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## STEVAN DEDIJER IN THE DOCUMENTS OF THE STATE SECURITY SERVICE FROM MID-1950s TO MID-1980s

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**ABSTRACT:** *The paper deals with reasons, course, intensity and ways of surveillance of activities of physicist and intelligence agent Stevan Dedijer by the State Security Service authorities (SDS) of the Republic of Croatia between the mid-1950s and the mid-1980s. The surveillance of Stevan Dedijer was initiated in the mid-1950s because of his support to Milovan Đilas, contacts with his brother Vladimir Dedijer, with đilasovci (Đilas's supporters) and with foreign diplomats. Upon his departure abroad in 1961, S. Dedijer was mentioned in the SDS documents only occasionally, when he was visiting Yugoslavia, but in the early 1980s he once again came into focus of the state security authorities as an emigrant and expert in the field of intelligence operations. The paper is primarily based on Dedijer's dossier run by Croatian SDS, which has been kept at the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb and was amended with the data from Dedijer's autobiography, other archives and available literature.*

**KEYWORDS:** Stevan Dedijer, Milovan Đilas, Vladimir Dedijer, State Security Service, espionage, nuclear politics, Vinča Institute, Ruđer Bošković Institute

### Who was Stevan Dedijer? Life and career until 1954

Stevan Dedijer was born on 25 June 1911 in Sarajevo to father Jevto and mother Milica. He had two brothers: lawyer, journalist and historian Vladimir (1914–1990) and civil engineer Borivoje (1915–1943). Father Jevto Dedijer (1879–1918) was a geographer, professor at the University of Vienna and assistant professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Geography in Belgrade. He

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was an associate of the prominent geographer Jovan Cvijić. Also, he was a member of the secret association “Black Hand” and a friend of Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis. Jevto advocated for unification of the Serbian people and participated in formulating war goals of the government of the Kingdom of Serbia in the First World War. In 1915, after occupation of Serbia, he first went to France and then to Switzerland where he worked for the Serbian government. During the war, Stevan lived with his mother and brothers in Belgrade, Kruševac and Niš in occupied Serbia, and in Bosnia with his mother’s relatives. Jevto died in Sarajevo of Spanish flu right after the end of the WW1 (25 December 1918).<sup>1</sup>

Mother Milica moved to Belgrade with her sons, where Stevan finished elementary school and enrolled in high school. The family received support from a number of friends of the late Jevto, among them substantial help from the American philanthropist Mabel Grujić, wife of the Serbian diplomat Slavko Grujić. She had met Jevto Dedijer in Bern, Switzerland in WWI. Thanks to Mabel’s means and connections, Stevan attended prestigious international school Monte Mario in Rome between 1923 and 1929, and the Taft School in the USA (Watertown, Connecticut) from 1929 to 1930. As of 1930 and until 1934, he studied theoretical physics at the Princeton University.<sup>2</sup> In 1934 Dedijer made one of the many surprising turns in his life (he called them “leaps”) by leaving his pursuit of science and declining the job offered to him by a prominent American laboratory. For a while he lived in New York, changing jobs and apartments and becoming increasingly interested in Marxism. In 1936, he became a member of the American Communist Party and worked in Pittsburgh as editor of the Serbian workers’ party paper *Slobodna reč* (Free Word). During that time, he became familiar with secret operations and collaborated with prominent Comintern agents, including Nikola Kovačević, Mirko Marković and Mustafa Golubić.<sup>3</sup>

In WWII, he was recruited by the American intelligence service OSS (Office of Strategic Services), where he received training to be sent to the Yugoslav battlefield as an intelligence officer. However, after the training he was fired, most likely on suspicion of being a Communist. He then volunteered for the U.S. Army and was trained as bodyguard of General Maxwell D. Taylor, under whom he served in the 101st Airborne Division and in that capacity in September 1944 participated in the Market Garden Operation that took place in Belgium and the Netherlands. At his own request, he left the American forces in February 1945 to join the Yugoslav partisans. Via his brother Vladimir, he met the state and Party leaders Milovan Đilas, Aleksandar Ranković, Edvard Kardelj etc. Between 1945 and 1948, he worked as Kardelj’s Chief

<sup>1</sup> Stevan Dedijer, *Autobiografija. Špijun kojeg smo voljeli*, (Zagreb: VBZ, 2011), 50–61. See also: Биљана Шимуновић Бешлин, „Дедијер, Владимир“, у: *Српски биографски речник*, том 3, уредник Чедомир Попов (Нови Сад: Матица српска, 2007), 132–134; Владимир М. Николић, „Дедијер, Јевто“, у: *Српски биографски речник*, том 3, уредник Чедомир Попов (Нови Сад: Матица српска, 2007), 134–135; Милован Р. Пецељ, *Јевто Дедијер. Живот и дело* (Београд-Бањалука: Универзитет у Београду-Географски факултет, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> S. Dedijer, *Autobiografija*, 62–107. About Mabel Grujić see: Александра Новаков, „Грујић, Мабел (Mabel Dunlop Gordon)“, у: *Српски биографски речник*, том 2, уредник Чедомир Попов, (Нови Сад: Матица српска, 2006), 840.

<sup>3</sup> S. Dedijer, *Autobiografija*, 108–123.

of Staff and interpreter. Also, he was editor of the foreign-policy column in the Party's daily *Borba*, reported from Trieste, escorted foreign journalists at the trial of Draža Mihajlović, worked in the *Politika* daily and as assistant to the director of the Tanjug news agency. He travelled abroad as journalist and interpreter, participating in international conferences and various events, and was engaged in intelligence operations. As of 1948, he was assigned to New York, where he was tasked with improving the image of Yugoslavia and Josip Broz Tito in the American public eye.<sup>4</sup>

In New York, however, he received another assignment which briefly brought him back to physics and science and had a crucial impact on his future life. According to Dedijer's memoirs, in the fall of 1949, when Yugoslavia had a very hard time struggling against the USSR pressures and trying to establish closer relationship with the Western countries, Dedijer was approached by M. Đilas and E. Kardelj who suggested that he come to Yugoslavia and help with its efforts to produce a nuclear bomb at the institute in Vinča near Belgrade, established in January 1948.<sup>5</sup> According to Dedijer, Kardelj openly told him that Yugoslavia had to have a nuclear bomb even if it meant "spending half of national income every year" so as to be able to put up resistance and defend itself from the potential Soviet attack. In early 1950, Stevan Dedijer took the Party assignment and, supported by the State Security Service (UDB) that controlled the entire project, he arrived at the Vinča Institute to speed up the production of the nuclear bomb, i.e. to supervise the work of Pavle Savić who allegedly promised the state leadership that he would deliver it, but was stalling in fulfilling that promise. As of 1952, he held the position of head of the Institute.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> S. Dedijer, *Autobiografija*, 124–165. All the mentioned biographical data are mentioned in few documents in Stevan Dedijer's file. It was especially emphasized that he comes from a "bourgeois family", that his father is Jevto, and his brother is Vladimir. Some new information is also provided: July 6, 1911 is incorrectly stated as the date of birth; it is stated that he studied abroad "as a scholarship holder of the then Yugoslav government"; allegedly, in 1939, he was punished by a party penalty for "some mistakes and causing a quarrel with the local leadership of the Croatian emigrants". According to these data, Dedijer was sent to the OSS training on a party assignment, even in 1943, through Mirko Marković, the "Russian intelligence officer Pravdin" contacted him and "gave him the task to connect by radio with one of the Soviet intelligence centers upon his arrival in Yugoslavia". Hrvatski državni arhiv (HDA), fond 1561, Republički sekretarijat unutrašnjih poslova SR Hrvatske (RSUP SRH), Služba državne sigurnosti (SDS), dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Izvod iz materijala za Dedijer Stevana; Isto, Stevan Dedijer, POO, Rezime podataka). On the identity of "Pravdin" (Roland Abbiat) as the founder of the Soviet intelligence network in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, see: Aleksej Timofejev, "Nulti pacijent": počeci delovanja sovjetske obaveštajne službe u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji", *Istorija 20. veka*, br. 2 (2023), 303–322.

<sup>5</sup> The Institute of Physics in Vinča was founded on January 10, 1948; in 1950, it changed its name to the Institute for the Research on the Structure of Matter; since 1953 it has been called the Boris Kidrič Institute of Nuclear Sciences, and since 1992 the Vinča Institute of Nuclear Sciences (Dragomir Bondžić, *Između ambicija i iluzija. Nuklearna politika Jugoslavije 1945–1990* (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju-Društvo istoričara Srbije, 2016), 59–60; *Пола века института „Винча“ (1948–1998)*, ур. Бранислава Перовић-Нешковић (Београд: Институт за нуклеарне науке „Винча“ -Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства, 2000), 16, 20–21).

