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*Družė Tito, mi ti se kunemo*¹.

Ritual and Political Power in Yugoslavia: Tito's Birthday Celebrations (1945-1987)

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Авторът на това съобщение прави опит да представи основните архивни източници, които биха били от полза при изследването на рождения ден на Йосип Броз Тито като ритуал, който, естествено има важно политическо значение на мобилизационен и интеграционен фактор за югославското социалистическо общество. Предложени са сведения за документалните източници, свързани с празника, подаръците, които Броз е получавал и тяхното символично значение, снимковите и киноматериали, които се съхраняват в Архива на Сърбия и Черна гора и най-вече в Архива на Йосип Броз Тито, който се състои от Фонда на кабинета на Маршала на Югославия (1943-1953), Фонда на Кабинета на президента на Югославия (1953-1980), Архив на Върховния комендант на въоръжените сили на Югославия (1945-1980), Личен архив на Йосип Броз Тито, Фототека с 800 000 негатива, илюстриращи дейността на югославския лидер от 1947 до 1980 г., фонотека, съдържаща 1000 записа с негови изяви и филмотека с повече от 700 филма, най-вече документални. Разбира се, проблема за рождения ден на Йосип Броз е сравнително маргинален и определено не заслужава едно цялостно монографично проучване, но в същото време би могъл да бъде ценен принос в изследването на по-общи въпроси като този за пропагандните образи на балканските политически лидери, отношението водач – народ, или по-ограничения, но също така съществен проблем за написването на основаваща се не толкова на желанието за постигане на абсолютно звучене, колкото на търсенето на полутоновете политическа биография на легендарния ръководител.

Naturally the ambitious and proud man can
 not find answer to the question
 why another man should command him
 to such a degree that his own need makes him feel this.
 Only extraordinary events can convince him
 that without command he himself could become prey
 to a mightier one and that is why
 he should like submission as much as he
 likes his own life and own tranquility².
 Louis IX

A huge face from the poster on the wall against the elevator
 on each floor was staring at him. The portrait was painted in such a way that the
 eyes were followed you wherever you turned around.
 BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU read the sign below³.
 George Orwell

And the work was slow and did not move with the times,
 with many questions about “the forbidden fruit” [sex] remaining unanswered.
 It took a letter [to the *Komsomol*] by comrade Zhivkov [about sex]
 to melt the ice of ignorance and pseudo moralizing [...]⁴.
 Yakov Yanakiev

“... others who used to be at the height of their power
 and glory now are dishonored and their names resemble looted tombs [...].”
 Of course, this should not surprise us, since the only constancy bestowed upon us by the
 Heavens is change itself⁵.
 Victor Pelevin

Josip Broz Tito⁶ was one of the most prominent symbols of the Balkans after the Second World War. Embodying what once has been quite wrongly described as ‘national’⁷ socialism in what was once imagined to be Eastern Europe, Tito attracted great attention in the west of the continent and in the USA during his lifetime. He remains a part of some general Western perceptions of the south-eastern region of Europe and if we compare the amount of publications in the West dedicated to the Balkan communist leaders we find that Broz (and maybe Ceausescu⁸) heads the list, followed well behind by the two other prominent contemporary symbols of the peninsula’s socialist past – Enver Hoxha and Todor Zhivkov⁹. Last but maybe not least, it is an interesting fact that the Microsoft Office spelling and grammar tool recognises the name Tito, together with Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Mao¹⁰ but considers Dej¹¹, Zhivkov and Hoxha¹² to be errors. Amongst the other Balkan leaders, Microsoft has also granted this “honour” to Ceausescu.

Tito still plays an important role in the consciousness of the ex-Yugoslavian people. Here I suppose that it is worth citing that recently, and not without a trace of irony, the Yugoslav (Serbian) sociologist Todor Kuljic wrote, “Tell me what you think about Tito and I’ll tell you who are you”¹³. One of the many reasons for this is the spectacular

cult of personality which developed around Tito during his lifetime and continued for several years after his death (4 May 1980)¹⁴. Tito's cult had its roots in the World War II years when he became the powerful leader of a strong, large-scale partisan movement. Tito's popularity was used to strengthen the Communist regime which came to power in 1944-1945 and to expand Soviet influence in the Balkans. Until 1948, the personality cult of Josip Broz in Yugoslavia was overshadowed by that of Josef Stalin¹⁵. However, the split with the Soviet strongman fuelled the idolisation surrounding the master of Belgrade, and the new independent position of Yugoslavia meant a stronger personality cult. From a wider Balkan perspective, it is possible to conclude that in the countries which were more independent of the Soviet Union there were higher levels of idolisation than in those which were loyal followers of Moscow's policy. In this context, we can add to Yugoslavia the Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, especially after 1968 when he stood against the Warsaw Treaty intervention in Czechoslovakia, and also Albania, a state which cut its connections with the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1960s, left the Warsaw Treaty in 1968 and in doing so enabled the Albanian strongman Hoxha to present himself as the one and only bearer and interpreter of communist principles and the true heir of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. The group of countries loyal to the Soviet Union was only represented by the possibly notorious example of Bulgaria. One of the many results was the preservation of the cult of the Soviet Union, and the country's first Bulgarian communist leader George Dimitrov¹⁶ who died in 1949 was not considered responsible for the Stalinist terror of the early 1950s. Blame for this was attached to his heir Valko Chervenkov¹⁷ and an attitude towards leaders was therefore created in Bulgaria which had something in common with that of the USSR. After his death, Dimitrov achieved a cult status similar to Lenin, whilst Chervenkov was condemned as Stalin was and Zhivkov's image varied according to the changing Soviet context – his representations were a mixture of a Bulgarian Khrushchev, a Bulgarian Brezhnev and latterly he tried to act, at least in front of an audience, as a Bulgarian Gorbachov. However, the main task of this short chapter, as the title I hope suggests, is not to provide an overview of cults in the Balkans or to evaluate the objects of this adoration, for it is clear how different they were as people, but to indicate some of the main sources that may be useful in presenting the ritual of 25 May, officially proclaimed Tito's birthday, and its political meaning. Of course I am aware of the fact that this subject is of marginal interest. On the other hand I presume that a study of the topic could be useful as a contribution towards other more important comparative issues such as the propaganda images of the Balkan leaders, the relationship between leaders–subjects in the region or the more limited, but otherwise very significant problem of writing a biography that seeks to uncover nuances rather than provide an absolute and definitive political portrait of Josip Broz. So, after this somewhat lengthy introduction, it is time to get to the point.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

