Tito’s ‘private life,’ understanding that to be credible his public image also needed to include depiction of those family moments that furnished emotional identification in audiences.

A letter to the editors, written in 1969 by a certain Fail Tunvali of Istanbul, Turkey, provides evidence of the positive reception of Review’s rendering of the Brozes:

My congratulations for the photographs of President Tito and his wife in your May issue. As a photographer, who has photographed statesmen, and knowing all the difficulties in bringing out the natural relaxed side of a statesman, I think that your photographers have (done) a wonderful job. He has managed to show President Tito and his wife as ordinary human beings, and not, as often is the case, a stylized clichéd sort of people.

The depiction praised here of the Brozes as ordinary human beings depended largely on the representational motifs appropriated by Grbic, Lovric, Raseta, and Stojanovic. In their photographs, they referenced popular and traditional culture in Yugoslavia and in the West, Tito’s biography, traditions of Western painting, and modern political photography, to create accessible, hybrid stereotypes that resonated domestically and abroad. They exploited the popularity of celebrity photography in the 1960s that depicted famous people in their private lives and in their family circle, and personalized Tito’s public image, setting the stage for Ivo Eterovic’s aesthetics of modest disclosure in Tito’s late photography.

---


1069 Ibid, 173.


Cutting the Deal With Tito

Tito’s first private photographer, Ivo Eterovic was born in 1935 in the coastal town of Split, Croatia. In the 1950 he was appointed journalist for the United Nations forces in the Near East. Following a one-year assignment, he returned to Yugoslavia to work for the Front: The Yugoslav Army Illustrated Magazine, in Belgrade, and for the Croatian illustrated magazine Globus, in Zagreb, between 1961 and 1963. Choosing Belgrade as his permanent home, he became staff photojournalist and chief correspondent for the Zagreb publishing house Vijesnik in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1963, Eterovic was the first photographer to arrive in Skopje, in the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, after a devastating earthquake in 1963. His dramatic black-and-white photographs of the disaster were published in a supplement to the September 1963 issue of Review.

On 14 April 1966 Eterovic was summoned by Franjo Stipkovic, Secretary to the President, to Tito’s private residence in Belgrade. Apparently, the Brozes were in need of some new publicity images. Normally the job would be handled by Tito’s official photographers, yet Tito requested Eterovic, who had no personal contact with the president and had only photographed him as a photojournalist for Vijesnik. In an interview Eterovic explains that Antun Augustincic, a famous Yugoslav sculptor and the president’s friend, was working on Tito’s bust but progressing slowly as Tito was not fond of posing. Augustincic suggested that Eterovic make

---

1071 The first issue of Front came out on May 9, 1945, published by the Political Department of the People’s Ministry of Defence in Belgrade. It was popular in Yugoslavia in the 1950s and 1960s and was published until 1992.
1072 Today, Eterovic is recognized as a major photographer in Serbia. He was given the prestigious “October Salon” award for the photographic achievement in 1968 for his photographs of the student protests in Belgrade in the same year. His photo-monograph of Tito and Jovanka, Their Days, was also awarded The Annual Prize of the Yugoslav Association of Photographers in 1977. For Eterovic’s biography see: Ivo Eterovic, More, Kornati, Salasi (Beograd, 1986), np.
1074 Ivo Eterovic, personal interview, 17 September 2001, 1. All translations are mine.
a photo study of Tito as reference to complete the sculpture. The president agreed, inviting Eterovic to his home in April 1966. Yet Augustincic and Eterovic did not know each other, nor was Eterovic known as a portrait or a society photographer.\textsuperscript{1075}

**The Kennedys Example**

At the end of the session Eterovic proposed to make “a series of candid images from their private life.”\textsuperscript{1076} As personal disclosure was part of the business of being famous, private photography of celebrities was a lucrative field for aspiring and established photographers alike. By the 1960s mutually beneficial arrangements between politicians and famous photographers became the norm. The Kennedys are the most famous example of this strategy. American fashion photographers Richard Avedon and Mark Shaw, and Stanley Tretick, a photojournalist for United Press International and *Look* magazine, all photographed John F. Kennedy and his family. Their spontaneous photographs depicting the youthful and glamorous Kennedy family were regularly published in *Life*, *Look*, and *Harper’s Bazaar*, creating a lasting public image of Kennedy as a loving family man and dedicated father.

Avedon’s classically composed, black-and-white photographs of the President-Elect, his wife, and young children, were taken in their summer villa in Palm Beach, Florida, in January 1961, in the wake of JFK’s victory over Richard Nixon. They were published in the February issues of *Look* and *Harper’s Bazaar*, only weeks after Kennedy’s inaugural speech on 20 January 1961. As Shannon Thomas Perich observes, Kennedy was the first American president consciously to use the image of his family to enable the public to identify with his presidency and thus further his political career.\textsuperscript{1077} Shaw rendered the glamorous Camelot years in his intimate and casual photographs of Kennedy and the First Lady, which appeared in *Life*.

\textsuperscript{1075} Ivo Eterovic, “Moji dani sa Brozivima,” *Ilustrovana politika*, no. 2315 (31 May 2003): 4-11.
\textsuperscript{1076} Eterovic, personal interview, 2.
Finally, Tretick photographed Kennedy during his presidential campaign (1959-1960) and in the White House, recording both his rise to power and his private persona in photographs published in Look magazine between 1960 and 1964. The famous photograph taken in October 1963 of JFK reading at his Oval Office desk while his son John Kennedy Jr. plays underneath it, represent the kind of sentimental, unconventional image depicting the President in his dual role as a caring father and head of state that brought Tretick recognition. When this and his other photographs of the two Kennedys in the White House were published in the December 1963 issue of Look magazine, their emotional content amplifying the sense of loss and sorrow following Kennedy’s assassination on 22 November 1963. It is possible that the trend towards the intimate and informal in images of the Kennedys influenced Eterovic and helped convince Tito to agree to the photographer’s proposal. Eterovic certainly, and possibly Tito, were aware of this contemporary trend towards the intimate and informal content in the Kennedy’s photography.