<sup>6</sup> S. Dedijer, *Autobiografija*, 170–185; D. Bondžić, *Između ambicija i iluzija*, 60, 99–100. Pavle Savić (1909–1994) graduated in physical chemistry at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

As early as in mid-1950, Dedijer submitted a report to the CK KPJ (Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party) where he negatively evaluated the functioning of the Institute, criticized interpersonal relationships, lack of discipline and laziness, for which he specifically blamed Pavle Savić, expressing doubts about his managerial and even scientific abilities, accusing him of avoiding work on the Institute's main task.<sup>7</sup> Although Dedijer had no notable results in resolving problems, improving working environment or advancing scientific work and the military nuclear project, he did significantly contribute to the development of the Institute's international cooperation. Owing to his international connections (and those of Pavle Savić in France, too), a large number of prominent world scientists and representatives of the international scientific organizations visited Yugoslavia and the Vinča Institute in the early 1950s. Also, in that period many younger associates of Vinča visited European countries with advanced nuclear research (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, England, etc.). In 1951, Dedijer himself, together with Pavle Savić and Robert Walen from the Vinča Institute, Ivan Supek from the Ruđer Bošković Institute in Zagreb and Anton Peterlin from the Jožef Štefan Institute in Ljubljana, toured the nuclear centres in England, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, where he established firm relations with their scientists.<sup>8</sup>

As for the nuclear project, Dedijer invested a lot of enthusiasm and had great expectations. Over time, his enthusiasm dropped, and doubts prevailed about the feasibility of the project. Initially, he blamed Savić for that, as well as laziness, lack of discipline and knowledge at the Institute, but over time he revealed deep-rooted causes: interpersonal conflicts and disagreements among the participants; weak scientific, economic and material capacities of the country, poor organization of the scientific work, lack of collaboration among institutes and scientists, high degree of conspiracy, etc.<sup>9</sup> Eventually he, as the head of the Vinča Institute, together with Savić and Walen sent a memo dated 25 May 1953 to the state leadership (Tito, Ranković, Kardelj, Đilas and Svetozar Vukmanović Tempo), entitled "On two essential conditions for the development of atomic energy in our country." The document openly admits that one of the reasons for launching nuclear research in the country was the production of nuclear bomb, but then it went on with a number of reasons

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From 1935, he stayed for training in Paris at the Radium Institute, where he helped Irène Joliot Curie in the experiments that later led to the discovery of fission. In Paris, he became a member of the Communist Party in 1939. During the Second World War, he was in the partisans, as Josip Broz Tito's cipher officer. After the war, as a person trusted by the state leadership, he influenced scientific policy and founded and managed the work of the Institute in Vinča, until he parted ways with the main direction of nuclear research in 1960. He taught at the Faculty of Science and Mathematics in Belgrade. He was a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts from 1946 and its president from 1971 to 1981 (D. Bondžić, *Između ambicija i iluzija*, 35–69; Dragomir Bondžić, „Rad Pavla Savića u Moskvi 1944. i 1945/46. i projekat za izgradnju jugoslovenskog instituta za fiziku“, *Istorija 20. veka*, br. 2 (2015), 91–104; Arhiv SANU, dosije Pavla Savića).

<sup>7</sup> Arhiv Republike Slovenije (ARS), Osebni fond Edvard Kardelj, 1277, k. 88, dosije 7/I–7, Stevan Dedijer–CK KPJ, 3. 8. 1950.

<sup>8</sup> D. Bondžić, *Između ambicija i iluzija*, 63–69, 100–103. Robert Janet Walen (1912–1994) French physicist of Duch origin, leftist. On the invitation of Pavle Savić, he came to the Institute in Vinča in 1948, where he worked until 1954. (*Полла века института „Винча“*, 15).

<sup>9</sup> Arhiv SANU, Iz zaostavštine Pavla Savića, br. 14407/11, Dnevnik Instituta.

why that was not possible in view of the current level of scientific and economic development and why efforts should be focused on the development of the fundamental and nuclear research and their implementation in the country's economy. The problem that was specifically highlighted was lack of uranium ore, but also the overwhelming conspiracy that governed the scientific community, which hampered cooperation and joint efforts of both institutes and scientists.<sup>10</sup>

This extremely harsh criticism of the nuclear research institutes was addressed to the state leadership just several weeks after Stalin's death, at the time when the threat of the Soviet attack against Yugoslavia cooled off and stronger political and scientific ties with the Western countries were established. Domestically, liberalization, democratization and advocacy for freedom of opinion and change of the political system came into focus. Milovan Đilas and Stevan's brother Vladimir played important roles in establishing ties with the West, particularly with the Western socialists, while Stevan himself, as mentioned earlier, was more involved in establishing collaboration with the Western nuclear science community. Stevan also took part in the ideological and political changes that were supposed to lead to more democracy within the system and more freedoms. In that sense, already in the first issue of Đilas's monthly *Nova misao* (New Thought) in January 1953, he published the article entitled "About the old and the new in our scientific life" calling for the "expression of conflicting opinions" and public discussion on the organization of scientific work in Yugoslavia, that might lead to better organization of scientific work and its implementation in the economy and the workers' self-management system.<sup>11</sup> Before long, however, a radical turn in the domestic state policy took place, and affected Dedijer's future life and career.

### **The "fall" of Milovan Đilas and Stevan Dedijer Life and work from January 1954 until his arrival in Zagreb in May 1956**

After the conflict with the Cominform in 1948, Yugoslavia started changing its foreign and domestic policies and sought a "new path" towards socialism. Externally, in the early 1950s contacts were established with the Western capitalist countries in order to obtain military and economic aid and support in resisting the Soviet Union. Over time, this rapprochement with the West slowed down, giving way to rapprochement with the Third World countries and establishment of the "third path" in international relations. Internally, the country saw abandonment of the Soviet dogmatism and bureaucratism and, through establishment of self-management system and workers' councils, democratization and liberalization, a new path towards socialism was sought. All these changes required theoretical justification by way of Marxist and Leninist ideology. Milovan Đilas, one of the most prominent members of the Yugoslav state and Party leadership, played a significant

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<sup>10</sup> Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), fond 837, Kabinet Predsednika Republike (KPR), II-6-a, 25. 5. 1953, „O dva bitna uslova za razvitak atomske energije kod nas“; D. Bondžić, *Između ambicija i iluzija*, 102–111.

<sup>11</sup> Stevan Dedijer, „O starom i novom u našem naučnom životu“, *Nova misao*, br. 1, (1953), 1–21.

role in all those areas. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, he made first contacts with the West while travelling together with Vladimir Dedijer and establishing strong ties with the representatives of the West European socialist parties (Aneurin Bevan, Jenny Lee, etc.). With his participation at the Asian Socialist Conference in January 1953 he contributed to the establishment of stronger ties with the Third World and creation of the “Third Way” policy. Đilas played a very important role in terms of political theory and domestic affairs. He was the loudest critic of the Soviet Union after 1948, a prominent ideologue of the breakup with the Soviet dogmatism and bureaucratism as well as proponent of the new Yugoslav path based on de-bureaucratization, more freedoms, adoption of self-management system, freethinking and strengthening of “social democracy.” These policies were proclaimed official at the Sixth Congress held in November 1952, where the Communist Party changed its name to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.<sup>12</sup>

However, the implementation of the reforms and expansion of freedoms within the Yugoslav socialist system had its limitations. The leadership had no intention of abandoning the Marxist and Leninist dogmas, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the one-party system. As for the foreign policy, after Stalin’s death, Yugoslavia began the process of rapprochement with the Soviet Union, thus signalling that it was not going to get any closer to the West or give up on its ideological ally and ideological foundations of the revolution. It was then, in late 1953, that Đilas published a series of articles in the *Borba* daily, where he harshly spoke of the flaws of the Yugoslav system. In January 1954, he published an article in *Nova Misao*, entitled “Anatomy of a Moral,” where he criticized the conduct of the Party leadership and abandonment of the revolutionary moral.<sup>13</sup> Josip Broz Tito’s reaction was swift and harsh. At the Third Plenum of the CK SKJ (Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia) held on 17 January 1954, the Party leadership confronted Đilas who then admitted his mistakes and was expelled from the CK SKJ, dismissed from all his party and political positions and was put under surveillance of the UDB. The only member of the CK SKJ who supported him was Vladimir Dedijer, brother of Stevan Dedijer.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> About the changes in the domestic and foreign policy of Yugoslavia after 1948 and the beginning of the 1950s and the role of Milovan Đilas in them see: *Borba komunista Jugoslavije za socijalističku demokratiju, VI kongres KPJ* (Beograd: Kultura, 1952); Milovan Đilas, *Vlast i pobuna*, (Beograd: Književne novine, 1991), 203–265; Vladimir Dedijer, *Veliki buntovnik Milovan Đilas. Prilozi za biografiju* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1991, 353–399; Ljubodrag Dimić, *Jugoslavija i Hladni rat: Oglеди o spoljnoj politici Josipa Broza Tita* (Beograd: Arhipelag, 2014); Nikola Mijatov, „Milovan Đilas i britanski laburisti 1950–1955“, *Istorija 20. veka*, (2015), 27–43; Nikola Mijatov, *Milovan Đilas i evropski socijalisti 1950–1958*, (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2019), 20–99; Александар Милетић, *Преломна времена. Милован Ђилас и западноевропска социјалистичка и социјалдемократска левича 1950–1954*, (Beograd: Институт за новију историју Србије, 2019).

<sup>13</sup> M. Đilas, *Vlast i pobuna*, 265–271; V. Dedijer, *op. cit.*, 399–402; N. Mijatov, *Milovan Đilas i evropski socijalisti 1950–1958*, 101–113; Nikola Mijatov, “The Case of Milovan Djilas and The European Socialists 1954–1958”, *Istorija 20. veka*, br. 2 (2019), 217–220.