As an adherent of the “cult of the written document” I shall start this appraisal by considering this type of source. Very significant documentary data concerning the topic un-

der consideration is held in the Museum of Yugoslavian History – an institution which was actually created in 1996, after the collapse of the real Yugoslavia. This Museum incorporates the ex-Museum of the Yugoslav Nation and National Revolution established in 1959 and the so-called “Josip Broz Tito” Memorial Centre founded in 1982¹⁸. The latter includes the 25th of May Museum where the archives of the President of Yugoslavia are preserved. The most interesting documents associated with the leader’s birthday festivities can be found in the files of the Office of the President of Yugoslavia¹⁹.

One important source is the birthday greetings. These documents are divided into two groups – congratulations from foreign individuals²⁰ and organizations and letters expressing best wishes from the nation²¹. A large number of them were sent by various official institutions and are distinguished by their formal language. Amongst these documents, the contents of the letters from the members of the Pioneer’s organization may be more original, whilst the messages sent by the “common” people are rather different. Some of them have really attractive content and are a relatively good source for the study of popular attitudes towards the leader, which were very closely linked to the mentality of traditional society. Since Tito was a godfather of every ninth child in the family, it may be assumed that the letters from his many godsons and goddaughters also belong to the latter type of greeting²². The greater part of Tito’s godsons and goddaughters were peasants and “new working-class heroes” who still retained their village mentality. These people were mainly Muslims, Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albanians from Kosovo²³. Their messages contained a sometimes seemingly irrational, but actually very rational, traditional perception of the leader, expressing on the one hand a measure of financial gratitude, since the godfather had been generous in sending gifts and financial help to the children and, on the other hand, true family pride in being related to the legendary Marshal. The letters reflect Broz’s true popularity amongst the masses, even in the 1970s when, in the eyes of some intellectuals and especially some future researchers, he seemed more of an idol than a true leader²⁴. Of course the letters were also influenced by the propaganda image of the “initiator of all our victory” as well as by Tito’s great charisma as the victorious commander from the “war and the revolution”. During his lifetime I suppose that the latter was more important in the popular attitude towards the leader but I believe we should also bear the former in mind, since during and after the collapse of Yugoslavia when strong efforts were made to transform the dead leader into a scapegoat, doubtless very few Yugoslavs were keen to admit that they were Tito’s godsons and goddaughters.

Another type of archival document provides scholars with an opportunity to follow almost all of Tito’s own activities on his birthdays – as the host of the formal reception and the recipient of gifts and batons bearing birthday wishes from all over the country²⁵.

A very useful documentary source can be found in the archives of Serbia and Montenegro²⁶. The most significant items are the files of the Union of Yugoslav Socialist Youth²⁷, which was in charge of organising the so-called Tito Baton or Youth Baton. A few words have to be said about this most important mass event which formed part of

the celebrations devoted to the leader, in order to clarify what it meant. According to some authors, between 1945 and 1987 probably around 20,000 batons bearing birthday wishes to Tito were “carried”²⁸. There were two kinds of batons: local and primary. The latter included six batons from the republics and about a dozen others whose bearers varied and were chosen according to the political climate of the time. They included the Yugoslav People’s Army or some of its branches, large towns, builders of important facilities and large companies, as well as sporting and social organizations. Until 1956 Tito received these “primary batons” personally from their final bearers, while local batons were presented to representatives of the authorities in the respective districts and communities and were then forwarded to the depot in Belgrade. From 1957 onwards, only one baton would reach Broz, which he would accept from only one, final bearer²⁹. According to Serbian ethnologist Ivan Colovic:

This “great” baton acquired a new function which essentially set it apart from all the others. It was a sacred object which, from the touch of thousands of hands and thousands of kilometres, had drawn the miraculous energy (love, gratitude and hope) which nourished Tito’s political power. But it was now also a symbol of the other batons, the hundreds of “small” batons which did not reach Tito’s hands³⁰.

It seems that from the early 1960s, the “small” or “local” batons gradually lost their significance. This might have been a consequence of the development of television and the possibility of the “magic” baton appearing in every home and “virtually every hand” via the TV screen. Thus the so-called Youth Day became the journey of just one baton and the glamorous ceremony of its presentation to Tito in the Yugoslav National Army Stadium in Belgrade³¹.

The files of the Union of Socialist Youth give a good insight into the technology of the sophisticated preparatory work needed for the event. They contain a lot of information on the main executive organ in charge of organising the activities, the Committee for Celebrating Youth Day. There is also a lengthy correspondence preserved in the files between this body and the different political and social institutions and organizations, consisting of a careful accounting of expenses, the requirements for the participants in the competitions filmed for the final event in the Yugoslav army stadium, the texts of the songs that were to be performed, payments to the authors (poets, writers, directors etc), the route of the Baton, and a list of the VIPs in the official boxes at the stadium where most of the legendary revolutionaries of the partisan movement, prominent intellectuals such as Ivo Andric and the leaders of the main faiths in the country could be seen³². This extensive documentary source is evidence of the varied nature of the Tito or Youth Baton. It was an ideological event dedicated to one of the few common symbols in the multinational Yugoslav society – Broz himself. Yet this was not all. Particularly in the 1970s and 80s the ideological celebration was also a kind of spectacle, incorporating many modern features and enjoyed by many Yugoslav citizens at the stadium or at home in front of the TV screen. It also represented a profitable business for certain text writers, composers, painters, TV directors and journalists, some of whom acknowledge this fact in their memoirs³³.

