



# THE CULT OF PERSONALITY OF JOSIP BROZ TITO

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*A cult of personality is an eternally relevant historical and social topic. This paper will showcase the main elements of the cult of personality of Josip Broz Tito, the leader of Yugoslavia, and one of the most prominent historical figures in general. The meaning of the term "cult of personality" will be explained, as well as the main elements that led to its establishment. Some of the elements, which were approved by most of the population of Yugoslavia and used for the establishment of Tito's untouchable reign, will also be provided, as well as the ways in which they were used to achieve said reign.*

**Keywords:** *Cult of personality, Josip Broz Tito, Youth Day, Relay races, Yugoslavia*

## Introduction

Modern history is rife with the bloodiest of wars in all of human history. Therefore, it is not surprising at all that cults of personality are built around key people, that is, prominent and historically relevant individuals, with the goal of creating an idealized perception which will be accepted by the population, with the intention of giving hope of a better future to the people. Also, it is not wrong to claim that the special interest and wealth of the aforementioned historical period lie in the prominence of an individual who takes upon himself the role of the bearer of social change, unfortunately, more often bad, than good. As was mentioned, a cult of personality, more accurately defined as an "artificially created concept, with its primary purpose being creation and accentuation of the legitimacy of leadership as such"<sup>1</sup>, is created around a distinguished individual. Considering that the aforementioned historical period is full of various political processes, cults of personality were most often built around political leaders. The topic of this paper is the creation and construction of the cult of persona-

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1 Miljan, Goran. „„Karizmatični“ Poglavnik? Poglavnik i formiranje karizmatičke zajednice – primjena i korisnost Weberova koncepta karizme.” *Historijski zbornik* 66, br. 1 (2013): 126.



lity of Josip Broz Tito, one of the most famous and influential actors of the twentieth century. Numerous factors influenced the creation of his cult of personality, none of them accidental, rather, they were carefully orchestrated by The Communist Party of Yugoslavia while World War 2 was still going on. Through the chapters of this paper, the main elements of the cult of personality around Josip Broz Tito will be showcased. It was thanks to these elements that he was able to remain in power for 35 years, all the while enjoying a high degree of popularity among the population.

### **Cult of personality and the charismatic type of rule**

The term “cult of personality”, that is to say, a personality cult, denotes a public, uncritical glorification of a certain person with the goal of painting a complete picture of the said person in which he is presented as an infallible political leader. It can also be defined as a specific form of autocratic rule based on the bureaucratization of the political and social spheres.<sup>2</sup> Many scientists debated on the phenomenon of the cult of personality, including sociologist Max Weber, who defined it as a tool for strengthening the dominant position of the person around whom the cult of personality is constructed, most often a dictator. Tools frequently used in order to achieve said goal are ritual worship, unending visibility, the development of heroic myths, the removal of critical thinking and creating distance between the leader and the populace.<sup>3</sup> The term “cult of personality” begins to enter widespread usage after first being used by Nikita Sergejevich Khrushchev at the twentieth closed congress of The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the night between the 24<sup>th</sup> and the 25<sup>th</sup> of February 1956. The term was used with the purpose of Khrushchev’s retrospection on his predecessor Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, whose rule between 1929. and 1953., among other things, he called a period of the rule of the cult of personality.<sup>4</sup>

The term “charisma” is often tied to the term “cult of personality”, and the reign based upon that, even though Kallis claims that the phe-

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2 kult ličnosti, The internet edition of The Croatian Encyclopedia. Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography, 2021.

3 Overy, Richard. Diktatori (Hitlerova Njemačka i Staljinova Rusija), Naklada Ljevak, Zagreb, 2005., 124-125

4 Rabrenović, Andrijana. „Politički plakat i kult ličnosti.” *MediAnali* 7, br. 13 (2013): 74.



nomenon of the “cult of personality” does not necessarily come from the preestablished charismatic community.<sup>5</sup> The term “charisma” started gaining popularity in historical periods that tried to explain the concept of totalitarian movements and regimes, while the explanations sought a scientific basis for a societal occurrence which could be characterized as an infatuation of the wider masses with the charismatic leader who directed them towards a, more often than not, radical goal. The term “charisma” went through multiple phases of transformation, originating from St. Paul, who perceived charisma as an indicator of an individual’s specific quality. The aforementioned term was seldom used, at least according to the available sources, but in the 19<sup>th</sup>. century, Rudolph Sohm reintroduces it, and Max Weber adopts it from him, explaining and removing it from its religious confines, although preserving the trait of an individual’s mission.<sup>6</sup> Paraphrasing Weber, charisma represents a trait that separates a certain persona from others, making it supernatural and exceptional when compared with others.<sup>7</sup> A charismatic leader possesses qualities which are, as Weber states: “These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader”.<sup>8</sup> Charisma is the most glorious expression of legitimacy. A person with charisma is considered “a gift from God”, and by that virtue a natural choice for a leader. The charismatic type of rule is based on emotional dedication to the charismatic leader and his supernatural traits, and some form of infatuation with the leader is often present. The leader is not bound by laws, but is above them, and the others respect him for his extraordinary abilities which he uses for the betterment of the community he heads. This form of rule appears more often in societies unaffected by modernization, but that is not the norm. The appearance of charismatic authority is also possible in democratic societies where the charismatic leader can be crucial in certain societal events. Even still, it can be claimed with certainty, that the aforementioned form of rule is revolutionary, and will most often appear in times of

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5 Miljan, Goran. „,Karizmatični“ Poglavnik? Poglavnik i formiranje karizmatičke zajednice – primjena i korisnost Weberova koncepta karizme.” *Historijski zbornik* 66, br. 1 (2013): 126.