<sup>14</sup> M. Đilas, *Vlast i pobuna*, 278–289; V. Dedijer, *op. cit.*, 403–419; N. Mijatov, *Milovan Đilas i evropski socijalisti 1950–1958*, 114–118; AJ, fond 506, CK SKJ, Plenarne sednice CK SKJ 1948–

Vladimir Dedijer's support to Đilas, Stevan Dedijer's support to both his brother and Đilas, but also Stevan Dedijer's aforementioned views where he publicly expressed criticism of the Yugoslav socialist system, especially regarding its involvement in the field of science, marked the end of his position as head of the Vinča Institute and his role in the Yugoslav nuclear policy. After the fall of Đilas, Stevan Dedijer was removed from the position of director (although in his autobiography he claimed that he himself had resigned). In the following years, his fate was in many ways intertwined with that of both Vladimir Dedijer and Milovan Đilas.<sup>15</sup>

Stevan Dedijer kept working at the Institute but was "worked on" by the UDB organs from May 1954. In February 1956, information was added to his dossier about his activities prior, during and after Đilas's fall. It was stated that "Stevo" was member of the editorial board of *Nova Misao* since its foundation, that in its first issue he published the article entitled "On the old and the new in our scientific life," and that, together with Boro Drenovac, "he had the final say" in the paper's section on science. Dedijer was "fascinated" with Đilas's articles in *Nova Misao* and *Borba*, and "actively supported all statements therein." In that period, Đilas, Drenovac and Oskar Davidčo would often visit Dedijer at the Vinča Institute to discuss Đilas's articles.<sup>16</sup>

The CK SKJ announcement about Đilas in January 1954 found Dedijer on the way to Switzerland, and from there he sent a protest letter to Kardelj where he "very arrogantly" disagreed with the announcement and defended Đilas in most respects. For that he was punished with reprimand. When Đilas case was discussed at the first meeting of the SKJ organization at the Vinča Institute, Dedijer allegedly tried to correct his statements and agreed with the resolution condemning Đilas's "deviation." He said that Đilas had made a political mistake, but that he remained "one of the best men that our Revolution had." According to him, although the Third Plenum demonstrated the Party's democratic character, people feared that they would not be allowed to express themselves freely and many were concerned about the potential "pressure on intellectuals." He was particularly hurt by Petar Stambolić's statement where he called the editorial board of *Nova Misao* – McCarthy's headquarters. Within the UDB, it was considered that Dedijer's acceptance of Party's decisions was just "his tactics" and that "he remained entirely on Đilas's side." This view was fuelled by the fact that Stevan expressed solidarity with the views of his brother Vladimir (who was the only CK member to defend Đilas) and that at the Party meeting he openly defended the Institute's biology lab assistant, Vlado Vidović who shared Đilas's views. In the course of 1954, the Dedijer brothers often met with Vidović and Drenovac, and on those occasions "they shared more or less same opinions that boiled down to supporting Đilas and his statements." Dedijer himself also openly shared his opinions with individuals he was not close to, es-

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1978, II/11, Treći plenum CK SKJ, 16-17. 1. 1954; „Трећи ванредни пленум ЦК СКЈ“, *Борба*, 18. 1. 1954, 1–6.

<sup>15</sup> S. Dedijer, *Autobiografija*, 186–189; D. Bondžić, *Između ambicija i iluzija*, 69. *Пола века института „Винча“*, 27.

<sup>16</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Izvod iz materijala za S. Dedjera, 10. 2. 1956; Isto, NO kotara Zagreb, SUP, DB, Upitnica za evidenciju.

pecially with the Institute's employees. According to the UDB analyses, his opinions were as follows: Đilas is an intelligent man who targeted the top of bureaucracy; ever since his dismissal, his hypotheses have proven correct; the state of affairs in the country is getting increasingly serious and local patriotism is reaching its maximum; the blind obedience and fear of expressing opinions to superiors is becoming more and more visible; old veterans are being eliminated; almost the entire management of the country has been left to the Slovenes; in truth, Đilas's downfall was staged by the Slovenes and partly by the Serbian CK SK; now, the state security authorities are watching his movements and every step he and his friends make; however, the circle around Đilas and his friends is increasingly expanding considering the state of the country and the strengthening of bureaucracy.<sup>17</sup>

Over time, having realized that he might lose his position at the Institute, Dedijer slowly withdrew and mostly stuck to the closest circle of the like-minded. At the same time, he insisted on obtaining grant for specialization abroad. He managed to get it in December 1954 at the University of Edinburgh, where he stayed for a year.<sup>18</sup> While there, the "Đilas-Dedijer case" broke out. In November 1954, Vladimir Dedijer was summoned by the CK SKJ Control Committee for having supported Đilas and associated with him after the Third Plenum. Dedijer informed the foreign public about that, while Đilas gave an interview to the *New York Times* in December 1954, where he openly criticized the Party leadership and called for a "new political formation" and the need for an opposition in Yugoslavia. They were both accused of the "enemy propaganda" and at the trial held in January 1955 in Belgrade Đilas was sentenced to 18 months in prison with three years of probation, and Dedijer was sentenced to six months in prison with two years of probation.<sup>19</sup> When foreign reporters in Edinburgh asked Stevan Dedijer for a statement about his relations with Đilas and Vladimir Dedijer, he responded that he had nothing to say. But, through Yugoslav diplomats, the UDB learned that Stevan "did not condemn the actions of Đilas or Dedijer at all, but, on the contrary, he claimed that he agreed with them on many issues." His "position was that of an outright democrat, and he was claiming that our system should further develop along the lines of Đilas's views, which are basically also views of comrade Tito, but that they cannot be actualized so soon." This position could be seen in the letter to his brother Vladimir in July 1955, where he wrote: "They are trying to insinuate again that my opinion is such as it is because of the fact that you are my brother and that we are so close. At the same time, they are trying to find an excuse for you, saying that you 'went along with Đi-

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<sup>17</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Izvod iz materijala za S. Dedjera, 10. 2. 1956.

<sup>18</sup> It is interesting that from September to December 1954, Dedijer was recorded as a driver employed by the Commission for Assistance in Scientific Research, which was headed by S. Nakićenović. His salary was double that of the second driver, and almost equal to that of an advisor in the Commission. AJ, fond Komisija za pomoć u naučnim istraživanjima, 867-1-1, Platni spiskovi 1954.

<sup>19</sup> On Đilas-Dedijer case 1954/1955. see: M. Đilas, *Vlast i pobuna*, 296–298; V. Dedijer, *op. cit.*, 425–442; N. Mijatov, *Milovan Đilas i evropski socijalisti 1950–1958*, 122–127; Kosta Nikolić, Srđan Cvetković, *Radanje jeretika. Suđenje Milovanu Đilas i Vladimiru Dedijeru 1955*, (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2011).

las' because you two were friends. That's nonsense... I told the people from the Embassy quite openly: I will not do anything against the interests of my country, but I will say openly what I think, loud and clear, to each our citizen."<sup>20</sup>

That he would speak openly, but do nothing against the interests of his country, Stevan Dedijer also told the English intelligence officer Mariott, who tried to recruit him in February 1955 to work for the English intelligence service, asking him to "help him gather information about Yugoslavia." Mariott approached Dedijer because he was former head of the Vinča Institute engaged in nuclear research and also Vladimir Dedijer's brother who was at that time in the spotlight of the international community's attention together with Đilas. Dedijer resolutely declined the offer, pointing out that he was no longer involved in nuclear issues and that he had come to Edinburgh to work on physics. He immediately informed the Yugoslav embassy in London about this conversation and delivered a detailed official note addressed to Ambassador Vladimir Velebit and vice-president of the Federal Executive Council, Aleksandar Ranković. In his dossier UDB concluded that Dedijer made an effort to make this event known as wide as possible, "emphasizing his patriotism."<sup>21</sup>

In 1955, Stevan Dedijer returned to Belgrade and continued working at the Vinča Institute. According to the UDB records, upon his return from the Great Britain he met with Milovan Đilas just once at his brother's apartment, but he himself never visited Đilas. It was concluded that Stevan was influenced by his brother, who began to part ways with Đilas already in mid-1955 and almost completely separated from him later on. But this had yet to be proven, and that assignment was given to some other UDB's associates after Stevan had been fired from the Vinča Institute in the spring of 1956. He then left Belgrade and moved to Zagreb.<sup>22</sup>

### **Life in Zagreb under UDB surveillance, 1956–1961**

In May 1956, Stevan Dedijer arrived in Zagreb at the Ruđer Bošković Institute, where Ivan Supek helped him pursue his work on theoretical problems in physics. Even though he was well into his forties, he got a job and submitted the topic for his doctoral dissertation.<sup>23</sup> On 15 May 1956, he was placed under surveil-

<sup>20</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Izvod iz materijala za S. Dedjera, 10. 2. 1956.

<sup>21</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Izvod iz materijala za S. Dedjera, 10. 2. 1956; Isto, Podsjetnik o razgovoru Stevana Dedijera sa g. Marriotom, 8. 2. 1955. During his stay in Edinburgh, Stevan Dedijer communicated with Labourists Aneurin Bevan and John Phillips, acting as an intermediary between them and his brother Vladimir on publishing and financial matters. He was also in Sweden for a short time, with his friend Torsten Gustafson, a member of the Swedish Atomic Commission and Sigvard Eklund, the head of the construction of the Swedish reactor.