THE GIFTS

The presents Tito received on the occasion of his birthday are another important source of information. In May the Yugoslav leader was the recipient of thousands and thousands of gifts. In the inventories of the Museum of Yugoslav History there are 2,312 entries containing descriptions of birthday presents. The exhibits are catalogued into 6 different types: sculptures, models, children's work, works of art and folk-art, technical instruments and machinery. According to their senders and symbolic meaning, the abovementioned Ivan Colovic divides the gifts into two main groups: those given to the dictator by the official state and party institutions and those sent to the dictator by ordinary citizens. As typical examples of the first group, he mentions the distinctions awarded to Tito by the state: the three honourable titles of National Yugoslav Hero which he received on the occasion of his birthday, the doctoral degrees awarded by the different science academies of the Republics, the building of the 25th of May Museum, given to him as a present by the city of Belgrade³⁴, the hunting lodge presented to Broz by the Socialist Republic of Slovenia on his 80th birthday³⁵ and so on³⁶. Here we can also add most of the expensive sculptures usually sent by the higher party or state structures and the models – a typical gift from workers' collectives, trade unions, certain professional associations and so on³⁷.

The gifts from the common people are different. Many of them were expressions of traditional peasant culture. They include socks, slippers, shoes, hats, handkerchiefs, tablecloths, pillows, pillowcases, and similar hand-made items. Such gifts came from village women, craftsmen and other "ordinary folk", including those to whose children Tito was godfather. Generally such gifts were made by the donors themselves. Messages to comrade Tito were usually embroidered on decorative towels. Colovic suggests that "gifts of this kind had political value because of their modesty and simplicity, which gave the impression that they really were "from the heart"³⁸. One of the propaganda editions of the ex-Memorial Centre indicates the same meaning for "ordinary people's" gifts, stressing the fact that Josip Broz himself quite often visited these exhibits in the so-called Old Museum and "supervised their presentation"³⁹.

In essence, both types of gifts, like the documentary sources, represent the two faces of the Tito cult – the official, formal one, and the unorganized popular admiration for the successful leader. It might be interesting to mention that the examples of "ordinary folk's" presents became rare in the 70s when official adoration in the country was at its peak. Naturally this could be explained by the supposedly diminishing popularity of Broz after the so-called Croatian Spring and the encounter with the "Serbian liberals" within the Union of Yugoslav Communists. However, I believe there is a different reason. The almost complete disappearance of "common" gifts in the Inventory Book from the 1970s onwards could also be explained by the effects of urbanization, the industrialization of the country and the gradual disappearance of crafts. Of course this important change did not immediately free the new citizens from their traditional desire for a strong, powerful leader but it probably did succeed rather more quickly in

creating a negative attitude towards the products of peasant culture and the fascination of the masses for industrially produced goods.

PICTURES, AUDIO MATERIALS AND FILMS

Finally I must allude briefly to the photos, tapes and films from the Museum of Yugoslav History depository. These are kept in the picture collection, record library and film library. The collection of photos is particularly valuable, especially bearing in mind the saying that “a picture speaks a thousand words”. The Museum has preserved approximately 800,000 pictures from different periods of Tito’s life. Photo sessions from all of the Marshal’s birthdays are available to researchers, showing many details of the celebration activities. From the pictures of his 68th birthday (1960) for instance, we can get an impression of how the leader received the different kinds of presents, the official reception, with Broz on the grandstand during the celebrations dedicated to the leader, and many details of the various mass performances which took place during the event. The record library holds 1,000 tapes of the Yugoslav dictator’s speeches made at his public appearances. Another particularly valuable source is the collection of over 700 films, most of them documentary. Unfortunately, I was unable to see any of these or hear any of the speeches as I was told there were technical problems at the Museum.

CONCLUSION

The sources from the ex-Yugoslav archives and the Museum of Yugoslavian History provide a wealth of information on the problem of the personality cult as a whole and Tito’s birthday in particular. Part of the cult included the 25th of May as a political ritual, but its aim was not only to reinforce the leader’s propaganda image. The main purpose was to integrate the Yugoslav nations and nationalities behind the Marshal in order to maintain a sense of unity. The official part of the celebrations involved an intense revitalisation of the main images of the Yugoslav leader: Josip Broz the statesman; Tito the leader of the Yugoslav communists, the war hero and military genius, his image of great international importance; Tito the working-class hero; Broz the saviour of the nation. On the other hand, the letters and gifts from the people revealed an important traditional stratum in the attitudes of the “common people” – that of Tito as godfather. This role had been created by the state and party structures but had not been “advertised” by the official propaganda machine. The latter kept silent. It is therefore a good example of how the socialist ideology, which otherwise strived to effect radical changes to the political culture, was actually forced to compromise and adapt to the traditional culture which had, in theory, to be destroyed by the revolutionaries.

Of course I am aware that the archive sources I have attempted to present are somewhat limited. Unfortunately I did not have an opportunity to look at the Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro depositories. In addition, the local archives of the ex-Yugoslavian district centres contain important information, and

research in these kinds of institutions may reveal differences between the ceremonies in the capital and those in the provinces. These differences could prove rather interesting, as is evident in a not very “scientific” but otherwise fantastic piece of local history dedicated to the May celebration in the south-eastern Serbian district of Leskovac from the end of World War II to the beginning of the 21st century⁴⁰.