Eterovic, thus, became Tito’s ‘shadow-photographer’ by presidential appointment. Unlike the official photographers from the Presidential Office whose schedules were established by the state protocol, Eterovic had free access to Tito and Mrs. Broz and answered only to Tito. Tito’s security was instructed to allow Eterovic to freely maneuver around Tito. Eterovic was Tito’s first and only private photographer, with the rights of an independent author to take,
develop, and publish freely the photographs he made of the Brozes. In the eleven years following their initial meeting in April 1966, Eterovic took twenty thousand images.1080

The Book Idea, and The Contracts With Review and Paris Match

Eterovic has been dedicated to the medium of the photo-book since the 1960s: “I understood back then that all my work for the illustrated magazines, all the photo stories and the covers I made, are doomed to oblivion in the hands of time [. . .] I have extended the life span of my photographs in the books I made.”1081 Although he did not initially reveal his plan to the Brozes, he intended to create a photo-book about them. Tito’s Private Life came out in the summer of 1977 in English, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene and Macedonian, in an edition of 20,000.1082

While preparing the book, Eterovic continued to work for Vijesnik. Review published his new photos of the Brozes, and granted him a creative monopoly over Tito’s private image.1083 Eterovic also had a contract with Paris Match, which paid “excellent money” in exchange for the right to publish exclusive photos of Tito and Jovanka in October 1972.1084 These contracts cemented Eterovic’s international reputation as a private photographer of the Brozes, reputation that likely attracted Mikhail and Larisa Gorbachev, who wanted a similar book done for them in the late 1980s.1085

1080 Eterovic, personal interview, 4.
1081 Ibid, 2.
1082 The figure was decided on by Tomasevic, the editor in chief at Jugoslovenska knjiga publishing house. Eterovic, personal interview, 2-3.
1083 Although Lovric does not address this topic in his interview, we can imagine that he was relieved by the advent of Eterovic as Tito’s private photographer, for it allowed his team to be viewed objective photojournalists rather than Tito’s propagandists.
1085 Eterovic’s agreement with the Soviet leader included transportation to Moscow, where shooting for the book was to take place over a period of three months, and the promise of one hundred-thousand German marks when it was finished. Their plans fell through with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991. Eterovic, personal interview, 4.
Matching the *Paris Match*?

Unlike the influential *Picture Post*, which ceased publication in 1957, *Paris Match*, established in 1949, remained through to the end of the century one of the most famous and successful magazines to cover international royalty and celebrities. In his work for the magazine Eterovic was influenced by and conformed to *Paris Match’s* celebrity photography, its aesthetics and thematic choices. One example is a photo-essay on President George Pompidou and his wife published in the “Le Match Couleur” section of the February 1970 issue. It shows the Pompidous at their Paris residence during a regular working day, at their villa in the village of Orvilliers, and vacationing at a rural Cajarc.\(^{1086}\) The story in its depiction of the French presidential couple at leisure parallels thematically and ichnographically Eterovic’s depiction of Tito and Jovanka’s private life in his book.

**Sharing Love - Sharing Power: Eterovic’s Cover Portraits of The Brozes in 1974 and 1977**

In May 1974, *Review* published a cover photograph by Eterovic of the Brozes, standing in profile against a neutral background. Photographed in the foreground from a low angle that imparts monumentality, Tito wears a marshal uniform adorned with the Order of the National Hero. His bust visually dominates over that of Jovanka, who is depicted slightly out of focus in the background (fig. 132.).\(^{1087}\) Eterovic’s photograph alludes to their shared power and to Jovanka’s prestige in Socialist Yugoslavia as the first lady.

The iconography of the image echoes overlapping double portraits of modern celebrity, royalty, and leaders, the compact composition of which in turn seems to derive from Roman imperial cameos with overlapping portraits of emperors and their wives.\(^{1088}\) A Nickolas Muray

---


\(^{1087}\) Jovanka did not have an independent political career of her own; her public role was defined solely by her place in the official state protocol as the President’s wife.

\(^{1088}\) Examples of Roman cameo double portrait are a Hellenistic “Alexander and Olympia” cameo in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, from the 3rd century B.C.E., also called the “Gonzaga Cameo”; the onyx cameo with the portraits of Claudius and Agrippina the Younger and
photograph of the actors couple, Mary Pickford, in the foreground, and Douglas Fairbanks Sr., in the background,-appropriates this imperial formula to render “the reigning King and Queen of Hollywood” in the December 1922 *Vanity Fair*.\(^{1089}\) Yousuf Karsh utilized it in his overlapping cameo portrait of Prince Rainer and Princess Grace (1956),\(^{1090}\) and his photograph of President Gerald Ford and Betty Ford (1977).\(^{1091}\) In both photographs, Karsh posed the famous women in the foreground. A similar photograph of George Pompidou and his wife appeared on the cover of the 13 April 1974 issue of *Paris Match*, two weeks after Pompidou’s sudden death on 1 April while he was still in office.\(^{1092}\) It shows the overlapping profiles of the President and his wife, both looking in the same direction. Depicted in the background standing shoulder to shoulder with her husband, Claude Pompidou is represented in this photograph in the traditional role of the President’s wife (fig. 133).

Both the *Paris Match* cover photograph of the Pompidous and the *Review* cover photograph of the Brozes feature the spouses of the two leaders in the supporting roles that conform to the gender stereotypes of modern political portraiture. Eterovic employed the same iconography in the photograph of Tito and Jovanka featured on the cover of the May 1977 *Review* and on the dust jacket of his book. In this photograph, they are dressed in civilian clothes, standing next to each other, and facing to the left. The hint of a smile on his face, Tito occupies the foreground while Jovanka, like Claude Pompidou, occupies the background. In contrast to

---

\(^{1090}\) It was their official photograph and was used on Monaco stamp. Yousuf Karsh, *Portraits of Greatness* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), 160-161.  
\(^{1092}\) *Paris Match*, no. 1301 (13 April 1974).
the 1974 cover, however, Eterovic shoots the photograph from eye level. This angle of view echoes that of the Paris Match cover photograph of the Pompidous, similarly rendering Tito and Jovanka approachable and ordinary (fig. 134).

The Gender Paradigm in Tito’s Private Life and Stereotypes in Review’s “Tito at Leisure” (1976)

Like Tito’s official photographers and Karsh, Eterovic exploited the fact that Tito was married to a much younger woman, cultivating the image of the aging president as a powerful masculine figure and turning Jovanka into a symbol of ideal mature femininity - the perfect wife - and a counterpoint to his masculinity. These gender stereotypes, manifest in the iconography of domestic life, were integral to Tito’s Private Life.