<sup>22</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Izvod iz materijala za S. Dedjera, 10. 2. 1956. In addition to losing his job and being compromised due to his support for Đilas and his brother Vladimir, Dedijer's decision to move to Zagreb, according to UDB analysts, was also influenced by his love affair with an employee of the Institut in Vinča and his ongoing divorce with his wife Ivanka (Isto).

<sup>23</sup> Tanja Rudež, Krunoslav Pisk, *Institut Ruđer Bošković. Ljudi i događaji 1950–2000* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2017), 120–121.

lance by the State Security Service at the Secretariat of Internal Affairs of the Zagreb District People's Committee. His life and work were carefully monitored ever since, informative interviews were conducted with him and information gathered through his associates, including his closest colleagues and acquaintances. The main reasons for surveillance were his beliefs and actions related to Đilas, and his contacts with Vladimir Dedijer and 'Đilas's supporters' in Zagreb. Over time, he also became suspected of being involved with the English intelligence service and having contacts with the American and English diplomatic/consular officials in Zagreb.<sup>24</sup>

On 4 August 1956, Stevan Dedijer was interrogated at the Security Section of the Ruđer Bošković Institute. He was asked about the nature of his contacts with Milovan Đilas and the visit he paid him when "Đilas established illegal ties with and made himself available to the foreign circles involved in organizing and conducting campaigns against Yugoslavia." Dedijer responded that if it was true that Đilas "made himself available to foreign circles against the interest of the country" he "strongly condemns" such an act. He said that over the past three years he had visited Đilas only on one occasion. But he also said that the country was facing certain problems in its development and that there were also some Marxism-related theoretical issues, pointing out that he as a citizen was entitled to have "opinion of his own," and that his opinions should be "thoroughly discussed and analysed" in the public for the sake of further progress of socialism. He mentioned that he was never friends with Đilas, but, as they shared views on the theory of Marxism, he wanted to further discuss them with Đilas. However, he emphasized that if the allegations about Đilas's "illegal" ties with foreign circles were true, any discussion about theoretical issues was "undesirable, harmful and reprehensible." He disapproved of associations with foreign circles aimed at organizing and conducting campaigns against the interests of the FNRJ (Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia).<sup>25</sup>

In the centre of the UDB's attention in Zagreb were the activities of the "Stilinović-Dedijer" group, meaning Vladimir Dedijer and Marijan Stilinović,<sup>26</sup> and Đilas's supporters, who gathered around that group. Vladimir Dedijer and Stilinović were constantly in touch, Dedijer even stayed with Stilinović when in Zagreb (30–31 October 1956, 16–21 November 1956, etc.). The UDB closely followed the Dedijer brothers and their friends, knew all details about their meetings, conversations and movements (walks, visits to theatres and cafés, Dedijer's visits to Miroslav Krleža, etc.), but Dedijer and others were aware of 'the agents right behind them'. Stevan was an important member of that 'group'. Upon his arrival in Zagreb, he had stayed at Stilinović's around two months in the summer of 1956. before he got an

<sup>24</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, NO kotara Zagreb, SUP, UDB, Upitnica za evidenciju; Isto, Izvod iz materijala za S. Dedjera, 10. 2. 1956. Some of the "peripheral collaborators" and informants were "Lidija", "Ratko", "Ivo", "Zubo", etc.

<sup>25</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Zapisnik sastavljen 4. 8. 1956. u kancelariji Otsjeka bezbjednosti instituta „Ruđer Bošković“ u Zagrebu, po predmetu saslušanja Dedijer Stevana, službenika Instituta.

<sup>26</sup> Marijan Stilinović, politician and publicist (1904–1959), member of SKOJ and KPJ, partisan, editor-in-chief of *Borba* and *Naprijed*, president of the Committee for Schools and Science of the FNRJ, ambassador, Croatian parliamentary representative and federal representative (*Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, knj. VIII, (Zagreb: JLZ, 1971).

apartment. From that time onwards, the two of them were involved 'in hostile activities'. Throughout his stay in Zagreb, he was meeting with his brother Vladimir and Stilinović on a regular basis and was one of the main figures among Đilas's followers. He was gathering people from the cultural and artistic communities as well as young engineers from the Ruđer Bošković Institute. He had a wide range of contacts abroad and frequently visited the American consulate and its reading room, where he was getting various magazines that he later distributed. Among the persons that the Dedijers and Stilinović were in contact with were: Dušan Diminić, Zvonko Golob, Petar Šimaga, Edo Murtić, Žarko Stilinović (Marijan's son), Ivan Motika, Berto Črnja, Živko Vnuk, Željko Hegedušić, Marjan Matković, Dušan Džamonja and others. They used to gather for dinners either at Stilinović's or Dedijer's, or in cafés ("Gradska Kavana," "Korzo," "Kornat," etc.).<sup>27</sup>

During their meetings, the brothers Dedijer, Stilinović and those people were debating and critically assessing Marxism and domestic and foreign policies. They criticized the poor political and economic state in the country, low standard, absence of freethinking, "Stalinist methods" and the "police system," the leadership that turned into a separate "caste," the communists that were losing face, the flaws of communist parties and Marxist ideology, and so forth. They believed that they were fighting for "socialist humanism," expansion of freedom and democracy in the country and establishment of a socialist party and a two-party system. They trusted "Tito and the Army" and planned to request audience with comrade Tito, as he was the only one who would understand them. They believed that Tito was not well informed about the situation in the country and that his associates were taking advantage of his illness and travels. On the international level, they were commenting on the events in Egypt, Poland and Hungary, expressing fear that the riots might spill over into Yugoslavia unless the situation in the country improved, and freedoms expanded. Given that the domestic media did not provide accurate information, they listened to Western radio stations.<sup>28</sup>

Stevan Dedijer's views and details on his life were conveyed to the UDB by informants from his closest environment. Thus, while staying in Zagreb, on 11 December 1956, his former colleague from Vinča arranged with the "comrades from

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<sup>27</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Predmet: Grupa Stilinović–Dedijer, 24. 11. 1956; Isto, S. Dedijer, POO, 13. 3. 1957. V. Dedijer also came to Zagreb in January, February and March 1957, and later. He was staying with Stilinović or his brother Stevan and associates of the UDB constantly stalked him. A particularly detailed report was submitted about his departure from Zagreb on October 2, 1957 in the "Deda" ("Grandpa") case. Then an „ambush was set up“ in Novakova and Nazorova streets and then Vladimir („Deda“) and Stevan Dedijer, with a detailed description of their appearance and behavior, were followed to the station and Vladimir's entry into the train (Isto, Rezime o pratnji Vlade Dedijera; Isto. Predmet „Deda“, 2. 10. 1957).

<sup>28</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Predmet: Grupa Stilinović–Dedijer, 24. 11. 1956. The views of Marijan Stilinović, Dušan Diminić, a politician, Živko Vnuk, a journalist, Berto Črnja, a journalist, politician and lawyer, and Ivan Motika, a politician and lawyer. All of them were partisans and their careers were cut short in the mid-1950s for expressing pro-Đilas views (*Hrvatski biografski leksikon (1983–2024), mrežno izdanje*. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2024. Pristupljeno 21.12.2024). See more in: Marko Babić, *Đilasovci u Hrvatskoj. Zaboravljeni disidenti* (Zagreb: Despot Infinitus, 2022).

the UDB section in Zagreb” to meet with Dedijer at “Gradska kavana.” When he asked Dedijer how he adapted to the new environment, Dedijer said that he was received “in the manner typical of Zagreb – without any particular enthusiasm or friendliness,” but that he did not experience what he had experienced in Vinča where some people acted as good friends only to “put a spoke into his wheel.” He worked on his PhD thesis and kept “friendly” contacts of a sort with two or three persons from the Institute. He got an apartment (at 14 Novakova Street) which he renovated and lived there with his mother. He free-lanced under various pseudonyms for domestic technical and economic journals writing about the economics of nuclear energy. He criticized allotment of huge funds to the research in the field of nuclear science whereas the needs of the basic industries were not met as yet. Dedijer made inquiries about his colleagues from Vinča (Savić, Dragoslav Popović, Aleksandar Milojević and others), asking if “the relations with Russians will now slow down or put to a stop the delivery of the reactor,” whether the security service was integrated into the work of the Institute, which he, while being in charge, had insisted on, etc. He also mentioned that the Ruđer Bošković Institute security organs were “hardly visible, which meant that they worked well,” and that he felt “increased vigilance only during the turmoil in Hungary.” He went on to express his views on the domestic and international situation (Poland, Hungary, USSR). Throughout the conversation, he was “attacking and condemning the Russians and their politics.” He criticized workers’ councils because they failed to resolve a lot of issues, particularly the “issue of labour productivity.” He stressed the need for wider and freer debates among the communists, as it was vital for further development. He also maintained his right to freely express his opinion regarding Milovan Đilas, although he would have never expressed it abroad and against his country. He believed that the country was strong enough to “swallow Đilas’s nonsense” when it “swallowed much bigger mistakes in its economy.” He added that Đilas should not have been arrested, as it was harmful for the country’s reputation abroad.<sup>29</sup>