Naturally the archive materials should be analysed, together with the propaganda editions dedicated to Tito’s birthday and especially to the Baton or the events at the People’s Army stadium⁴¹. Another secondary source, and possibly the most important one, is the press. In fact, my work in this area reminds me that the Tito cult and his famous birthday may not have been quite so important in Yugoslav society. In 1977 when the celebrations for the Marshal’s 85th birthday and 40 years as a leader of the communists were taking place, as well as articles about the Marshal’s glorious life in the *Slobodna Dalmacija* Split edition, the happy reader was also able to enjoy a picture of a naked Swedish girl on the back page. Obviously newspapers and journals are a “must” in any research into this topic.

NOTES

- ¹ *Druže Tito mi ti se kunemo* – “Comrade Tito, We Swear by You” is the title of a famous Yugoslav popular song. The song can be downloaded from the extremely useful site <http://www.titoville.com>.
- ² Личността на политика. Сириус 4, Veliko Trnovo 2004, p. 257.
- ³ Д. Оруел, 1984, Превод от английски Лидия Божилова, Профиздат, Sofia 1989. Quotation from the e-version of the book. Source <http://bezmonitor.com>
- ⁴ Я. Янакиев, *Системата действа*, “Здраве”, год. XXVII, март, бр. 3, 1982, p. 4. The author mentions in the article Todor Zhivkov (7 September 1911 – 5 August 1998), the most prominent leader of the Bulgarian socialist regime, leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party (1954-1989), Prime Minister (1962-1971) and Chairman of the State Council (1971-1989). See А. Цураков, *Енциклопедия: правителствата на България 1879-2001, Хронология на политическия живот*, Sofia 2001, pp. 325 - 326. For more details see his autobiography Т. Живков, *Мемоари*, Sofia-Veliko Trnovo 1997. Also see И. Баева, *Прагматикът, управлявал България 35 години*, in М. Радева (ed.), *Български държавници 1944-1989*, Sofia 2005, pp. 184-204.
- ⁵ В. Пелевин, *Записки за търсенето на вятъра*, Диалектика на преходния период (от никъде за никъде), Sofia 2005, p. 289.
- ⁶ Josip Broz Tito (7.5.1892 – 4.5.1980), leader of the Yugoslav communists (1937-1980), Commander of the Yugoslav military forces (1945-1980), President of Yugoslavia (1953-1980, lifetime president since 1974). Three times National hero of Yugoslavia. A good bibliography listing books and articles about him and by him can be found in Sentić M., *Bibliografija o Josipa Broza Tita*, Rijeka 1981. Also see *Bibliografija, (Selektivna) radova jugoslovenskih i stranih autora o Josipu Brozu Titu (knjige, brosure i članci) – 1937-1987* –, “Vojnoistorijski glasnik”, knj. 4, 1987, pp. 428-492. For recent studies on Tito, the bibliography at the end of Todor Kuljić’s book *Tito. Sociološkoistorijska studija*, Institut za političke studije, Belgrade 1998, pp. 373-382 is very useful.
- ⁷ Actually Tito was always an enemy of any form of nationalism in the different republics that made up the *FNRY* (Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia) and later the *SFRY* (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia).
- ⁸ Nicolae Ceausescu (26 January 1918 - 25 December 1989), leader of the Romanian Communist Party

