

**The Public Defense of the
Doctoral Thesis in Comparative History**

by

Marko Miljković

on

**“Tito's Proliferation Puzzle - The Yugoslav Nuclear Program,
1948-1970”**

will be held on

Thursday, 25 November 2021, at 15:45

Due to the extraordinary measures introduced by CEU in regard to the Covid-19 virus situation, the doctoral defense will take place on-line. For further information, contact Margaretha Boockmann, PhD coordinator (boockmannm@ceu.edu).

Examination Committee

András Kovács – Chair (Nationalism Studies Program, CEU)

Marsha Siefert – supervisor (Department of History, CEU)

Karl Hall – CEU internal member (Department of History)

Leopoldo Nuti – external member (Roma Tre University, Department of Political Science)

Milan Ristović – external reader (University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Director, Department for Contemporary History)

The doctoral dissertation is available for inspection. Should you wish to access it, please contact

Margaretha Boockmann (BoockmannM@ceu.edu)

ABSTRACT

Throughout the research period for the purpose of writing this dissertation, during a number of conversations I had with my colleagues and friends and regardless of the country I visited, one question was inevitable: Was Yugoslavia making the atomic bomb? The short answer to this question is YES. The long answer, embedded in scholarly debates about the nuclear weapons proliferation problem is what this dissertation aims to provide. Key research questions which guide my analysis and anchor it in these debates are why countries aspire to develop their nuclear arsenals and how do they do it?

The research presented in this dissertation provides a detailed analysis of the long and arduous evolution of a nuclear program in a developing country which desired to break out of the backwardness, join the elite club of great powers and play among the equals in Cold War political games and competitions. Starting this journey in the late 1940s without a single precondition for success except a sheer determination, by the mid-1960s Yugoslavia managed to master the most sensitive technologies, only to completely dismantle the entire nuclear program after the ratification of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1970. Important discovery is that in the interplay of various incentives that fueled both the desire for nuclear weapons in Yugoslavia and their eventual renunciation, the most potent were security concerns. This notion provides an additional argument in support of the neorealist theory, in which state security ranks on the top list of motives in the decision of a state to build the atomic bomb, although the complete explanation for both decisions is not that straightforward.

Without underestimating all the effort, sacrifices and commitment built into the development of the Yugoslav nuclear program, this study reveals that the initial low starting point was not an impossible puzzle to solve. Reading this conclusion in the opposite direction, the real discovery is that it was exactly this commitment, based on the insatiable thirst for independence, the ‘logic of independence’ as defined in this study, which kept the project rapidly evolving. This is wider category than the state security concerns, and represents an important characteristic of the Yugoslav state-system, having a dual quality of adding a fresh perspective in the existing debates and emphasizing the importance of historical analysis in non-proliferation studies.

Related and equally important is the realization that a small and underdeveloped nation armed with necessary determination can bend the rules powers, exploit all the loopholes and even create new ones, take advantage of global conflicts and play one superpower against the other to its own benefit. This notion brings a lot of agency back to lesser powers or small nations, which is particularly important considering that the Yugoslav experience played out within the Cold War context, when all ‘Big Powers’ were practicing much more caution in dealing with small nations than in periods of relative calm.

CURRICULUM VITAE*Marko Miljković***EDUCATION**

2014-2021 PhD Program, Central European University (Budapest), History Department

2013 Expert Curator, National Museum in Belgrade (Serbia)

2013 MA in Comparative History, Central European University (Budapest)

2011 MA in History, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History

2010 BA in History, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History

WORK EXPERIENCE

2019- Institute of Economic Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia), Research Associate. Coordinator of the Department for Economic History and Theory

2017-2020 – History Teacher at the “Rudjer Boskovic High School” (Belgrade, Serbia); International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme

2017 Spring: Teaching Assistant at University Roma Tre, Department of Political Science; Course: “International Relations after the End of the Cold War” (Professor Leopoldo Nuti)

2016 Fall: Teaching Assistant at University Roma Tre, Department of Political Science; Course: “Evolving Security in the Post-1945 World” (Professor Marilena Gala)

2016- Historical Advisor in the screenplay writing for the movie “The Guardians of the Formula,” produced by Cobra Film (Belgrade, Serbia)