A little later, in March 1957, an assistant at the Ruđer Bošković Institute provided the UDB with information about Stevan Dedijer. According to that informant, Dedijer, after having been fired from Vinča, was offered three options, and he decided on Zagreb. Upon his arrival at the Institute, he was well received, and he got an office where he worked on his PhD thesis. His activity was not much felt in the Institute as he mostly spent time by himself; people respected him as the former director of Vinča, although younger employees did not consider him their equal in terms of expert knowledge, so that he could not influence them even if he wanted to. According to the informant, however, very soon Stevan made many friends in the cultural and artistic circles in Zagreb, went out with them and invited them to his

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<sup>29</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Predmet: Razgovor sa Dedijer Stevom, 13. 12. 1956. Milovan Đilas was arrested during one of Vladimir Dedijer’s stays in Zagreb on November 19, 1956; the following month he was sentenced to three years’ rigorous imprisonment for his criticism of Yugoslavia’s neutral stance towards the Soviet invasion that crushed the revolution in Hungary, which was reported by foreign media (See: M. Đilas, *Vlast i pobuna*, 305–306; V. Dedijer, *op. cit.*, 443–452; N. Mijatov, *Milovan Đilas i evropski socijalisti 1950–1958*, 139–142; K. Nikolić, S. Cvetković, *op. cit.*, 60–61).

home for dinner. The reason for such popularity, according to the informant, was the fact that Stevan was “a very pushy man who tends to say what he means to whoever he runs into.” The informant himself attended one such dinner, but nothing worth reporting to the UDB was said there. During their conversation, the UDB officer was under impression that the informant condemned the campaign against Stevan Dedijer in Vinča, when he showed solidarity with his brother Vladimir. Eventually they agreed that the informant should continue contact with Dedijer and that he should provide names of all the people he kept company with, and report on Dedijer’s views on the situation in the country and abroad.<sup>30</sup>

One of the turning points in the life of Stevan Dedijer was his dismissal from the Ruđer Bošković Institute as of 30 September 1957. It was part of the persecution that he and his brother were going through for not having given up on Đilas’s views at the time when the latter, though imprisoned, found himself once again in the spotlight. As per a report of one operative officer, Stevan Dedijer was taken by surprise when the director of the Institute Veljko Novak handed him the notice, as he did not expect such a move from the Institute’s management. When Dedijer asked Novak about it, the latter told him that he would receive severance pay until 1 November, and that until that time he was allowed to come to the Institute and work. Dedijer promised that he would submit the report on his work directly to the president of that Commission, Aleksandar Ranković, as requested by Ivan Supek and Slobodan Nakićenović, Secretary to the Federal Commission for Nuclear Energy (SKNE). Asked if he had any job in mind, Dedijer responded that he “would manage somehow,” but that he would like, in agreement with professor Supek to be able to use the Institute’s library once he left.<sup>31</sup>

According to the UDB analysis, “in the first days after his dismissal Dedijer was quite surprised and depressed.” UDB associate “Zubo” filed a report on the conversation he had with him at the Institute in early October. Dedijer told him that Novak was “shaking” when he handed him the note of dismissal and told him that it was “an order from Belgrade.” Dedijer never got any explanation but believed that the reason was the article he had published in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, which was met with Nakićenović’s harsh reaction few days earlier.<sup>32</sup> Dedijer insisted that he be left alone to work in his office until the end of October. He expected an invitation from Niels Bohr to Copenhagen where he would work on his PhD thesis

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<sup>30</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Iz razgovora sa C. M. 20. 3. 1957. The informant also gave details about the attempt to recruit for the British service and about Dedijer’s private and love life during his stay in Great Britain and in Zagreb. On the low level of Dedijer’s scientific knowledge, see T. Rudež, K. Pisk, *op. cit.*, 120.

<sup>31</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Izvještaj L. Z., 4. 10. 1957. On Dedijer’s dismissal see also T. Rudež, K. Pisk, *op. cit.*, 121.

<sup>32</sup> It is about an article Stevan Dedijer, „Research and Freedom in Undeveloped Countries“, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 13, nr. 7, (September 1957), 238–242. Yugoslavia was not mentioned in the paper, but the disorganization of scientific work in underdeveloped countries and the spending of large funds without major results was strongly criticized, following the example of Soviet science, which was ineffective due to dictatorship and bureaucratization and achieved results with great efforts, costs and losses. According to the Dedijer, a free exchange of opinions and freedom of criticism was necessary for the proper development of science and society.

and added that he was ready to go “if our authorities allowed him, that is, if they give him a passport,” and that he had enough money to stay there for a couple of months. He told the informant that he had avoided visiting him to spare him troubles, but the latter said that he should not worry about that. Dedijer visited him several days later, on 3 October. “Despite his elegant and dignified looks, he gave the impression of a worried and deeply low-spirited man,” “Zubo” reported. If he would be denied departure to Copenhagen, he planned to obtain his doctorate at the Zagreb University, of which he had already spoken with the Rector. When asked why he entered into conflict with the authorities knowing, as a Party member, how the country was governed, he replied that “one hornet can do a lot of damage,” and that a lot of them can do much more. He also said that he was financially independent, that his children were in Italy and that, unlike many others, he could publicly speak his mind and fight. He was aware that many of his friends started “avoiding him and turning their heads as if they don’t see him.” Interestingly, he warned the informant that there were people in the Institute who “one should beware of,” “the commissars” and “dangerous guys,” mentioning, among others, the assistant who had given information about him to the UDB in March. He approved of Đilas’s book (*New Class*) and agreed with all views expressed in the book. He was particularly pleased that this time Đilas was consistent and stuck to his theses rather than withdraw as he had done at the Third Plenum. They followed the news about Đilas’s trial via Radio Paris. Dedijer expected that Đilas would be sentenced to 10-15 years in prison. Two days later, Dedijer once again visited “Zubo” and expressed surprise about the “lenient punishment” Đilas was sentenced to.<sup>33</sup> He was sure that “Đilas would not rest, that he would publish something again, and that as long as this clique rules, he would not be released.” He mentioned that the West would also comment on his own dismissal, given that it coincided with the Đilas’s verdict and attacks on Yugoslavia, otherwise his dismissal would pass without any comments. This he saw as proof of absence of freedom in the country, that the country was governed by “primitive people” who do not know what they were doing and who “had lost their bearings.”<sup>34</sup>

Informant “Zubo” submitted two more reports to the UDB in October 1957. Stevan Dedijer visited “Zubo” and his wife on several occasions and taught them to play bridge. They talked about his problems and plans, his brother Vladimir, Đilas and about the current situation in the country and the world. He pointed out that he wrote and published most of his works under false names and kept his royalties abroad. He did not receive any mail from abroad as it was intercepted and checked.

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<sup>33</sup> In 1957, from prison, Đilas published abroad the work *The New Class*, a sharp criticism of the Yugoslav socialist system; the government reacted quickly with court process 4–5 October 1957, at which Đilas was sentenced to seven years in prison, in addition to the earlier sentence of nine years. Milovan Đilas, *The new class: an analysis of the communist system* (New York: Praeger, 1957); M. Đilas, *Vlast i pobuna*, 308–309; V. Dedijer, *op. cit.*, 453–457; N. Mijatov, *Milovan Đilas i evropski socijalisti 1950–1958*, 148–152; K. Nikolić, S. Cvetković, *op. cit.*, 62–63.

<sup>34</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, UDB-a za grad Zagreb VI referada, 8. 10. 1957, Izvještaj suradnika „Zubo“; Isto, Predmet: Držanje Steve Dedijera nakon primljenog otkaza u Institutu Ruđer Bošković, 17. 10. 1957.

As regards the economic state of the country, he found it “terrible,” corroborating it by the reports of an increasing number of people fleeing abroad, especially the young ones. According to him, rather than using force, the regime was now using economic means to make people obedient because they only wanted to maintain peaceful lives and financial status. The following Dedijer’s opinion was quite striking: “I do not know what might happen if Tito died or got killed. A horrible anarchy would arise. There would be slaughter, which would serve only the Russians, because they would come to help their man, and the country would then turn into their gubernia. Tito is the only person still able to prevent that from happening and keep us away from the East.”<sup>35</sup>

On another occasion, Dedijer was explaining that “the method of the regime was to corrupt everyone they needed” and, as a result, they could do with those people whatever they wanted; he himself was offered substantial salary, a villa and a car upon his arrival in Vinča – not because he deserved it, but rather to bribe him. Any dissatisfaction was eliminated by worsening the economic situation, raising prices and by making housing, salary and work conditional. His views matched Đilas’s ideas expressed in *New Class*, which Tito and other leaders took very hard because they knew that he was right. The only right way, Dedijer thought, was to give people full freedom in socialism or else follow the path of the Russians, who were “colonizers and enslavers of the worst kind, under the guise of socialism.” Žukov came to Tito to talk him into “putting on once again uniform that resembles the Russian one”; but, Dedijer was convinced that Tito would not agree to that, and also that he would not attend the celebration of the October Revolution in Moscow. Dedijer spoke of the conflicts between Croats and Serbs. Allegedly, they competed “who would build the fair site faster and better” and, according to Dedijer, Zagreb managed to do it despite modest means and various obstacles. “Serbs planned to double-cross Croats” in filmmaking too, by pushing their “bad” movie *Pop Ćira i pop Spira* (Priests Ćira and Spira), which was shown in empty theatres, whereas Croatian movie *Svoga tela gospodar* (Master of His Own Body) was seen by one hundred thousand people.<sup>36</sup>

As Dedijer predicted in the conversation with “Zubo,” the West reacted to his dismissal from the Institute within the context of the Đilas trial already in early November 1957 in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* daily. After recounting basic theses from Dedijer’s article published in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, it was pointed out that the Yugoslav authorities used his critical views as a reason to “remove Stevan Dedijer, who has been out of favour for the longest time, from his duties and expel him from the Party,” on the grounds of his “scientific incompetence.” In addition,

<sup>35</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, UDB-a za grad Zagreb VI referada, 19. 10. 1957, Izvještaj suradnika „Zubo“.