- (until 23rd of July known as the Romanian Workers Party) (1965-1989), Chairman of the State Council (1967-1989), President of Romania (1974-1989). See *Membrii C.C. al P.C.R. 1945-1989. Dicționar*, Bucharest 2004, pp. 140-142. Probably the most valuable study of his personality cult is A. Cioroi-anu, *Ce Ceaușescu qui hante les Roumains. Le mythe, les représentations et la culte du Dirigeant dans la Roumanie communiste*, Bucharest 2004. See also M.E. Fischer, *Nicolae Ceaușescu. A Study in Political Leadership*, Boulder-London, 1989, and the documentary collection A.U. Gabanyi, *The Ceaușescu Cult. Propaganda and Power Policy in Communist Romania*, Bucharest 2000.
- ⁹ Enver Hoxha (16 October 1908 - 11 April 1985), as First Secretary of the Communist Albanian Party of Labour, was the leader of Albania from the end of World War II until his death in 1985. He was Prime Minister of Albania from 1944 to 1954 and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1946 to 1953.
- ¹⁰ It may suffice to type the respective names into the search engine of some of the e-databases providing access to the articles in history periodicals, such as JSTOR or EBSCO, in order to understand what I mean. See <http://www.jstor.org>, <http://search.epnet.com>.
- ¹¹ Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej (8 November 1901 - 19 April 1965), Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party / Romanian Workers Party (1945-1954), First Secretary of the Romanian Workers Party (1955-1965), Prime - Minister (1952-1955), Chairman of the State Council (1961-1965). *Membrii C.C. al P.C.R. 1945-1989. Dicționar*, Bucharest 2004, pp. 291-292.
- ¹² This user-friendly tool suggests *Den, Dee, Dew, Jed* or *Deem* instead of *Dej*, Zhivkov could easily become *Zhukov*, and it would be happy for us to write *Hoax, Hoaxer, Hoaxed, Hoxie* or *Hoo-ha* instead of poor Hohxa.
- ¹³ T. Kuljić, *Tito u novom srpskom poredkom sećanja*, "Sociologija", 2, 2003, p. 66.
- ¹⁴ In my opinion the best survey to date of Tito's public representations and the attitude of the people towards Josip Broz, together with other problems of leadership in Yugoslavia, is T. Kuljić, *Tito. Sociološkoistorijska studija*. In 2005, a second "updated" edition appeared: *Tito: sociološko-istorijska studija*, Gradska narodna biblioteka "Žarko Zrenjanin", 2005. On the different aspects of the Tito personality and cult, see also M. Terzić, *Прилог питању стварања Титовог култа*, "Историјски записи", бр. 1, 1995, pp. 88-96; Д. Мојић, *Еволуција култа Јосипа Броза Тита 1945-1990. Анализа штампе*, "Српска политичка мисао", II, бр. 1, 1995, pp. 133-154; Т. Кулјић, *Tito – nacrt sociološkoistorijskog istraživanja*, "Српска политичка мисао", II, 1, 1995, pp. 49-90; Т. Кулјић, *Titova nacionalna politika*, "Историја" 20. века. God. 15, br. 2, 1997, str. 141-174; Т. Кулјић, *Inetelektualci o Titu. Tri pristupa*, "Sociologija", Vol. XXXIX, 2, 1997, pp. 223-238; Б. Петрановић, *Историографске контроверзе*, Службени лист СРЈ, Belgrade 1998, pp. 105-124; Б. Пејић, *Tito или иконизација једне представе*, in Д. Сретеновић, ејан, *Ново читање иконе*, Belgrade 2002, pp. 107 -157; К. Николић, *Прошлост без историје*. Полемике у југословенској историографији 1961-1991. Главни токови. Институт за савремену историју, Belgrade 2003, pp. 319-373; Х. Мишкови, *Прикљученијата на храбрија војник Броз*, "Минало Година", XI, 1, 2004, pp. 48-56; О.М. Пинтар, *„Тито је стена.“ (Дис)континуитет владарски представљања у Југославији и Србији XX века*, Годишњак за друштвену историју, Година XI, Свеска 2 – 3, 2004, pp. 85-100; *Vlastito iskustvo. Past Present*. Leposavić, R. (urednik). Samizdat, B92, Belgrade 2004.
- ¹⁵ See for example Д. Мојић, *Еволуција култа Јосипа Броза Тита 1945-1990*, pp. 133-154.
- ¹⁶ G. Dimitrov (18.6.1882 – 2.7.1949), Secretary – General of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Prime – Minister (1946-1949). Цураков, Ангел, *Енциклопедия правителствата на България 1879 – 2001, Хронология на политическия живот*, Sofia 2001, pp. 267-268; also see И. Димитров, *Между идеологията и държавата*, in М. Радева (ed.), *Български държавници 1944 – 1989*, Sofia 2005, pp. 37-58.
- ¹⁷ Valko Chervenkov (6.9.1900 - 21.10.1989), Secretary – General of the Bulgarian Communist Party (1950-1954) and Prime Minister (1950-1956). Цураков, Ангел, *Енциклопедия правителствата на България 1879 – 2001, Хронология на политическия живот*, Sofia 2001, pp. 275-276; also see Л. Огнянов, *Всевластен комунистически лидер*, in Радева (ed.), *Български държавници 1944 – 1989* cit., pp. 100-116.

- ¹⁸ V. Kastratović-Ristić, Veselinka, *Fondovi Arhiva Predsednika Republike (Josipa Broza Tita) i Muzeja istorije Jugoslavije*, in *Velike sile i male drzave u Hladnom ratu 1945-1955: Slučaj Jugoslavije: Zbornik radova sa Međunarodne naučne konferencije*, Belgrade 2003, pp. 381-390.
- ¹⁹ Muzej istorije Jugoslavije (MIJ), Kabinet Predsednika Republike (KPR) – V.
- ²⁰ MIJ, KPR – V – 7 b, Čestitke stranih ličnosti i organizacija.
- ²¹ MIJ, KPR – V – 7 c, Čestitke domaćih ličnosti i organizacija.
- ²² MIJ, KPR – V – 9 a, Dokumentacija o kumovima (kumovanja, materialna pomoć, pozdr. pisma i čestitke).
- ²³ But Josip Broz was godfather even of some Slovenian children in the late 1940s and 50s. MIJ, KPR – V – 9 a, br. kutije 601, Kozina – Kulaš.
- ²⁴ MIJ, KPR – V – 9 a, br. kutije 533, br. kutije 601, br. kutije 601.
- ²⁵ MIJ, KPR – V – 7 a, Prijemi ličnosti i organizacija, zahtevi učesnika proslave za fotografija sa prijema kod Predsednika Republike povodom rođendana; MIJ, KPR – V – 12, Dokumentacija o dnevnim obavezima predsednika republike (dnevni rada, rasporedi rada, beleške i sl.).
- ²⁶ Sufficient information about this institution can be found on its website.
- ²⁷ Fond 114, Savez socialističke omladine Jugoslavije.
- ²⁸ See for instance *Titova Štafeta Štafeta Mladosti*, Memorijalni centar “Josip Broz Tito”, Belgrade 1985, M. Stefanović - M. Baljak - D. Petrović - Z. Zoran - B. Borislav, *Titova štafeta mladosti*, Belgrade 1989; *Memorial Center*, Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center, Novi Sad 1991.
- ²⁹ I. Colović, *On Models and Batons*, in *Vlastito iskustvo. Past Present*. edited by R. Leposavić, *Samizdat, B92*, Belgrade 2004, p. 153.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-155.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 155
- ³² Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore (ASCG), fond 114 Savez socialističke omladine Jugoslavije (SSOJ), popis I, fascikla 62, Proslave praznika “25 maj”; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis I, fascikla 63, Proslave “Dana Mladosti”, 1961; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis I, fascikla 64, Proslava “Dana Mladosti”, 1962; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis I, fascikla 65, Proslave “Dana Mladosti”, 1963 – 1967; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis I, fascikla 66, Proslava “Dana Mladosti”, 1969; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 19, Materijali proslave “Dana Mladosti”, 1970; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 20, Materijali proslave “Dana Mladosti”, 1971; (Dokumentacija odbora za proslavu. Prijave za 1971; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 21, Materijali proslave “Dana Mladosti”, 1972 -1973; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 131, Predsedništvo Konferencije SSOJ, Materijali “Titovog fonda”, 1977-79; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 132, Predsedništvo Konferencije SSOJ, Materijali o proslave “Dana Mladosti”, 1974-77; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 133, Predsedništvo Konferencije SSOJ, Materijali o proslave “Dana Mladosti”, 1978; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 235, Predsedništvo Konferencije SSOJ, Materijali o proslave “Dana Mladosti”, 1979-80; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, Savezni odbor za Proslavu “Dana Mladosti”, fascikla 406, 1983-986; ASCG, fond 114 SSOJ, popis II, Savezni odbor za Proslavu “Dana Mladosti”, fascikla 407, Materijali Saveznog odbora za proslavu “Dana Mladosti”: - predlozi za dodelu plaketa i priznanja “25. maj” – organizacija štafete – organizacija proslave – izveštaji o proslavi – dokumentacija odbora 1987-1989.
- ³³ *Vlastito iskustvo* cit., p. 177.
- ³⁴ *Memorial Center*, Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center, Novi Sad, 1991, also the leaflet *Muzej “25. maj”*, Belgrade, s.a.
- ³⁵ See *Memorial Center* cit.
- ³⁶ Colović, *On models* cit., p. 149, p. 152.
- ³⁷ MIJ, Muzej “25. maj”, Inventarski popis, Depo II, knj. 1, 2.