In photographs of Jovanka in the role of a homemaker preparing fish on the barbecue or washing dishes in the kitchen; images of her accompanying Tito on leisurely walks in the Brioni harbor; and more intimate portraits of her at the vanity or sewing in the bedroom, Eterovic evoked feminine stereotypes drawn from Western art. Similar iconography of virtuous femininity and matrimonial love is found in Karsh’s 1962 portraits of Jovanka. It is possible that Eterovic saw Karsh’s 1954 and 1962 photographs of the Brozes. This and Karsh’s international status as a celebrity photographer, who was known in Yugoslavia by the nineteen-sixties, suggest that Eterovic was inspired by Karsh’s work. In contrast to Jovanka, Eterovic depicted Tito as vigorous and intellectually engaging and as a family patriarch. Much of Tito’s Private Life consist of images of Tito hunting, practicing photography and metalworking, reading and writing in his study, or hosting events at his home in the company of family guests and friends.

---

1093 Eterovic almost certainly knew Grbic’s photographs representing the Brozes as a romantic couple.
1094 For example, Karsh’s career, style of his photography, and his books were the topic of an informed article published about him in Foto-Kino Revija, a Yugoslav magazine dedicated to professional and amateur photography and film, in 1963. See: “Yousuf Karsh, Likovi Sudbine,” Foto-Kino Revija 18, no.3 (March 1965): 64-66. The article does not mention, however, that Karsh had visited and photographed Tito in 1954 and 1962.
These male gender stereotypes were echoed in *Review* magazine, when it published Eterovic’s photographs in the story “Tito at leisure” in May 1976.\(^{1095}\) The magazine’s editor chose only photographs depicting well-established stereotypes in Tito’s official iconography - Tito reading, photographing, hunting, metalworking, driving, traveling on a ship, and taking nature walks with his wife – thus maintaining the representational tradition from previous similar features and reinforcing by repetition the claim to truth in its depiction of Tito. Eterovic also innovated in his use of gender stereotypes broadening Tito’s iconography. For example, the story includes an image of Tito photographing Jovanka against the lush hedge of their garden. This image casts Tito in the role of the creative male artist and his wife as his muse (fig. 135).\(^{1096}\) The same holds for the photographs in *Review* in 1976 and in 1977 of Tito developing negatives and prints in his Brioni darkroom, and photographing landscape during a diplomatic trip. These images exploit the popular notion of photography and other technical hobbies as male domain, and are consistent with the masculine stereotype in Tito’s iconography (figs. 136, right; and 137, left).

Likewise, in contrast to the photographs depicting Tito as a skilled hunter published previously in *Review*, the magazine now featured Eterovic’s photograph of the Broz couple in the company of their poodle pet cuddling by a campfire in the winter landscape, enjoying a break during the hunt (fig. 136). The iconography of this photograph resonates with the subgenre of the hunting party at rest, a popular allegory of carnal love in Dutch painting and literature of the seventeenth century that derived meaning from the Petrarchan imagery linking hunt and the


\(^{1096}\) The roles they play in his photograph also perpetuate the conventional divide, enacted time and again in Western painting, between the realm of culture and nature, the first symbolized by the active male, the second symbolized by the passive body of the aesthetically pleasing female.
pursuit of love. Its roots in genre paintings with amorous themes, Eterovic’s photograph of the Brozes also reads as a snapshot of a romantic moment in their married life.

The Lovebirds: Previewing Tito’s Private Life in Review 1977
Photographs from Tito’s Private Life were previewed in Review in May 1977. Celebrating the matrimonial happiness of the presidential couple, Review opened the article with a color photograph of Tito and Jovanka Broz in the living room of their Belgrade, watching a pair of small, caged birds, perhaps budgies or lovebirds. The caption describes the Brozes as “great animal and bird lovers” (fig. 138, right). Eterovic is clearly indebted to Grbic whose earlier photographs of the Borzes with birds in cages established the iconography of their married love based on the avian paintings in French rococo tradition. Moreover, the Serbo-Coartian slang word for the heterosexual couple affectionately referred to as pticice or “lovebirds,” reinforces the amorous iconography of Eterovic’s photograph with a popular reference. It is interesting to note that the focus of his photograph of the Brozes is on a smiling Jovanka. She is here represented as an ideal housewife and a loyal companion, the captive birds in the cage symbolizing her voluntary confinement in marriage and chastity in the tradition of seventeenth-century Dutch genre paintings with avian imagery. A painting by Gabriel Metsu, Woman Sewing in a Niche (or Lady Seated in a Window), of around 1661, depicts a woman doing

---

1099 “Tito’s Private Life,” 23.
1100 Grbic’s photographs are discussed above.
1101 For example, in Gabriel Metsu’s Young Lady with a Parrot, in which a young woman sews at a table with a parrot perched on top of its cage before her, and Frans van Mieris the Elder’s, Young Lady and a Parrot, in which a woman interrupts her needlework to feed a parrot, birds function as a symbols of feminine domesticity and chastity. See, Wayne E. Frantis, Paragons of Virtue. Women and Domesticity in Seventeen-Century Dutch Art (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 24-25.
needlework in a window of her home, with various objects surround her, including a birdcage, a seventeenth-century symbol of feminine domesticity and matrimonial love.\textsuperscript{1102}

Finally, Eterovic rendered Tito in the common role of the owner of pet birds found in many a Yugoslav household, perpetuating the myth of his ordinariness. Yet it is interesting to note that Tito had a private zoo at his Belgrade and Brioni residences that housed animals given to him as diplomatic gifts by other heads of state. His taking part in the tradition of menagerie, rooted in colonial political culture, and also artifact of an extravagant lifestyle, was perceived as potentially damaging to Tito’s public image in Yugoslavia. Thus, photographs of Tito playing with and feeding the animals in his private zoo were rarely published during his lifetime.\textsuperscript{1103}

\textbf{Snapshot Aesthetics as Alternative to Formal Aesthetic}

A colour photograph of Tito and Jovanka in the pool at their Brioni residence featured opposite the ‘lovebirds’ image (fig. 138, left).\textsuperscript{1104} Its composition is similar to a 1926 photograph of a swimming Mussolini, embodiment of a masculine ideal in Fascist Italy.\textsuperscript{1105} Taken form the edge of the pool, it shows Tito floating in the crimson pool, his head above the water, and Jovanka trailing behind him. Unlike the empowering masculine connotations in Tito’s earlier sports photography by John Phillips, Eterovic’s pool photo seems rather mundane, certainly not another example of it. That Eterovic put this photograph at the beginning of his book shows that he considered it, like another image of Jovanka embracing and kissing her husband on a cheek, an ideal representation of the spontaneity of the Yugoslav president.\textsuperscript{1106}


\textsuperscript{1103} Todic included photographs of Tito and his leopard Ten in the photo album “Ten and His Master” (1955) in her book, but she does not discuss their representational relevance. Todic, \textit{Photography and Propaganda}, 128, 129.