2014-2016 Assistant Historical Advisor in the screenplay writing for TV series “Black Sun” produced by Cobra Film (Belgrade, Serbia)

2014 Spring/Fall: Coordinator of the project of creation and digitalization of the archives of the Belgrade Youth Centre

2012 Spring/Fall: Project coordinator in the multidisciplinary project “Remembering Maja - A Contribution to the Study of Culture of Childhood Memories in Yugoslav Socialism,” under the patronage of the European Cultural Foundation (ECF), and supported by BITEF (Belgrade), De Facto (Zagreb), Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade and Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb

2012-2013 Assistant Curator in the Automobile Museum, Belgrade

2011-2013 Research Assistant: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe (CDRSEE) in CDRSEE’s Joint History Project: History of Southeast Europe since 1945.

2009-2012 Assistant Historical Advisor in the screenplay writing for the movie and TV series Montevideo: Taste of a Dream, produced by Intermedia Network (Belgrade, Serbia)

2007 Research Assistant in selection of the archival material of the Yugoslav Military Court on war crimes against Jews and other ethnic, religious and political minorities during the World War II, organized by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM, Washington D.C.) and the Government of the Republic of Serbia

RESEARCH PROJECTS

2020 “Uticaj epidemije na društveno-ekonomske prilike u Srbiji” [Impact of Epidemics on Socio-Economic Situation in Serbia], *COVID 19 – the Black Swan of the World Economy in 2020*. Internal Project of the Institute of Economic Sciences, Belgrade.

2019 “Evropske integracije i društveno-ekonomske promene privrede Srbije na putu ka EU” [Economic Integrations and Socio-Economic Changes in the Serbian Economy on the Road to the EU]. Project of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia (III-47009).

2019 “Izazovi i perspektive strukturnih promena u Srbiji: strateški pravci ekonomskog razvoja i usklađivanja sa zahtevima EU” [Challenges and Perspectives of Structural Changes in Serbia: Strategic Directions of Economic Development and Harmonization With EU Requirements]. Project of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia (OI-179015).

PUBLIC LECTURES**Budapest, October 25, 2021**

Short lecture on experiences in working as a consultant in screenplay writing for films dealing with historical themes. Central European University, MA Program History in the Public Sphere (HIPS), History and Film (Prof. Marsha Siefert, Prof. Constantin Iordachi).

Zagreb, February 8, 2018

“Kako se Tito prestao brinuti i naučio voljeti bombu: povijest jugoslavenskog nuklearnog programa” [How Tito Stopped Worrying and Learned to Love the Bomb: History of the Yugoslav Nuclear Program]. Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Croatian Science Foundation, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Philosophy.

CONFERENCES**Belgrade, October 7-8, 2021**

Institucionalne promene u ekonomiji Srbije kroz istoriju [Institutional Changes in the Serbian Economy Through History]. Institut ekonomskih nauka, Beograd

Belgrade, November 13, 2020

Izazovi izučavanja ekonomske istorije u Srbiji [Challenges in Researching Economic History in Serbia]. Institut ekonomskih nauka, Beograd

Pula, August 26-29, 2020

6th Doctoral Workshop in Pula - online lectures. Cooperation, Exchange and Solidarity in Europe 1945-1990. Centre for Cultural and Historical Research of Socialism and the Department of History, Faculty of Humanities, Juraj Dobrila University of Pula

Tokyo, December 14-15, 2019

The Neutrals and the Bomb: Conference on the N+N States and Non-Proliferation. National Graduate institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS) and Waseda Institute for Advanced Studies

Washington D.C., November 30-December 1, 2018

Workshop on Extended Deterrence, Assurance, Nonproliferation and Disarmament, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Glasgow, November 30-December 1, 2018

The Second World Does Business? Enterprise in the GDR and Yugoslavia, Centre for Business History in Scotland at the University of Glasgow

San Diego, June 23-25, 2016

The Atoms for Peace Program Revisited: The Yugoslav Case Study (research paper)

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR) Annual Meeting

New Delhi, January 13, 2016

Jawaharlal Nehru University, School of International Studies; Seminar, “Archival Research and International Nuclear History”