- ³⁸ Colović, *On models* cit., p. 149, p. 152.
- ³⁹ *Memorial Center*.
- ⁴⁰ Ж. Стојковић - Х. Ракић, *Мајске свечаности у Лесковцу и околини (1945-2000)*, Општински одбор Савеза удружења бораца Народноослободилачког рата, Лесковац 2003.
- ⁴¹ *Deset godina Titove štafete*, Belgrade 1956; *Titova štafeta u AP Vojvodini*, Kartografska грађа. В.и., В.г.; *Trešnjevka. Prigodno izdanje za "Dan mladosti"*, Zagreb 1962; B. Debeljković, *Dan mladosti. Slikovna грађа*, Belgrade 1972; M. Stefanović, *Pozdravi iz srca. Štafeta Titu – Mladost*, Savezni odbor za proslavu Dana mladosti, Mladost, Belgrade 1977; M. Subotić, *Pletenica djetinja mašta. Literarni radovi učenika osnovnih škola Slavonje i Baranje. Dan mladosti 1978*, Osijek, 1978; A. Trkulja, *Pesnička štafeta 79*, Belgrade 1980; M. Stefanović - M. Baljak - D. Petrović (eds.), *Pozdravi iz srca. Savezni odbor za proslavu Dana mladosti*, Belgrade 1980; *Сунце нас затекло у мају. Мајска песничка штафета. Деца Палилуле*, Belgrade 1980; *Pionirska štafeta. Pozdrav pionira SR Hrvatske drugu Titu 1978. godine*, Savez Društava "Naša djeca", Republički savjet za unapređivanje rada Saveza pionira, 1978; *Pionirska štafeta. Pozdrav pionira SR Hrvatske drugu Titu 1979. godine*, Savez Društava "Naša djeca", Republički savjet za unapređivanje rada Saveza pionira, 1979; *Pionirska štafeta. Pozdrav pionira SR Hrvatske drugu Titu 1980. godine*, Savez Društava "Naša djeca", Republički savjet za unapređivanje rada Saveza pionira, 1981; Степановић, Живадин, *Крагујевачка штафета Титу – Титу*, Крагујевац 1985; G. Rabrenović, *Potrebe i interese omladine i njeno učešće u društveno – političkom životu mesne zajednice, Mladi beogradski podstanari. Dan mladosti. Juče, danas, sutra*, Belgrade 1987; M. Stefanović - M. Baljak - D. Petrović - Z. Sekulić - B. Vasić, *Titova štafeta mladosti*, Belgrade 1989.

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Greetings to Josip Broz from the pioneers of his native village of Kumrovec on the occasion of his 59th birthday (23 May 1951).

*Dragi naš druže Tito,
i mi pioniri Tvog rodnog mjesta pridružujemo se željama naroda Jugoslavije, čestitamo
Ti rodendan i zelimo, da nam još dugo poživiš i, da nas i nadalje vodiš boljem životu.
živio nam naš dragi Maršale!
Pioniri Odreda Maršala Tita
Osmogodišnje škole Kumrovec
Kumrovec 23.V.1951.*

Dear our comrade Tito,
We, the pioneers from your homeland, also add to the wishes of the Yugoslav
nations in congratulating You on Your Birthday, wishing You a long life with us,
that You may continue to lead us towards a better future.
Long live our dear Marshal!
The Pioneers of the Marshal Tito squad
Primary school of Kumrovets
Kumrovec 23 May 1951.

Source: *Muzej istorije Jugoslavije*, Arhiv Kabineta predsednika Jugoslavij.

Greeting of the people from villages Jara and Knešpolja on the occasion of Tito's 60th anniversary

*Voljeni naš druže Tito,
Zajedno sa svim našim narodima i mi seljaci Jara i Knešpolja, srez Lištica, kličemo Ti i
čestitamo 60-ti rodjendan. Čestitamo Ti ga iz sveg srca i želimo jos dugo da živeš medju
nama. Uvijek si nas vodio pravim putem. Teška je bila četverogodišnja borba i Ti si
njen najsvjetliji lijek. Bio si neustrašiv borac, ušao si uvijek samo naprijed. Naši narodi
su te slijedili i danas Te slijede.
A ovom zgodom obećavamo Ti da ćemo čuvati tekovine Narodno-oslobodilačke borbe,
da ćemo izvršavati zadatke izgradnje naše zemlje i da ćemo odgajati naše djecu da vole
svoju zemlju da budu ponosni na nju, da se ponose sa Tobom, druze Tito!
Još jednom obećajemo Ti, da ćemo biti budni branioci krvlju stečene slobode koju
danas uživamo i po stotinu puta Ti kličemo:*

*Zivio nam, dragi naš družte Tito, još dugo na našu radost i sreće!
Narod sela Jara i Knešpolja
s[r]jeza Lištica.*

Beloved Comrade Tito,

Together with all our nations we the peasants from Jara and Knespolja district Listic, offer You our congratulations on Your 60th birthday. We congratulate You with all our hearts and wish You to live for many more years among us. You have always lead us in the right way. The forty year struggle was hard and you are its brightest symbol. You were fearless fighter You only marched forward. Our nations have always followed You and today they still follow You.