\textsuperscript{1104} “Tito’s Private Life,” 22.

\textsuperscript{1105} The photo was published in \textit{Paris Match} in the 1970s.

\textsuperscript{1106} Eterovic, \textit{Tito’s Private Life}, n.p.
This being one example, snapshot aesthetics distinguish Eterovic’s photos of the Brozes from the formal style of Tito’s official photographers. Unlike those of Grbic or Lovric, many of the photographs in *Tito’s Private Life* look unstudied, with busy or unbalanced compositions. They are often out of focus and taken from what seems to be unflattering or accidental angles. This is especially true of the photographs in which a gapping distance separating the photographer and his subject creates a compositional challenge, such as a photograph of a lone Jovanka sewing. The embodiment of feminine chastity, she is depicted seated in an armchair in the far left corner of the Broz bedroom. That’s she does not look at the camera suggests her withdrawal, but also alludes to the informal nature of this image (fig. 139).

The compositional features and apparent imperfections evident in this and other Eterovic images of the Brozes, contribute to their ostensible authenticity and objectivity by suggesting a lack of deliberate manipulation (of the space, light or the subjects) and conveying a sense of immediacy and spontaneity. That is, Eterovic’s photographs function as representations of highly individualized moments in the life of Brozes. Whether he showed Tito and Jovanka in their study or Tito getting a haircut, Eterovic punctuated their aura not only because he has forsaken the ceremonial content of presidential photography for the emotional and idiosyncratic detail, but also because his style approximates that of paparazzi photography (fig. 139).

In a photograph of Tito at the landing of the steps in his home, he appears disturbed by the playful behavior of his two poodles (fig. 140). Void of a official iconography or metaphors, Eterovic’s photograph, defined by the seeming triviality of the subject, the unguarded moment it depicts, and the oblique, unremarkable set-up, co-opts the paparazzi rhetoric of authenticity. Given his arrangement with Tito, however, these stylistic traits must be interpreted as part of the institutionalized framework of Eterovic’s endeavour. Clearly, spontaneity becomes a

---

1107 Eterovic, personal interview, 2.
representational strategy, a vehicle authenticating yet another official version of Tito’s private life.

**Pacifying the Image of Tito the Hunter**

In contrast to the many photographs in *Tito’s Private Life* of Tito actively hunting and shooting, an image published in 1977 *Review* depicts a pensive, inactive Tito on a hunting trip in Slovenia. Seated in a low chair in the foreground, Tito gazes into the distance, waiting patiently for his game to appear and admiring the autumn landscape. Unlike the 1969 image of Tito pheasant-hunting, there is no dead game in this photograph (fig. 140). Changing slightly the iconography of Tito’s hunting images, Eterovic’s photograph captures the contemplative side of the sport and humanizes it and the Yugoslav president as one of its proponents in this way. These efforts at pacifying the iconography of Tito as hunter echo the official portrayal of the Yugoslav president in Dedijer’s biography:

> He hunts hare and game, according to the season. Tito is an excellent shot. But he does little actual shooting, preferring to walk in nature. Tito has great respect for the hunting laws. He never hunts outside the season.

**Tito the Gentleman**

Although more sophisticated and numerous, Eterovic’s photographs of Tito as recreational metalworker perpetuate the iconographic tradition established by his official photographers in the 1960s. The 1977 *Review* essay juxtaposed one such photograph with an image of him dressed up in a white tux and a black bowtie hosting an official reception at

---

1110 Although Tito’s hunting images are ordinarily represented in *Review* as snapshots of his leisure, the division between the official and the private content in these photos does not hold. On the contrary, Tito’s official photographers took most of these on diplomatic hunts. To this extent, Tito’s hunting photographs can be situated within the long European tradition of the diplomatic hunt, its ceremonies and symbolism.
Photographed in profile, Tito is in motion, checking the time on his watch, apparently determined to meet his guests in a proper and punctual gentlemanly fashion. In tandem with the image of Tito as metalworker that celebrates his working-class origins and integrity, the stereotype of Tito as gentleman reinforces a popular image of him as a self-made man who has attained power and aristocratic elegance (fig. 141).

**The Brozes: Royal Family? Not Exactly**

The very last section of *Tito’s Private Life* and the last image in the *Review* essay pictures Tito with his two sons, Misa and Zarko Broz, their spouses and children, and Tito’s numerous cousins. The exclusion of Jovanka, with whom Tito did not have any children, enforces a traditionalist view of family as a congregation of individuals sharing a common male ancestor. Paternalistic and sexist, this photograph contrasts sharply with Grbic’s depictions of Jovanka and Tito with Tito’s grandchildren (fig. 141).

The photograph was taken on the steps of the famous Royal White Palace in Belgrade, built by King Alexander I between 1934 and 1937 as a residence for his three sons, Crown Prince Peter, Prince Tomislav and Prince Andrej, and designed by the Serbian architect Aleksandar Djordjevic. Although the Yugoslav government nationalized the palace, except for a short period of time in 1945, when his villa in Uzicka 13 was undergoing renovation, Tito did not live there. The White Palace was used for state functions and such formal receptions as that celebrating Tito’s birthday. Photographs by the TANJUG photographers show Tito with his

---

1112 “*Tito’s Private Life,*” 28.
1114 Jovanka’s absence here may have something to do with the alleged crisis in their relationship in the late 1970s, itself an aspect of the crisis in Tito’s leadership towards the end of his life, rather than with Eterovic, who had a great respect for Jovanka.
1115 The White Palace and other buildings in the Royal Compound Dedinje were returned to the Yugoslav Royal Family and are today open for tours and visitors. See the official webpage with brief information relevant to the history and architecture of the buildings in the Royal Compound Dedinje: [http://www.royalfamily.org/tours/brochure_e.pdf](http://www.royalfamily.org/tours/brochure_e.pdf) (Accessed 27 March 2008).
guests, including Yugoslav youth and palace staff, standing on the same ceremonial steps as those in Eterovic’s photograph of Tito’s family.

Possibly instructed to take his photo against the impressive background, Eterovic however underplayed the imperial and ceremonial connotations of the setting, pursuing instead a casual and humorous treatment of his subjects. Loosely arranged around Tito who stands in the middle of the front row, his relatives are dressed in contemporary and mismatched clothes. Their individualized expressions and relaxed poses defy the formality of the royal setting. The spontaneity of the young children who appear unwilling or incapable of posing for the camera, and the impatient gesturing of their parents likewise disable comparisons with the bourgeois tradition of enobleing family portraiture. By exploding the formal rigidity of conventional iconography in this way, Eterovic crafted the image of Tito and his family as ordinary people.