Santa Maria Capua Vetere (Caserta), September 14-17, 2015

A Taste of the Western Lifestyle: FIAT Technology in the Crvena Zastava Factory, 1955-1962 (conference paper). Joint conference of the International Association for the History of Transport, Traffic and Mobility (T2M) and the Cosmopolitan Network: “The Future of Mobilities: Flows, Transport and Communication”

Vienna, August 19, 2015

An Accident Waiting to Happen: The Importance of the Vinca Accident of 1958 in the Development of the IAEA (workshop paper); “The IAEA Safeguards System and Global Nuclear Order: International and Institutional Perspectives,” Vienna Center for Nonproliferation and Disarmament (VCDNP)

Mainz, July 5-8, 2015

The ‘Nuclear’ Bargaining: The Case Study of Yugoslavia, 1948-1970 (research paper)

“Stresemann Workshop 2015,” organized by The Stresemann Society (Mainz), cooperated with the Nuclear Proliferation International History Project (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC), and the University of Mainz

Pula, December 5-7, 2013

Kako se kalio ‘fića’: Jugoslovenski radnici i italijanska tehnologija u Crvenoj Zastavi, 1955-1962 [Tempering of ‘fića’: Yugoslav Workers and the Italian Technology in the Crvena Zastava Factory, 1955-1962] (conference paper); “Socialism on the Bench: Cultural and Historical Interpretations of Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav Societies,” organized by Centre for Cultural and Historical Research of Socialism, Juraj Dobrila University of Pula, Croatia

Belgrade, October 31-November 1, 2013

“New Technologies and Standards: Digitization of National Heritage,” organized by National Center for Digitalization, Serbia

Belgrade, September 12-14, 2012

“Phantom Borders in the Balkans: Concept, Actors and Places” [*Phantomgrenzen auf dem Balkan: Begriff, Akteure und Orte*]; organized by Humboldt Universität-Berlin, Centre Marc Bloch-Berlin, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Department of History

GRANTS AND AWARDS

2020 Central European University Award for Advanced Doctoral Students

2017 Internship at University Roma Tre, Department of Political Science, supported by the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium

2016 Internship at University Roma Tre, Department of Political Science, supported by the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium

2016 CEU Short Research Grant: Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum (Yorba Linda, CA; June 26-July 9, 2016)

2015-2016 Research Fellowship at the National Archives of India and Nehru Memorial Library and Museum, supported by the Wilson Center’s Nuclear Proliferation International History Project (NPIHP); New Delhi, December 8, 2015-February 14, 2016

2015 IAEA History Research Fellowship, supported by the Vienna University and the Nuclear Proliferation International History Project (NPIHP); Vienna, July 21-September 4, 2015

2015 Summer School “Nuclear History Boot Camp 2015,” organized by the Wilson Center’s Nuclear Proliferation International History Project (NPIHP) and hosted by the University of Roma Tre and the Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies (CIMA)

LANGUAGES

Reading/Writing	Speaking/Listening
Serbian	native/native
English	proficiency/proficiency
French	beginner/intermediate
Italian	beginner/beginner

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Books and Book Chapters

Miljković, Marko, Emilija Cvetković. “Ruski grip i srpski lek: pandemija gripa 1889-1890. godine u Beogradu i Srbiji” [Russian Flu and the Serbian Cure: 1889-1890 Flu Pandemic in Belgrade and Serbia]. In *Doomsday. Kuga*, edited by Marija Lojanica, Dragan Bošković, 37-57. Kragujevac: Filološko-umetnički fakultet, 2020.

Miljković, Marko. “Škoda i Crvena zastava: razvoj automobilske industrije u Čehoslovačkoj i Jugoslaviji do sredine 1960-ih godina” [Škoda and Crvena Zastava: The Development of Automobile Industry in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia by the mid-1960]. In *Izazovi izučavanja ekonomske istorije u Srbiji* [Challenges in Researching Economic History in Serbia], edited by Vesna Aleksić, Aleksandar Matković, Marko Miljković, 150-165. Institut ekonomskih nauka Beograd 2020.