On this occasion we promise You that we shall defend the achievements of National Liberation struggle. We shall continue completing its tasks and we shall bring up our children to love their country, to be proud of it and to feel proud of You, Comrade Tito!

Once again we promise You, that we shall be watchful defenders of the blood shed for the freedom in which we live today and hundred times we cry out:

Long live our dear comrade Tito, for many years to come, as our joy and happiness!

People from the Jara and Knespolja villages
District of Listic.

Source: *Muzej istorije Jugoslavije*, Arhiv Kabineta predsednika Jugoslavij.

Greeting of the sick pioneers and nurses from the town of Ohrid, Macedonia to Josip Broz on the occasion of his 61st birthday

*Mnogo sakani naš TITO,
Nije detskite negovatelki, zaedno s pionerite bolesnici pri ova a bolnica, naj sardečno Ti
go čestitame Rodeniot den, ti ti praćame novi pozdravi i Ti sakame novi pobedi vo
izgradbata na Socijalizmot vo našata zemja.
Bidini ni zdrav i mnogo godini da živeeš oti nije so tebe se raduvame.
Vetuvame deka nije smelo ke go sledime patot po koj ne vodiš Ti.
Od pionerite i detskite megovatelki vo Ohrid*

Our much beloved TITO,

We, the nurses and sick pioneers in this hospital, most cordially congratulate You on Your birthday and send You new greetings, wishing You victories in building socialism in our country.

Be healthy and live for many years, for we are happy with you.

We swear we shall bravely follow in the path You lead us along.

From the pioneers and nurses in Ohrid

Source: *Muzej Istorije Jugoslavije*, Arhiv Kabineta predsednika Jugoslavije, V-7-c, 1953.

Greetings of the students and teachers of the Albanian secondary school in Prizren to Josip Broz Tito on the occasion of his 62nd birthday

Voljeni druže TITO,

Učenicima i nastavnicima Siptarske realne gimnazije u Prizrenu sa prazničnim razpoloženijem Vam čestitaju 62. rođendan, sa željom da nam još dugo preživite na sreću svih naroda FNRJ, a posebno naroda Kosova i Metohije koji su svoju junačku prošlost i svetlo budućnost su vezali za SKJ na čelo sa Vama.

Saljemo Vam simboličan poklon bratstva i jedinstva Siptara, Srba i Crnogoraca na Kosmetu kao izraz zadovoljstva što ste nam omogućili da mirno živimo, odusevljeno radimo i učimo.

Siptarska gimnazija u Prizrenu prvi put u istoriji siptara Kosova i Metohije izvede klasu maturanata. To su ljudi koji se samopregorno bore za učvršćenje bratstva i jedinstva jer su ostetili njegovu vrednost, oni se visoko daju zastavu jugoslovenskog socijalističkog patriotizma i bore se za mir u svetu. Oni su osetili lepotu života i snagu nauke na maternjem jeziku zato se bore da očuvaju tradiciju NOB-a.

Nasa gimnazija ove godine [?] prvu redovnu polumaturu ženske omladine, to je snaga koja će skinuti teško zaostalosti i primitivnosti među ženama siptarkama.

Mi hoćemo, mi moramo pobediti, jer ste sa nama Vi, čovek koji ne zna za umar kad sa u pitanju interesi radnog naroda – čoveka iz naroda.

Prizren, 23 maja 1954

Učenicima i nastavnicima siptarske realne gimnazije u Prizrenu

Beloved Comrade Tito,

The students and teachers from the Siptarian [Albanian] Secondary School in Prizren, in holiday spirit, congratulate You on Your birthday, with the wish that You will live for many more years ahead, to the joy of all of the Yugoslav nations but especially those in Kosovo i Metohia, which have bound their brave past and bright future to the SKJ [Union of the Yugoslav Communists] led by You.

We send You a symbolic gift from the Kosovo Siptari [Albanian], Serbian and Montenegrin brotherhood and union as an expression of our gratitude that You have made it possible for us to live peacefully and work and study enthusiastically.

For the first time in the history of Kosovo and the Metohija Siptari [Albanians], the Siptarian [Albanian] Secondary School in Prizren has produced a class of graduates. These are people who will struggle selflessly to strengthen brotherhood and unity because they understand its value. They will raise high the flag of Yugoslav socialist patriotism and will struggle for peace in the World. They feel the beauty of life and the power of science in their mother tongue and that is why they will fight to protect the legacy of the National Liberation Struggle

This year our secondary school saw the first regular semi-matriculation for young female students. This is the force that will break down the wall of primitive backwardness affecting Siptarian women.

We want to win because You are with us, a man [Tito] who is tireless in championing the interests of the workers and the common man.

Prizren, 23rd of May, 1954

Students and teachers from the Siptarian [Albanian] secondary school in Prizren

Source: *Muzej Istorije Jugoslavije*, Arhiv Kabineta predsednika Jugoslavije, V-7-c, 1954.