<sup>36</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, UDB-a za grad Zagreb VI referada, 31. 10. 1957, Izvještaj suradnika „Zubo“. “Zubo” also spoke with Dedijer’s mother, who told him that it is easier for her in Zagreb than in Belgrade, where „everyone asks her what will happen How is Stevo? How is Vlado?“, and she knows nothing except that „her family is on the regime’s index“. She herself asked Stevan why he and Vladimir „break their heads through a hard wall“, to which he replied that they are the way she „raised“ them and taught them „social justice“.

the paper commented that the Dedijer's trial, just like that of Đilas's, could be expected in the foreseeable future. Interestingly, Dedijer's case was put in the context of the huge Russian success that was achieved at that time – the launching of the first artificial satellite *Sputnik* into orbit on 4 October 1957. Specifically, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* article concluded: "This personal persecution and terrorizing will even more strongly confirm Dedijer's conclusions and warnings which are gaining relevance right now, given that many underdeveloped countries may be lured to follow the path of the USSR after those impressive successes, which Dedijer labelled as fatal and dangerous."<sup>37</sup> It can be concluded without a doubt that Dedijer's removal from the job at the Ruđer Bošković Institute and the subsequent persecution were the result of the complex nature of his support for Đilas, his public expression of pro-Đilas views, his critical standpoints expressed in the article published in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, the heightened tensions caused by the publication of the *New Class* and the preparations for Đilas's trial, and the international environment where all of that took place in the summer and fall of 1957.

In any case, as stated in the header of the case file about his conduct after dismissal, "He stopped working on 1 November 1957."<sup>38</sup> On the same day, a UDB officer sent a memo to the records office, saying "Please put in the records that Stevo Dedijer is a liaison to the American consul... The American consul invited him to the reception on the occasion of the American national holiday on 4 July 1957."<sup>39</sup> In addition to the contacts with the American and British diplomatic and consular officials, Dedijer was also suspected because, after his dismissal from the Institute, he intensified ties with the scientific publications and daily papers in the United States and Great Britain and occasionally free-lanced writing articles where he "attacked the social and political system of Yugoslavia and its prominent leaders."<sup>40</sup> Also, he did translations for foreign publishers. In any case, his living conditions were poor; as he writes in his autobiography, after leaving Vinča, he lived "as an emigrant in his own country." He was receiving offers from abroad that could have improved his living conditions, and that could not have gone unnoticed by the UDB which was regularly checking his correspondence. Thus, they knew about the letter from 1958, where his former colleague from the OSS, Don Swan, let him know that he had informed Dedijer's former commander, General Maxwell Taylor, about his difficult

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<sup>37</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, O Dedijerovom članku u „Neue Zurcher Zeitung“, br. 301, 2. 11. 1957. Otherwise, Dedijer was also critical of the launch of the Soviet satellite, considering it a "success and embarrassment for the Russians" – although the Russians were the first to launch the satellite, the Americans were the first to announce it and "caught its signals" and saw that supposedly "nothing but uniform signals came out of it" (Isto, UDB-a za grad Zagreb VI referada, 8. 10. 1957, Izvještaj suradnika „Zubo“).

<sup>38</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Predmet: Držanje Steve Dedijera nakon primljenog otkaza u Institutu Ruđer Bošković, 17. 10. 1957.

<sup>39</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, 1. 11. 1957.

<sup>40</sup> In the article „Birth and Death of the Myth“, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist*, vol. 14, nr. 5, (May 1958), 164–168, Dedijer criticized the nuclear ambitions of underdeveloped countries (and Yugoslavia too), and in article „Scientific Research and Development: A Comparative Study“, *Nature*, vol. 187, no. 4736, (August 6, 1960), 458–461, he quantitatively compared national science policies, placing Yugoslavia at the very bottom according to the results.

situation in Yugoslavia, who was willing to help him, if he so wished, “with employment and everything else that might ease his situation.”<sup>41</sup>

The informants continued to monitor and report on Dedijer’s life and work to the UDB. On 31 May 1958, “Zubo” reported that Dedijer received part of the fee for the contracted translation of a book from Russian to English for a British publishing house, and that he received a grant in the amount of USD 250 from the United States. That made his life easier as now he had some financial security. He continued efforts to get a passport so that the authorities would let him go to Sweden for specialization. To that purpose, Anton Peterlin intervened with Torsten Gustafson who then approached the Yugoslav government directly. Should he not get his passport, he planned to work on his doctorate and write a book about sociology and the atomic age. On the international front, he was glad to see that the tensions with the Russians increased because he had predicted so and because “Tito got slapped once again where he had already been slapped.” He feared that this time the West would not help, while Nehru and Nasser could not help.<sup>42</sup>

Finally, in the report on Stevan Dedijer’s public appearances in 1960 it was stated that he still “keeps expressing his old, well-known views.” He moved mostly in the company of foreigners (students, journalists, diplomats). He was constantly trying hard to expand relations with as many people from the cultural and scientific community in Zagreb as possible. He imposed himself on the society and often approached persons who paid no attention to him whatsoever, finding him “intrusive and inconsiderate” (writers Kaštelan, Marinković, Božić, Dončević). He maintained relationships with university professors (Rudolf Bičanić, Ivan Supek) and the people from the theatrical world. In his appearances he “primarily aimed to promote himself and his brother Vladimir as personalities of high rank.” He never gave up on getting a passport, considering it to be in both his and the country’s best interest, stating that Niels Bohr was going to return the Yugoslav decorations that he had received if he (Dedijer) did not get a passport. He thought of his appearance at the congress of chemists in Zagreb as a great success. He considered himself and his brother Vladimir as “guinea pigs for measuring the degree of democracy and its progress in socialism.” He wrote to Aleksandar Ranković about the Yugoslav nuclear policy, kept ties with the people from institutes in Vinča and Zagreb, and was constantly spreading “alarming and demoralizing news”: that Ivan Supek was dissatisfied and demoralized with the poor work of the Federal Commission for Nuclear Energy (SKNE); that Supek was going to replace Pavle Savić who would be expelled; that the reactor in Vinča was launched into operation only “for Tito and newspapers”; that the cyclotron in Zagreb would not be operable for another two years; that Supek told him that Belgrade pursued stupid policies towards Zagreb and Ljubljana in favour of Vinča, and so forth. He condemned all those who with-

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<sup>41</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, S. Dedijer, rezime podataka; S. Dedijer, *Autobiografija*, 187–188.

<sup>42</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Izveštaj suradnika „Zubo“, 31. 5. 1958. In November 1959, information was received through an associate “Ferenc” that US citizen Stojan Pribičević, a writer from Washington, was staying at the “Palace” hotel and that he had sent telegram to Stevan Dedijer to come to the hotel (Isto, SSUP, NO Zagreb, 13. 11. 1959).

drew, who were not consistent in their opinions and who avoided his company (Dušan Diminić, Živko Vnuk, and others).<sup>43</sup>

In conclusion, Dedijer stuck to his critical and pro-Đilas standpoints, managed to sort out his financial situation, and tried to leave the country. It took him a long time to make that happen. He counted that in six years since he had left Vinča, he was denied a passport twelve times. It was only in 1961 that he got it and left Yugoslavia, with the help of T. Gustafson (whose friend, the Swedish prime minister Tage Erlander intervened directly with Tito) and Niels Bohr. He went first to Copenhagen and then to Sweden.<sup>44</sup>

### Occasional visits in the 1960s and 1970s

Stevan Dedijer lived in Sweden from 1961, where he worked at the Institute for Theoretical Physics at Lund University. He later founded the Research Policy Institute and the Centre for Research and Development Strategy and conducted research in the field of intelligence operations and business intelligence; he worked as an advisor to the Swedish Government and governments of several developing countries; he was a lecturer at several universities in different countries and cooperated with various scientific societies, United Nations and OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). He married a Swede, Carin, and they had two sons. Upon his departure from Yugoslavia, the State Security Service suspended “operative measures” against him, but continued to collect information about him and observe him during his occasional visits to Zagreb and Yugoslavia. At first, he would return to the country about once a year, visiting his two daughters who lived in Zagreb and going to the Adriatic coast. He was kept under surveillance as a foreign citizen suspected of working in the interest of foreign intelligence services and was often labelled as “đilasovac” (supporter of Đilas).<sup>45</sup>

In the 1960s, several reports on Stevan Dedijer were submitted to the UDB. In February 1961, informant “Zubo” reported that Dedijer had settled his affairs in Zagreb, rented his apartment for a one-year period, sold some things and planned to go to Copenhagen after a short visit to Belgrade. Dedijer confided in him that he was not “even thinking of staying abroad,” but wanted to visit several scientific centres, write in peace and buy a small house near Dubrovnik with the money he had earned. He blamed the Yugoslav authorities for failing to give him a job and forcing him to go abroad.<sup>46</sup> In October 1962, a source called “Istok” (East) provided information that “đilasovac” Stevan Dedijer had stayed in Zagreb in August 1962, and

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<sup>43</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Predmet Stevo Dedijer–istupanja u 1960, 15. 9. 1960.