**Presidential Image Management as Performative Narrative**

In comparison, for example, to David Valdez’s 1987 photograph of the three generations of the Bush family cuddling in their pajamas in the bedroom of George and Barbara Bush, the display of emotion in Eterovic’s photographs of Tito and Jovanka in private seems restrained. Yet, the Broz photos were unique in their own time. When Tito’s Private Life was published, *Review* printed a letter to the editors by one Ellen A. Cohen of The Hague praising it, the photographer and the magazine. Describing herself as “a sincere and longtime admirer of the Yugoslav president […] naturally very interested in all publications about him,” Cohen was impressed by the book’s “warm, human portrait of Tito [as] the man who, in spite of his formidable duties as a statesman and leader, finds time to relax, have fun and spend pleasant hours with his family and friends.”

The public was seeking emotional qualities in modern

---

leaders, and Tito’s public image incorporated it all deliberately. In his photographs, Eterovic challenged the institutional and cultural norms separating the public and the private spheres, satisfying a general public’s curiosity and craving for emotional proximity to the life of a political celebrity.

The exclusive arrangements Eterovic had with Tito and the international success of Tito’s Private Life make his contribution to Tito’s image management comparable to that of Dedijer. Their books Tito and Tito’s Private Life became central literary and pictorial narratives in the promotion of Tito’s international reputation. Furthermore, these two texts overlapped thematically and ichnographically in their presentation of Tito as an accessible and likable person. Most importantly, they mirror each other stylistically, both authors embracing the notion of spontaneity as a means for authenticating the image of the leader they created.

Tito was deeply interested in these important autobiographical projects. He took an active part in the process of crafting the written and pictorial narrative of his life. Tito’s role as co-author and authority over Dedijer’s book and the Life memoirs was explicitly acknowledged by the magazine. His engagement with Tito’s Private Life was similarly central. “It was Tito who helped me take some really unusual photographs, thanks to his understanding and intuition, and his ability to react instantaneously in every situation,” Eterovic remembered. Thus Tito played the role not only of an understanding sitter for but also an involved producer of Eterovic’s photographs. Casting Tito in the dual role of object of representation and agent of his popular hagiography, thus, the work of Dedijer and Eterovic exemplifies the complex and performative nature of the image management of public personalities in the twentieth century.

1118 “Tito’s Private Life,” 29; and Eterovic, personal interview, 6.
Bibliography


*Billiards ‘The King of Games and the Game of the Kings’ An Illustrated Catalogue*. Toronto, 1868.


*Magazine War Guide Supplement XI for September and October 1943.* Published by the Magazine Division of the Office of War Information. RG 208 OWI. Entry 334. NARA.


-----.“The Iron Curtain.” Life 20, no.17 (29 April 1946): 27-35.


-----.“Private Life of Tito is Calm but Guarded.” Life 30, no. 3 (15 January 1951): 70-71.


-----.“Yugoslav Children in Egypt.” Life 16, no.9 (28 February 1944): 71-74.

-----.“Yugoslav Camps.” Victory 2, no.3 (June-December 1944): 28-30.


-----. Phone interview with Nikolina Kurtovic. Toronto, 10 September 2007.


**Anonymous Articles in Magazines and Newspapers**


“Arab Ruler of Trans-Jordan is No.1 British Pawn in the Middle East.” *Life* 11, no. 22 (1 December 1941): 67-70.


“Close-up on Chiang Kai-Shek.” *Life* 12, no.6 (2 March, 1942): 70-80.
“Jimmy Byrnes, the Assistant President.” *Life* 14, no. 1 (Jan 4, 1943: 62-71;
“Jumbo Censorship.” *Time* (22 May, 1944): 58-60.
"Kolo” Tours U.S. and Canada.” *Yugoslav Review* 6, no. 7 (September, 1956): 10-11.
“The Leaders of Britain.” *Life* 16, no.6 (7 February 1944): 87-95.
Letter from the Publisher. *Time* (29 May 1944).


“President Truman Relaxes and Grows Beard.” *Life* (22 November 1948): 44.


“Some Macedonian Folk Dances.” *Yugoslav Review* 6, no. 7 (September, 1956): 14-16.


“Summer Holiday.” *Yugoslav Review* 2, no. 6 (June 1953): 23.


“Ten years of the Yugoslav Photo and Film Amateurs Association.” *Fotografija* 9, no. 6 (December, 1956): 4-5.


“These are Camera Rules for Becoming President.” *Life* 8, no. 2 (8 January 1940): 46-51.


“Times Have Changed.” *Newsweek* (5 March 1951): 36.


“Tito’s Own Story.” *Picture Post* 58, no. 10 (7 March 1953): 13+.


“We Belong to Tito, Tito Belongs to Us.” *Life* 27, no. 11 (12 September 1949): 48-49.

**Independent Webpages**


**Movie**

“Stafeta Mladosti (posla iz Kumroveca).” Film no. 22. Filmske Novosti Archive, Belgrade.
List of Archival Sources

Archive of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.
   Kabineta Predsjednika Fonds. Box 3.
   CK CPY Fonds 587. Folder K-1.

Filmske Novosti Archive, Belgrade.

The John and Annamaria Phillips Foundation, New York.
   John Phillips Papers.

Kragujevic Stevan Papers and Photographs, Belgrade.

Military Archive (Vojni arhiv - Vojnoistorijski institut), Belgrade.
   National Liberation War Fonds.
      Reg. 18, Folder 4/I, Box 15A;
      Reg. 21, Folder 4/I, Box 15A;
      Reg. 29, Folder 4/I, Box 15A;
      Reg. 41, Folder 4/I, Box 15A;
      Reg. 43, Folder 4/I, Box 15A;
      Box 2092, Folder 1, d.6/1;
      Reg. 19/1. Folder 8, Box 2091.

   Ceca Stefanovic Fonds.
   NLW Photo Collection.

National Archives of Canada (NAC), Ottawa.
   Youusuf Karsh Fonds. R 613. Photographs and papers.

The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.
   RG 226 OSS. Entry 144. Boxes 78, 80, and 81.
   RG 208 OWI. Boxes 24, 199, 355, and 1700.
   RG 59 and 84. State Department Records.