Miljković, Marko, Emilija Cvetković. “Moglo je i gore, dobro biti neće: COVID-19 i društveno-ekonomski efekti pandemija u istorijskoj perspektivi, u svetu i Srbiji” [It Could Have Been Worse, but It Will Not Be Good: COVID-19 and Socio-Economic Effects of Pandemics in a Historical Perspective in the World and in Serbia]. In *Black Swan in the World Economy 2020* edited by Petar Mitić, Darko Marjanović, 29-51. Beograd: Institut ekonomskih nauka, 2020.

Miljković, Marko. “Nuclear Yutopia: The Outcome of the First Nuclear Accident in Yugoslavia, 1958.” In *Labor in State Socialist Europe, 1945-1989: Contributions to a Global History of Work*, edited by Marsha Siefert, 273–306. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2020.

Miljković, Marko. "Blind-Alleys on the Road to Communism: 'Isms' of the Automobile Sport in Socialist Yugoslavia, 1945-1992." In *Sport in Socialist Yugoslavia*, edited by Dejan Zec, Dario Brentin, 132-149. Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2018.

Miljković, Marko. *Automobil: izum koji je ubrzao svet* [The Car: An Invention That Has Accelerated the World]. Beograd: Kreativni centar, 2014.

Articles

Miljković, Marko. "CER Computers as Weapons of Mass Disruption: The Yugoslav Computer Industry in the 1960s", *Годишњак за друштвену историју*, XXIV, 3/2017: 99-123.

Miljković, Marko. "Blind-Alleys on the Road to Communism: 'Isms' of the Automobile Sport in Socialist Yugoslavia, 1945-1992". *The International Journal for the History of Sport*, (2017): 1-17.

Miljković, Marko. "Making automobiles in Yugoslavia: Fiat Technology in the Crvena Zastava Factory, 1954-1962," *The Journal of Transport History*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2017): 20-36.

Miljković, Marko. "Mercedes za srce, fičo za žep" [Mercedes in Heart, *Fiča* as Standard] *Dialogi*, No. 9 (2016): 44-58.

Miljković, Marko. „Kako se kalio *fiča*: jugoslovenski radnici i italijanska tehnologija u Crvenoj zastavi, 1955-1962“ [Tempering of *fiča*: Yugoslav Workers and Italian Technology in the Crvena Zastava Factory, 1955-1962], *Narodna umjetnost*, (2014), 51/2: 71-94.

Miljkovic, Marko. "Western Technology in a Socialist Factory: The Formative Phase of the Yugoslav Automobile Industry, 1955-1962", Budapest: Central European University, 2013. MA thesis published on the website of the *Cold War History Research Center at Corvinus University Budapest* (<http://www.coldwar.hu/>)

Miljković, Marko. „Sajmovi automobila u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji kao mjesta promidžbe nacističke Njemačke“ [Automobile Fairs in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as Places of Nazi German Propaganda]. *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* (2013) 2: 305-325.

Miljković, Marko. "Automobilom na Jugoistok – automobili kao sredstvo nemačkog prodora u Kraljevinu Jugoslaviju" [By Cars to the Southeast – Cars as Means of German Penetration into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia]. *Токови историје* (2011) 2: 62-80.

Miljković, Marko. “*Grand Prix* Beograda 1939. – spoljnopolitički kontekst velikih automobilskih trka“ [Belgrade Grand Prix 1939 – Foreign Policy Context of Great Automobile Races], *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* (2011) XVIII/1: 7-29.

Reviews

Miljković, Marko. “Sourcing India's Cold War: From Nehru to Gandhi,” Wilson Center, Nuclear Proliferation International History Project (<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/indias-archives>)

Miljkovic, Marko. “The Researchers' Guide to the IAEA Archives,” Wilson Center, Nuclear Proliferation International History Project (<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/researchers-guide-to-the-iaea-archives>)

Miljković, Marko. „V. Ivanović, *Geburtstag pišeš normalno: Jugoslovenski gastarbajteri u SR Nemačkoj i Austriji, 1965-1973* [Geburtstag You Write Normally: Yugoslav Workers in FR Germany and Austria, 1965-1973], Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2021. *Istorija 20. veka* (2012) 1: 243-246.

AREAS OF SPECIAL ACADEMIC INTEREST

Nuclear Proliferation History

Cold War History

Yugoslavia in Cold War

Economic History of Serbia/Yugoslavia in 20th Century

Sovietization of Eastern Europe