<sup>44</sup> S. Dedijer, *Autobiografija*, 188–189; Jacques E. C. Hymans, *Achieving Nuclear Ambitions. Scientists, Politicians, and Proliferation*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 189–190.

<sup>45</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, rezime podataka; Isto, Stevan Dedijer, Curriculum Vitae; Isto, Izvještaj, 11. 12. 1975. On Dedijer’s work after 1961. see: S. Dedijer, *Autobiografija*, 190–201.

<sup>46</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, SUP Zagreb, UDB, Odjeljenje II, odsjek 6, 23. 2. 1961, izvori „Zubo“, str. pov. izvještaj.

that he would come again with the intention to build a house where he would live the better part of the year. During his stay he was settling a dispute over an apartment in Zagreb. In talks with the informant, he stated that “our society is demoralised,” that it was heading towards “complete moral and material degradation” and that the country was run by a “little, senile old man” incapable of governing. The economy was on a brink of collapse, and yet various experiments continued to be conducted. Huge opportunities provided by American aid and loans were gambled away and those resources only served to “prolong the life of an immoral system.” Dedijer spoke of the communists as if he had never been one and claimed that the Party was a “conglomeration of the corrupt, the careerists and the lunatics.” He was convinced that a collapse of the system was imminent and wanted to flee from such an environment.<sup>47</sup>

Two years later, Stevan Dedijer’s visit to Yugoslavia was again reported by “Zubo,” a “trusted source.” At the time, Dedijer already had a Swedish passport and came on his own to “Zubo” for an interview. He finally resolved the problem with the apartment by addressing Vladimir Bakarić. He continued to maintain contact with the Ruđer Bošković Institute, especially with Božo Težak, Ivan Supek and Ivo Šlaus. He was well informed about the nuclear policy issues, as he heard that Supek was resisting Belgrade’s position, and that Nakićenović was supposed to go to Vienna. He criticized socialism and the incompetence of the leadership, believing that even “yokels would have pursued a better economic policy.” This time he lashed out against the Serbian nationalism. He heard of a “horrible development of nationalism in Croatia and Slovenia” and believed that it was a “response to a century of Serbian nationalism and the street-level rumours.” On the occasion of the publication of General Velimir Terzić’s book (*Jugoslavija u aprilskom ratu 1941*, 1963) and the Croat reaction to it, Dedijer was surprised that “such nonsense is used by Serbs and Serbian communists who rehabilitated all their pre-war eminent figures just to provoke Croats” and he “was appalled that the Serbs were celebrating the battle of Cer.”<sup>48</sup> “Zubo” also informed about a meeting with Dedijer before he left the country on 25 September 1964. On that occasion he spoke about a conflict in the Yugoslav leadership, saying that Tito was “utterly senile,” but “sycophants were assuring him of his messianic mission of saving the world,” which “preoccupied him like an obsession.” He also heard that the new programme of the SKJ would include the ideas that Milovan Đilas had been imprisoned for.<sup>49</sup>

After that, for a long time, there were no documents about Dedijer in the UDB archives. It was only in December 1975, in connection with the “Polet” operation, that a document established that Stevan Dedijer had not lived at 14 Novakova Street in Zagreb for the past ten years, but that he had permanent residency in Lund in Sweden. It was also established that his daughters from his first marriage lived at the mentioned address.<sup>50</sup> After that, there is no data in his file until the early 1980s.

<sup>47</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Izvor „Istok“, 3. 10. 1962.

<sup>48</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Izvor „Zubo“, 24. 9. 1964. On the document it was written “put in the file Dedijeri ng Stevo – đilasovac”.

<sup>49</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Izvor „Zubo“, 2. 10. 1964.

<sup>50</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Izvještaj, 11. 12. 1975.

### “Revitalization of surveillance” in the 1980s

On 25 March 1981, the First Administration of the SDB (State Security Service) of the Federal Secretariat of the Internal Affairs sent the following dispatch to the bodies of Security Services of Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia: “We have been informed by our consulate in Malmö that Stevan Dedijer will be visiting Yugoslavia from 1 to 5 April 1981. According to his statement, he will visit a state secretary (name unknown) in Ljubljana whom he met in Ireland several months ago. In Zagreb, he intends to visit his daughters, and in Belgrade he will visit Veljko Mićunović who is, as he heard, very sick. He said that Veljko had helped him a lot in the past, so he wished to take his medical history and help him through his friends – Swedish doctors. We are interested in operative surveillance of Stevan Dedijer during his stay in SFRY.”<sup>51</sup> Several days later, SDS RSUP SRH (Security Service of the Republic Secretariat of the Internal Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia) transmitted this information to the Security Service Centre in Zagreb with the request to take “all possible operative measures to cover Dedijer’s stay in Zagreb” and to deliver to them all obtained data and observations.<sup>52</sup>

In early 1982, Croatian and Zagreb-based SDS became even more interested in Stevan Dedijer. In the case referred by the Croatian SDS to the Zagreb SDS Centre on 14 January 1982, it was stated: “Since the Service has new information of his activities on collecting documentation about a project related to the publication of certain data about AOS (American Intelligence Service) working methods, it is necessary to restart surveillance of Stevan Dedijer. Therefore, we propose that preliminary surveillance of S. Dedijer be restarted using all SDS operative and technical measures and activities.” Thus, “the surveillance” that, according to Dedijer, was suspended after his departure from Yugoslavia in 1961, was once again conducted (“revitalised”) after twenty years. His file was taken out of the archives, and the Head of Croatian SDS advised his colleagues at the Zagreb SDS Centre to “study the former course of surveillance and results obtained by SDS in its operative work in S. Dedijer’s file, registered under number 239148 in the records of SDS RSUP SRH.” The file was supplemented with new data and information, and comprehensive and planned “operative measures and activities” were revitalized; on April 2, 1982, Zagreb SDS Centre restarted “preliminary operational surveillance” of Stevan Dedijer.<sup>53</sup>

What “activities” were in question and why was “surveillance of Stevan Dedijer revitalized” and his file taken out of the archives?

In April 1981, as part of the secret operation “Obrana” (Defence), operatives of the Rijeka-based SDS Centre contacted their collaborator “Spectator.”

<sup>51</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, SSUP–RSUP SRH SDS, I uprava, depeša str. pov. br. 1090/6, 25. 3. 1981.

<sup>52</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, RSUP SRH SDS, II odjel–Centru SDS, Zagreb, dep. br. 3-161/1-1981, 30. 3. 1981.

<sup>53</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, RSUP SRH SDS–Centar SDS Zagreb, br. III-240, 14. 1. 1982, Izvod iz materijala za S. Dedijera; Isto, Rezime podataka.

“Spectator” was a TV journalist who worked in Italy and often travelled around the world on business (USA, Sweden, Switzerland etc.). He planned to move to Yugoslavia because he feared for his life and documentation; he sought assistance from the SDS in this matter, but the Service believed it more useful for him to stay in Italy. He was preparing a TV documentary entitled “Intelligence services in a crisis world,” and entrusted Stevan Dedijer with coordinating the project; Dedijer, whom he met on 31 December 1980 in Lund, was at the time a retired professor interested in the structure of security services. Dedijer was enthusiastic about the documentary and agreed to take part in the project. They met three more times; Dedijer agreed to the content of the film but also proposed a “plan to contact and infiltrate the highest ranks of security services of different countries.” The film included the following topics: selection and training of personnel, selection of external collaborators, exchange with mass media and control over them; relations with political, economic and military authorities; structures and technological means. The USA, the Soviet Union, China, Great Britain, France, GDR, Israel, Yugoslavia, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, India and some international organisations were supposed to take part in it. It was believed that the Soviets would agree to participate in the film as soon as they learn that the American service would take part in it, “to be equal to Americans.” “Spectator” was gathering documentation for Dedijer in the Vatican and believed that he collaborated with the Yugoslav Security Service.<sup>54</sup> In January 1982, as part of the “Marijan S-Z”<sup>55</sup> operation, “Spectator” was supposed to meet with Stevan Dedijer at the “Esplanade” hotel in Zagreb. He was supposed to get from him an affidavit of guarantee for one of the former CIA heads who, according to Dedijer’s information, had important documentation about CIA operations and its personnel structure. Those documents were supposed to be important for their TV documentary.<sup>56</sup>

There is no record of how the cooperation with “Spectator” ended and what happened with documentary. In any case, from the early 1980s, Stevan Dedijer was again placed under surveillance by the Croatian SDS, was followed and reported on. The fact that in that period he began to come to Yugoslavia more frequently with the intention to settle there, surely contributed to the intensity of “surveillance.” Dedijer was occasionally coming to Trsteno near Dubrovnik since 1962, where he eventually bought land to build a house. The construction of the house never started; during summers, he would stay in private accommodation, and his daughters would often join him (whose official address, just as Stevan’s was 14 Novakova Street in Za-

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<sup>54</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, SRH RSUP, Centar SDS Rijeka, str. pov. br. 7/1, 20. 4. 1981, informacija br. 243, suradnik „Spectator“, Tajna operativna akcija „Obrana“; Isto, Informacija br. 352, 28. 5. 1981. Along with the information, Stevan Dedijer’s study “Multinational companies and informatics” was submitted.