TANJUG Photographic Archive, Belgrade.

The University of Toronto Archives.
   University of Toronto Press Fonds. Accession #: A-89-0009. Papers of the Director, the Associate Director, Assistant Director and the Editor from 1942-1973. Boxes 005-015.
Illustrations

Figure 1: Tomislav Poteznek, "Tito and Burton," 1973.
Figure 2: “Tito and A Photographer,” (May 1962), from the private collection of Stevan Kragujevic.

Figure 4: Above left, Time cover “Man of the Year,” (Time 4 Jan. 1943); Above right, Stalin’s cover in Life (Life 29 Mar. 1941).
Figure 5: "Tito's Partisans" by Lambton Burn (Life 15, no. 23 [6 Dec. 1943]: 88-90).
Figure 7: *Picture Post* cover, “The Girl From The Mountains,” (*Picture Post* [7 Apr. 1945]).

Figure 8: Photo essay, “Tito’s Nine Hundred,” (*Picture Post* [7 Apr. 1945]: 11-13).
Figure 9: Photo essay, “Tito’s Nine Hundred,”
(Picture Post [7 Apr. 1945]: 11-13).

Figure 10: Photo essay, “Tito’s Nine Hundred,” (Picture Post [7 Apr. 1945]: 11-13).
Figure 11: “Tito the Peasant Born Marshal of Yugoslavia,” by Stoyan Pribichevic, (Life 16, no. 7 [14 Feb. 1944]: 96-97).

Figure 12: Above left and right, “Tito - Milinste portraits,” by Zorz Skrigin, 1942, (Illustrations from Zorz Skrigin’s War and Stage, pages 58 and 59).
Figure 13: “Tito and his dog at Mliniste,” by Zorž Skrigin, 1942, (Illustration from Zorž Skrigin’s War and Stage, page 56).

Figure 14: “Tito (reading) - Mliniste,” by Zorž Skrigin, 1942, (Illustrations from Zorž Skrigin’s War and Stage, pages 59 and 63).
Figure 15: Above left, “Tito reading a topographical map,” and above right, “Tito and his secretary,” by Savo Orovic, 1942, (from Savo Orovic-rtne fotografije, no pagination).

Figure 16: Above left, “Pokret,” by Savo Orovic, May 1944; Above right, “Sitjesko,” by Savo Orovic, Summer 1943, (from Savo Orovic-rtne fotografije, no pagination).
Figure 17: "Tito and the Actors of the Partisan Theatre," by Zorz Skrigin, 1942, (Illustration from Zorz Skrigin's War and Stage, page 55).

Figure 18: Tito in Yank magazine, Summer 1944, (in Walter Bernstein, "Interview with Tito," Yank [16 June 1944]: 8-9)
Figure 19: Above left and right, Tito on the Island of Vis, Summer 1944, (From the Ceca Stojanovic Fonds, Military Museum, Belgrade).

Figure 20: Above left and right, Tito on the Island of Vis, Summer 1944, (From the Ceca Stojanovic Fonds, Military Museum, Belgrade).
Figure 21: Above left and right, Tito on the Island of Vis, Summer 1944, (From the Ceca Stojanovic Fonds, Military Museum, Belgrade).

Figure 22: “Marshal Tito,” by John Phillips, (Life, 16, no. 17 [14 Aug. 1944]: 35).
Figure 23: “Tito and his dog,” by Zorz Skrigin, 1943 c., (Illustration from Zorz Skrigin’s War and Stage).

Figure 24: Picture Post cover, “Tito Takes a Day Off,” by John Phillips, Summer 1944, (Picture Post [4 Nov. 1944]).
Figure 25: Above, “Tito in his office,” and below, “Tito plays chess with Arsa Jovanovic,” in photo essay “Marshal Tito,” by John Phillips, (Life 16, no.17 [14 Aug. 1944]: 36-37.)

Figure 26: US commanders Leahy, General Marshall and General Arnold shown inside the Joint Chief of Staff HQ. (Photo essay, “War Staff Room,” Life 14, no.8 [22 Feb. 1943]: 72-73.)
Figure 27: Emir Abdullah playing chess (Photo essay, “Arab Ruler of Trans-Jordan is No. 1 British Pawn in the Middle East,” *Life* 11, no. 22 [1 Dec. 1941]: 67-70).

Figure 28: Above right, Brigadier General Ralph Royce and his senior staff officer playing cribbage during a lunch break, (in “Second Front?,” *Life* 13, no. 4 [27 July, 1942]: 27).
Figure 29: "Tito Playing Chess," by John Phillips, 1944
(Time and Life Pictures, 1944)

Figure 30: Above left, "Movement," by John Phillips, 1944, (in "Marshal Tito," Life 16, no.17 [14 Aug. 1944]: 38); above right, "Muster of Dalmatian Units," by Zorz Skrigin, August 1944 (Illustration from Zorz Skrigin's War and Stage, page 275).
Figure 31: Yugoslav King Peter in London, 1942, (in “King Peter of Yugoslavia” Life [2 Mar. 1942]: 49-52).

Figure 33: ""Marshal Tito: he stands at the intersection of two empires," Time cover (Time [9 Oct. 1944]).

Figure 34: "The Iron Curtain, Dresden" by John Phillips, 1946, (Life 20, no. 17 [29 Apr. 1946]: 27-35).
Figure 35: Above left, Romanian King Mihai and his dog; above right, Romanian Orthodox Patriarch Nicoldim; below left, King in his spare time; Below center, Romanian leading Communist politicians; below right, Liberal Party leader Dino Bratianu; by John Phillips, 1946, ("The Iron Curtain," Life 20, no. 17 [29 Apr. 1946]: 27-35).

Figure 36: Above left, the Ploesti Oil-fields in Romania; below left, "The Bear Cure;" below center, Monument to Ion Bratianu and Pagini Istorie movie poster; above right, The Sinaia Palace Casino, by John Phillips, 1946, ("The Iron Curtain," by John Phillips, 1946, (Life 20, no. 17 [29 Apr. 1946]: 27-35).
Figure 37: Russian bear in the U.S. political cartoons by Clifford Kennedy Berryman. Above left, cartoon showing Uncle Sam and Russian bear (Washington Star, 1918); Above right, “Let’s have peace now!” (Washington Star [30 Sep. 1939]); below left, “I did not say you could keep it!” (Washington Evening Star [20 June 1941]); and below right, Russian bear and Hitler fighting in a shop window, (Washington Evening Star [September 1941]). All images form the Collection of Cartoon Drawings in the Library of Congress.
Figure 38: "The Iron Curtain, Czechoslovakia" photos by John Phillip, 1946, 
(Life 20, no. 17 [29 Apr. 1946]: 27-35).
Figure 39: "The Iron Curtain, Hungary" photos by John Phillips, 1946, 

Figure 40: "Tito," by Ernst Hamlin Baker, cover in 
*Time* (16 Sep. 1946).
Figure 41: Georgi Dimitrov, by David Douglas Duncan, Life cover, (Life 22, no. 19 [12 May 1947]).