Announcement from the meeting of the Presidency of the Union of Yugoslav Youth, 16.V.1970

Na današnoj sednici Predsedništvo Saveza Omladine Jugoslavije je odlučilo da 25. maja na Stadiuonu JNA Štafetu mladosti sa pozdravima omladine i naroda Jugoslavije drugu Titu preda Žežova (Tudov) [brackets added with a pen] Ljiljana učenica 4 razreda gimnazije „Josip Broz Tito” iz Skoplja. Ljiljana je odličan učenik u svim razredima. Pobjednik je na republičkom takmičenju „Nauku mladima” u matematici.

Gimnazija „Josip Broz” slavi 25 – godišnjicu postojanja i naj-bolja je po uspehu u SR Makedoniji.

Belgrade, 16.V.1970. godine

Tanjug 331 – 635

622 – 355

[the name of the Yugoslav news agency and the tel. numbers added with a pen]

As a result of today's meeting, the Presidency of the Union of Yugoslav Youth has decided that on 25th of May on the Stadium of the Yugoslav Army, Zezova (Tudov) Ljiljana, a fourth grade student from Josip Broz Tito Secondary School in Skopje, will hand Comrade Tito the Youth Button containing birthday greetings from the Yugoslav nations and Youth. Ljiljana has been an excellent student in all grades. She is the winner of the "Science for Youth" mathematics competition.

The Josip Broz Tito Secondary School is celebrating its 25th anniversary and has had the best results in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia

Source: *ASCG*, Fond 114, SSOJ, popis II, fasc. 19, Materijali proslave "Dan Mladosti", 1970.

List with the persons to be in the central stand for the Youth Day (1970)

14 +1 [written with a pen]

Raspored centralne tribine za 25. maj [Arrangement of the central stand for the 25th of May][excerpt]

1. *predsednik Savezne Skupštine sa suprugom* [President of the Parliament and wife]
2. *predsednik Saveznog izvršnog veća sa suprugom* ✓ [President of the Union's Executive council] [mark added in red]
3. *Edvard Kardelj sa suprugom* ✓ [Edvard Kardelj and wife][underlining and mark added in red]
4. *13 članova izvršnog biroa* [13 members of the Executive Bureau]
5. *6 predsednika republičkih partija* [6 Presidents of the parties in the republics]
6. *6 predsednika republičkih skupština* [6 Presidents of the Parliaments in the Republics]
7. *2 pokrajinska predsednika partija* [2 Presidents of the parties in the autonomous regions]
8. *2 pokrajinska predsednika skupština* [2 Presidents of the Parliaments in the autonomous regions]
9. *predsednik SK Socijalističkog saveza radnog naroda Jug.* [President of the Committee of the Socialist Union of the working people of Yugoslavia]

10. *predsednik SUBNOR – a* [President of the Alliance of the Unions of fighters from the National – Liberation War]
11. *predsednik Saveza omladine Jugoslavije* [President of the Yugoslav Youth Union]
12. *predsednik Ustavnog suda Jugoslavije* [President of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court]
13. *državni sekretar za inostrane poslove* [Foreign Secretary]
14. *državni sekretar za narodnu odbranu* [Defence Secretary]
15. *predsednik Skupštine grada Begradea* [President of Belgrade Council]
16. *predsednik odbora Dana mladosti* [President of the Youth Day Celebrations Committee]
17. *nosilac štafete* [The bearer of the baton]
18. *Dušan Petrović – Šane* [added in ink; also the line bellow]

LOŽA 20 [Box N 20]

1. *Dragiša Maksimović* ✓ [mark added in black ink]
 2. *Marin Cetinić* ✓ [mark added in black ink]
 3. [the number is enclosed in blue] *Rudi Petrovar gen. puk.* [Col. Gen. added in ink] ✓ [mark added in black ink]
 4. [the number is enclosed in blue] *Ante Banina gen. puk.* [Col. Gen. added in ink] ✓ [mark added in black ink]
 5. [the number is enclosed in blue] *Miran Mejak* ✓ [mark added in black ink]
 6. [the number is enclosed in blue] *Ali Šukrija* ✓ [mark added in black ink]
 7. *Čedo Kapor* ✓ [mark added in black ink]
 8. *Milan Vukasović* [struck off the list] *Velibor Gligorić* [added in red ink]
 9. [the number is circled in blue] *Ivo Andrić* ✓ [mark added in black ink]
 10. [the number is circled in blue] *Moma Marković s* ✓ [mark added in black ink]
 11. [the number is circled in blue] *Todor Vujašnović* ✓ [mark added in black ink]
 12. *Lepa Pijade* ✓ [mark added in black ink]
 13. *Fanika Salaj* ✓ [mark added in black ink]
- [...]

Source: *ASCG*, Fond 114, SSOJ, popis II, fascikla 19, Materijali proslave “Dan Mladosti”, 1970.

Poem *Poklon za Tita* [A Gift for Tito] by the young pioneer Sanela Bazovic from the 4th grade in *Vasa Pelagic* primary school

*Када би сунце могло
са неба да се скине
поклонила бих га Титу
чувару мира и истине*

*И срце бих му дала
с моју бајту са цвећем
нек' вечно живи и нек' се кити
наш драги ковач среће*

*Нека живи, нека га срећа прати,
Док је он са нама,
У нашем ће срцу
Срећно детињство цвати.*

*Санела Базовић, IV,
ОШ „Васа Пелагић”*

If the sun could
Fall from the sky
I would give it to Tito
The keeper of peace and the truth

And I would give him my heart
From my garden with a flower
Let him live forever
Our maker of happiness

Let him live and let happiness follow him
As long as he is with us
In our heart
A happy childhood will bloom

Sanela Bazovic,
4th grade student, Vasa Pelagic Primary school

Source: *Сунце нас затекло у мају. Деца Палилуле. Мајска песничка штафета.*
1973 – 1979. Народна библиотека „Милутин Бојић”, Belgrade 1980, p. 81.