<sup>55</sup> It is about a broader action by the SDB regarding the assessment of external threats to the SFRY after the death of Josip Broz Tito. The action was directed equally towards the east and the west. In this case, the letter “Z” means “Zapad” (west).

<sup>56</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, SRH RSUP, Centar SDS Rijeka, str. pov. br. 7/1, 4. 1. 1982, Tajna operativna akcija „Marijan S-Z“; Isto, 11. 1. 1982. The document was written in pencil: “Spectator stayed in Zagreb at the Esplanade – did he meet with S. D.? Franjo, if S. Dedijer is here, we should delivered this and put him under control”.

greb), as well as his brother Vladimir.<sup>57</sup> In early 1982, the SDS took measures to ensure that operative control be carried out during Dedijer's stay in Trsteno. His activities in Sweden, especially his connections and contacts with some former and some possibly still active members of the American Service were supposed to be monitored through "Spectator." In addition, an analysis of material in the passive records of RSUP SRH SDS was carried out and a summary of data was submitted to the Federal SDB in Belgrade.<sup>58</sup>

The Zagreb SDS took seriously Stevan Dedijer's ties with the American intelligence service. In a report about his brother Vladimir, informant "Rade" mentioned as "interesting" that "his brother, who is an atomic scientist, is, or at least, was two or three years ago, head of the American spy school in Sweden."<sup>59</sup> Stevan Dedijer's conversation with the SFRY consul in Malmö in January 1982 was also considered with caution. On that occasion, Dedijer "made an initiative for cooperation with our representatives" and proposed "that citizen of Yugoslav origin who are now Swedish citizens be called on and used." It was not clear what were his motives, but it was believed that contact with him should be maintained "without entering into any deals with him," and that he should be placed under surveillance during his stay in the SFRY. If he was found to be a provocateur, Swedish authorities should be informed about it.<sup>60</sup>

In the 1980s, Stevan Dedijer spent summers in Trsteno. The Service followed him, bugged him, searched his apartment and reported on his views, meetings, books and photographs, addresses and notes he kept. He continued to comment on the events in the country and abroad (for example, death of Ranković, Đilas's statements, etc.). In addition to his family, he continued to keep in touch with persons whom the Service saw as "enemies": Milovan Đilas, his son Aleksa, his brother Vladimir, Kosta Čavoški and Dobrica Ćosić ("right-wing oriented citizens"), Ivan Šibl and Dafinka Večerina ("Croatian nationalists"), Dušan Diminić, Karlo Štajner, etc. He also continued to maintain contacts with "proven agents of the American intelligence service" (Donald Swan, Raymond Benson, etc.), British intelligence officers (Desa Trevisan) and the US diplomatic and consular representatives. In his statements, he continued to criticise the Yugoslav leadership, supported Đilas's positions and expressed sympathy for the USA and the West. In the second half of the 1980s he obtained Yugoslav documents and a pension and exchanged his apartment in Zagreb for one in Dubrovnik. He returned to the country and intended

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<sup>57</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Centar SDS Split–SDS, III odjel, Zagreb, br. 147, 22. 1. 1982; Isto, Centar SDS Zagreb, Službena zabilješka, 25. 1. 1982; Isto, Centar SDS Zagreb, 7. 1. 1982, Službena zabilješka. Brother Vladimir, who is marked with "V" in the SDS Split letter, occasionally came to Trsteno, and the source concluded that the Dedijer brothers remained in touch and corresponded occasionally.

<sup>58</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, SRH RSUP SDS–SSUP SFRJ, SDB I Uprava, Beograd, br. III-240/2, Zagreb 27. 1. 1982.

<sup>59</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, Centar SDS Zagreb, II odjel str. pov. 28. 12. 1981. izvor suradnik „Rade“, u dosije Stevan Dedijer (POO).

<sup>60</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, SSUP, SDS, Beograd–RSUP SRH, SDS, III odjel, Zagreb, str. pov. 3956/1, 26. 2. 1982; Isto, SSIP–SSUP, str. pov. 203, Beograd, 20. 1. 1981, Predmet: Dedijer Steva, zabeleška o razgovoru sa konzulom Đurovićem.

to work as a consultant for government agencies and commercial companies in the field of science and technology development. To make it happen he faced various problems which he solved through his contacts in the state apparatus. He also tried to talk to the highest leaders of the Croatian RSUP, but it was considered that they should not accept it, as it was suspected that he would use it for “future interventions” and to “request that some of his wishes be fulfilled.” In its summary of information about Dedijer, the Federal Service believed that it should conduct an interview with him “because in Belgrade, in a certain way, he left open the possibility for possible cooperation with the SDS.”<sup>61</sup>

## Epilogue

The file of Stevan Dedijer at the Croatian SDS does not contain information on whether such an interview took place and what was the meaning of “leaving open the possibility for possible cooperation with the SDS.” The filed documents do not provide answers to many other questions about Stevan Dedijer’s activities during his dynamic and eventful life, rich in travels, changes and turning points. Those answers could only be provided by new sources.

From the late 1908s, Dedijer lived permanently in Dubrovnik, where he passed away on 13 June 2004. From there he witnessed the disappearance of the Yugoslav state and system along with its State Security Service. During 1990s, he harshly criticised Serbian nationalism, Slobodan Milošević’s regime, the “Great Serbia” and even his father Jevto Dedijer. Such criticism is also present in his autobiography, written in the last years of his life and published after his death. Among other things, his memories provide numerous data, he speaks of events and persons mentioned in his file, but there is also certain arrogance, self-praise and emphasis on his personal qualities and merits which he exaggerates – often typical of similar autobiographic works. Both the content and the title of his autobiography indicate intelligence work as significant, and one of numerous activities he engaged in during his dynamic life.<sup>62</sup> Those activities were so varied and replaced one another in such a dizzying and illogical way, and, just as his views, went to extremes, so much so that one could accept the way in which a biographer of his father Jevto described Stevan Dedijer – a “confused son.”<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> HDA, 1561, RSUP SRH, SDS, dosije Stevan Dedijer, br. 239148, POO, Rezime podataka; Isto, Podsetnik o stanu, S. Dedijer, 1987.

<sup>62</sup> S. Dedijer, *Autobiografija*, 228–249.

<sup>63</sup> М. Пецель, *н. д.*, 38–42.

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STEVAN DEDIJER IN THE DOCUMENTS  
OF THE STATE SECURITY SERVICE FROM MID-1950s TO MID-1980s

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*Summary*

Stevan Dedijer was born in 1911 in Sarajevo. His father was Jevto, a geographer, and his brother Vladimir, a historian and journalist. He was educated in prominent international schools in Rome and the USA, and from 1930 to 1934 he studied theoretical physics at Princeton University. He joined the Communist Party in the USA in 1936. During the Second World War, as a volunteer of the American army, he participated in the battles in the Netherlands and Belgium at the end of 1944. At the beginning of 1945, he came to Yugoslavia and engaged in journalistic, translation and intelligence work. From 1950 to 1954, he worked at the Institute in Vinča near Belgrade on the Yugoslav leadership's attempt to master the technology of nuclear bomb production. When Milovan Đilas fell from power in January 1955 due to attempts to democratize and liberalize the Yugoslav system, his views were supported by Stevan and his brother Vladimir, a member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee. In 1954, Stevan Dedijer was dismissed from the position of director of the Institute in Vinča, and in 1956 he was fired and moved to the Ruđer Bošković Institute in Zagreb. He was also fired in Zagreb in 1957. Since then, he translated, wrote articles and tried to go abroad, which he succeeded only in 1961. Since then, he lived in Sweden, as a professor at the University of Lund, a consultant to the Swedish and other governments and a lecturer at several universities. He was engaged in intelligence research for the needs of science and technology development. From time to time, he came to Yugoslavia for vacations, and during the 1980s he came more and more often and eventually settled as a pensioner in Dubrovnik, where he lived until his death in 2004. Since 1954, Dedijer was monitored by State Security Service (UDB) in Belgrade, and in 1956, the monitoring continued by the UDB in Zagreb. He was monitored as a "đilasovac" (Milovan Đilas follower), and then as an associate of the American and British intelligence services. After going abroad in 1961, he was monitored occasionally when he arrived in the country and during 1980s the surveillance was renewed. The reports and submissions of UDB associates contain detailed information about his movements, contacts with people, conversations and views on internal and external issues of socialist Yugoslavia, Marxist theory and the views of Milovan Đilas. The documentation is consolidated in his file, which is kept in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb.

**KEYWORDS:** Stevan Dedijer, Milovan Đilas, Vladimir Dedijer, State Security Service, espionage, nuclear politics, Vinča Institute, Ruđer Bošković Institute

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