Figure 42. “Bulgarian Communist Youth Brigade Marching,” by Douglas Duncan, (Life 22, no. 19 [12 May 1947]).
Figure 43: “Marshal Tito,” by John Phillips, cover in Life, (Life 25, no. 11 [13 Sep. 1948]).

Figure 44: Admiral King, cover and close-up in Life, (Life 11, no. 21 [24 Nov. 1941]).
Figure 45: Above left, General George C. Kenny, cover in *Life*, (Life 14, no. 10 [22 Mar. 1943]); above right, Admiral Sir Max Horton, cover in *Life*, (Life 15, no. 5, [2 Aug. 1943]).

Figure 46: Above left, Montgomery Clift, cover in *Life*, (Life 25, no. 23 [6 Dec. 1948]); Above right, Nelson Rockefeller, cover in *Life*, (Life 12, no. 17 [27 Apr. 1942]).
Figure 47: “Tito,” cover in *Life*, by John Phillips, (*Life* [21 April 1952]).

Figure 48: Tito in the courtyard of his Bled Villa, an opening shot in “A Visit to Tito,” by John Phillips, (*Life* 25, no. 11 [13 Sep. 1948]).
Figure 49: Unpublished photographs of Tito at Bled, by John Phillips, 1948, (Time and Life Pictures, Getty).

Figure 50: Lord Mountbatten and Family, (in "Lord Louis Mountbatten," *Life* 13, no. 7 [17 Aug. 1942]).
Figure 51: "A Visit to Tito," by John Phillips, *Life* 25, no. 11 [13 Sep. 1948].

Figure 52: "Marshal Tito," *Life* cover by John Phillips, *Life* 27, no. 11 [12 Sep. 1949].
Figure 53: President Roosevelt, cover in *Life*, by Harris and Ewing, (*Life* 2, no. 4 [4 Jan. 1937]).

Figure 55: Above left, “Robert A. Taft,” cover in Life, (Life 24, no. 6 [9 Feb. 1948]); above right, “Harold E. Stassen,” cover in Life, (Life 24, no. 9 [1 Mar. 1948]).

Figure 56: Above left, “Thomas E. Dewey,” cover in Life, (Life 24, no. 9 [1 Mar. 1948]); Above right, “Arthur H. Vandenberg,” cover in Life,( Life 24, no. 21 [24 May 1948]).
Figure 57: Above left, “President Truman,” by Eugene W Smith, cover in Life (Life [22 Nov. 1948]); above right, “Mr. President Eisenhower,” cover in Life (Life 19, no. 1 [17 April 1950]).

Figure 58: “Yugoslavia’s Tito,” Time cover by G.H. Baker based on Phillips’ portrait, (Time no. 23 [6 Jun. 1955]).
Figure 59: Tito on the Island of Brioni, opening image in “Tito defies the Kremlin,” by John Phillips, (Life 27, no. 11 [12 Sep. 1949]: 41).

Figure 60: Tito on the Island of Brioni, original photo, by John Phillips, 1949, (Time & Life Pictures, Getty).
Figure 61: Yugoslav workers and army, by John Phillips. (*Life* 27, no. 11 [12 Sep. 1949]: 44-45).

Figure 62: “Everybody works for the state under the Tito Five Year Plan,” photos by John Phillips. (*Life* 27, no. 11 [12 Sep. 1949]: 46-47).
Figure 63: “General Marshal at Home,” *Life* 16, no. 1 [3 Jan. 1944]: 47-50.

Figure 64: “General Marshal at Home,” *Life* 16, no. 1 [3 Jan. 1944]: 47-50.
Figure 65: “Life photographer visits with Tito,” photos by John Phillips, (Life 27, no. 11 [12 Sep. 1949]: 42-43).

Figure 66: “Mussolini Riding,” by Felix Man, 1931.
Figure 67: “Truman Fishing,” by George Skadding, for *Time*, 1945, (Time & Life Pictures, Getty Images).

Figure 68: “Tito Motor-boating,” by John Phillips, 1949, (Time & Life Pictures, Getty Images).
Figure 69: Above left “Face of Tito,” and above right “Private Life of Tito is Calm but Guarded,” photos by John Phillips, 1951, (Life 30, no. 3, [15 Jan. 1951]:70-71).

Figure 70: “Stalin,” cover in Time, (17 July 1950).
Figure 71: “Mussolini in His Office,” by Felix Man, 1931
*(Munich Illustrated Press [1 Mar. 1931]).*

Figure 72: “Tito in His Office,” by Karl Hutton for *Picture Post*, 1950, *(Picture Post 49, no. 7 [18 Nov. 1950]:14.)*
Figure 73: Dedijer and Tito in Tito's Belgrade office, by Bert Hardy, 1953, ("A Message From Tito," *Picture Post* 58, no. 12 [21 Mar. 1953]:13).

Figure 74: Cover page of *Yank* magazine, (7 Sep. 1945).

Figure 76: “Youth on the Beograd-Zagreb Highway,” by Hristofer Nastic, (in Branko Kojic, “The Heroes of Our Production,” Yugoslavia, no. 2 [Winter 1950]: 74-77).
Figure 77: “A Girl From the Railway,” photo by Toso Dabac, (in Batric Jovanovic, “Railways,” Yugoslavia, no.1 [Autumn, 1949]: 38-39.)

Figure 78: “A Montenegrin Girl From Cetinja,” by Toso Dabac, (Yugoslavia. Life and Art, no.6 [1952]: 9).
Figure 79: "Cooperative Worker Jelica Stijkovska Sowing in the "Cerveni Proleter" Peasant Working Cooperative in Kačarevo, Serbia." (Yugoslavia, no. 1 [Fall 1949])

Figure 80: Posters for the movie *The Cat People* directed by Jacques Tourneur, 1942.
Figure 81: Posters for the movie *The Curse of The Cat People*, 1944.


Figure 85: Adriatic coast panoramas (in Jure Kastelan, “Svjetlost: Dalmacije,” *Yugoslavia*, no. 4 [Summer 1951]: 3-19).

Figure 86: Above left, “The Dubrovnik Beach,” by M. Greveic; above right, “Children at the Sea I and II,” by T. Stanojevic; and “In the Sand,” by B. Cikota, (in Jure Kastelan, “Svjetlost Dalmacije,” *Yugoslavia*, no. 4 [Summer 1951]: 3-19)
Figure 87: “Putnik” ad (Yugoslavia, no.4. [Summer 1950]: np).

Figure 88: Above left, Serbian peasant and landscape, photos by John Phillips (in “U.S. Helps in Drought,” Life 30, no. 3 [15 Jan. 1951]:74).
Figure 89: "Tito," by Yousuf Karsh, 1954, (Courtesy of NAC).

Figure 90: "Tito," by Yousuf Karsh, 1954, (Courtesy of NAC).
Figures 91 (left) and 92 (right): “Tito,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1954, (Courtesy of NAC).

Figures 93 (left) and 94 (right): “Tito,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1954, (Courtesy of NAC).
Figure 95: “Tito,” by Yousuf Karsh, in *Paris Match* (16 May, 1980).

Figure 96: “Tito,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1954, (Courtesy of NAC).
Figures 97 (left) and 98 (right): “Tito,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1954, (Courtesy of NAC).

Figure 99: “Jovanka Broz,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1962, (Courtesy of NAC).
Figures 100 (left) and 101 (right): “Jovanka Broz,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1962, (Courtesy of NAC).

Figures 102 (left) and 103 (right): “Jovanka Broz,” by Yousuf Karsh, 1962, (Courtesy of NAC).
Figure 104: "President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito," Image 04209/1 possibly by Danilo Kabic, (The TANJUG Archive, Film Number 9016, Catalogue Card Number NA).

Possibly by Danilo Kabic.

Figure 105: Above left, Tito in uniform, possibly by Danilo Kabic; above right, Tito wearing a suite (contact copies 1 and 11), possibly by Kabic; and "Tito Reading in His Library (contact copies 6 and 7)," (From file "President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito," The TANJUG Archive, Film Number 9016, Catalogue Card Number NA).
Figure 106: “Vacation: Marshal Tito on the Island of Brioni, May 1952,” by Jovan Ritopecki. (TANJUG Photo Archive, Film Number 04343).

Figure 107: “Political Life: Dr. Karl Gruber, Austrian Foreign Minister Visits Marshal Tito on the Island of Brioni, 25 May 1952,” by Jovan Ritopecki. (TANJUG Photo Archive, Film Number 04348).
Figure 108: “The Titos,” *Picture Post* cover by Bert Hardy, (*Picture Post* 58, no. 12 [21 Mar. 1953]).

Figure 109: “Tito and Jovanka Broz,” Bert Hardy, (in “Tito Talks to Picture Post,” *Picture Post* 58, no. 12 [21 Mar. 1953]).
Figure 110: Tito and Jovanka Broz, *Paris Match* cover, 1956, (*Paris Match* no. 370 [12 May 1956]).

Figure 111: The Broz couple, Image “17,” (“From the Private Life of President Tito-reproductions, TANJUG Photo Archive, Film 06979”).
Figure 112: Above left, Tito and Family (image 1); Above right, Tito and Jovanka Broz at the Fish Fountain (images 9 and 10), and Tito and Jovanka Broz With Parrots (image 8), by Dragutin Grbic, c. 1952, ("From the Private Life of President Tito (reproductions)," TANJUG Photo Archive, Film Number 06979).

Figure 113: Tito and Jovanka Broz, by Dragutin Grbic, c. 1952, ("From the Private Life of President Tito (reproductions)," TANJUG Photo Archive, Film Number 06979).
Figure 114: Tito on the cover of the first issue of Review 1, no. 1 (March 1961). Caption: "President Tito Seeking for Direct Contact."

Figure 115: "Tito and Nkruman - A Warm Embrace," (Review 1, no. 2 [April 1961]: 29).
Figure 116: “Tito and Nasser,” (Review 1, no. 3 [May 1961]: 31).

Figure 117: “Tito in Africa,” (Review 1, no. 3 [May 1961]: 33).
Figure 119: “Tito Plays Piano” and “Tito and Jovanka Broz in the Company of Their Grandchildren,” (“The Life of Marshal Tito,” TANJUG Photo Archive, Film Number 690).

Figure 120: Tito and the Yugoslav Navy Cadets, by Stevan Kragujevic, 1965 (Courtesy of Stevan Kragujevic).
Figure 121: Front cover of the April 1963 Review: Yugoslav Monthly Magazine with a color photograph of the Old Bridge in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Figure 122: “Tito in His Free Time,” cover in Review, 1963 (Review: Yugoslav Monthly Magazine [September 1963]).


Figure 126: “President Tito Working at His Desk,” cover in Review, by Aleksandar Stojanovic, (Review: Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1969]).
Figure 127: “Tito Reading,” cover in Review, by Mirko Lovric, 1967 (Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1967]).

Figure 128: Tito serving dinks at his home, by Mirko Lovric, (in “Josip Broz Tito,” Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1969]: 10).


Figure 132 : Marshal Tito and Jovanka Broz, cover in Review, by Ivo Eterovic, (Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1974])
Figure 133: President George Pompidou and Claude Pompidou, Paris Match cover, (Paris Match, no. 1301 [13 Apr. 1974]).

Figure 134: President Tito and Jovanka Broz, Review cover, by Ivo Eterovic (Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1977]).
Figure 135: Above left, “Tito Reading,” and above right, “Tito Photographing Jovanka,” by Ivo Eterovic, (in Ivo Eterovic, “President Tito in His Leisure Hours,” Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1976]: 4-8).

Figure 136: Above left, “Brozes Hunting” and above right, “Tito Metalworking,” and “Tito Cruising,” by Ivo Eterovic, (in Ivo Eterovic, “President Tito in His Leisure Hours,” Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1976]: 4-8).
Figure 137: Above left, “A Walk” and “Tito Photographing,” by Ivo Eterovic. (in Ivo Eterovic, “President Tito in His Leisure Hours,” Review. Yugoslavia Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1976]: 4-8).


Figure 141: Above left to right, “In the Workshop,” “The Host,” and “The Broz Family,” by Ivo Eterovic (in Vladimir Kolar and Ivo Eterovic, “Tito’s Private Life,” Review. Yugoslav Monthly Magazine, no. 5 [May 1977]: 28-29.)