6 *ibid.*, 123.

7 Blažević, Robert. „Stigma i karizma.” *Politička misao* 40, br. 3 (2003): 129.

8 Miljan, Goran. „,Karizmatični“ Poglavnik? Poglavnik i formiranje karizmatičke zajednice – primjena i korisnost Weberova koncepta karizme.” *Historijski zbornik* 66, br. 1 (2013): 124.



social changes when uncertainty, even fear, is prevalent. It is natural that in such a state, the people look for support and safety that can only be provided by a charismatic leader, who then becomes a central persona around whom a cult of personality is constructed. The rule of the charismatic ends when he is no longer in "God's graces", that is, when the population stops believing in his qualities. The period of the 20<sup>th</sup>. century, precisely because of its instabilities and constant political upheavals, has given rise to many charismatics such as Franklin Delano Roosevelt, J. F. Kennedy, Winston Churchill, Benito Mussolini, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, and of course, Josip Broz Tito, who is the central persona of this paper.<sup>9</sup>

### **Tito's cult of personality**

The aforementioned characteristics of the term "cult of personality" are applicable, of course, to the cult of personality of Josip Broz Tito, as a symbol of a time and a regime. He emerges from World War 2 victorious, and causally becomes the leader of communist Yugoslavia, remaining in power for 35 years. Taking into consideration his achievements in said war, the reputation he built amongst his fellow fighters and the people, as well as the disappointment of the people in the previous ruler, it was not difficult for Tito as a hero who defeated the occupier, that is, the propaganda machine of The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, to build a cult of personality.<sup>10</sup>

Throughout the period of his rule, the construction of a cult of personality was very intense, which is not surprising considering the organization of the country and the fact that in each of the Yugoslav republics one city bore his name, as well as the main streets of some cities, schools, barracks, and so forth. In time, he, as an individual, became more important than the country he led, which meant that, consequently, with the waning of his cult of personality, Yugoslavia waned as well. The emotional connection of the Yugoslav people to their president can be singled out as a consequence of a successful construction of a cult of personality. The connection was especially prominent during the proclamation of his death, to which the quote by Pero Simić and Zvonimir Despot can attest to: „ With tears and wails millions

9 Blažević, Robert. „Stigma i karizma.” *Politička misao* 40, br. 3 (2003): 128-131.

10 Nemet, Dražen. „Povijesni mitovi o Josipu Brozu Titu kao sredstvo manipulacije narodi-  
ma na prostoru bivše SFRJ.” *Pro tempore*, br. 3 (2006): 109.



of Yugoslavians saw him off. Many cried for him more painfully than they did for their own kin. They could not even foresee that they were crying for themselves and Yugoslavia.” He was buried in the House of Flowers in Belgrade.<sup>11</sup>

### **Josip Broz Tito’s rise to power**

After Tito rose to power, most of his life was mystified with the express purpose of propaganda. His date of birth was never precisely determined, but in the myriad of dates, two stand out as most probable. One of them is the 7<sup>th</sup> of May 1892., which is the most probable one due to it being based on a transcript from the register of births of the Tuhelj catholic parish, according to biographer V. Vinterhalter. The other, more well-known date is the 25<sup>th</sup> of May 1892., which later became a national holiday known as Youth Day. Tito himself is partially to blame for the uncertain date of his day of birth because he has, throughout his activity in the Communist Party, until the end of World War 2, used various code names and birth dates causing confusion.<sup>12</sup>

Josip Broz was born in Kumrovec in the Croatian Zagorje as the seventh child of the Croat Franjo Broz and a Slovenian Marija Broz, nee Javeršek. According to publicist Vladimir Dedijer, it is thought that the Broz family worshipped an “Ancestor cult”, glorifying the character and work of Matija Gubec, as a fighter for peasant rights. The glorification of Gubec is later brought into connection with Tito’s communism, but that is a product of the contemporary ruling ideology, because the showcasing of Gubec was used as a tool of communist propaganda with the purpose of consolidating said ideology among the people. Some even went as far as to say that the surname Broz is a shortened form of the surname Ambroz (Matija Ambroz Gubec). His childhood does not differ much from the childhoods of other children of the Croatian Zagorje. Like all other children, he was forced to help with family business while simultaneously attending school. Even in school he was not especially prominent, varying between a good and a bad student, according to his school reports.<sup>13</sup> While ministering in his local parish,

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11 Simić, Pero, Despot, Zvonimir. Tito-Jedna biografija, Zagreb: Despot Infinitus, 2017., 25.

12 ibid., 26 - 27.

13 Blažina, Boris. „Djetinjstvo i mladost Josipa Broza Tita 1892. - 1920. kroz prizmu biografija: kontradikcije, nedosljednosti, politizacija, pedagogizacija.” *Povijest u nastavi* XIII, br. 26 (2) (2015): 84-86.



at the age of twelve, he experienced an uncomfortable situation with his parishioner. Namely, due to his clumsiness while taking off his uniform, the parishioner, who was alcoholised, slapped him. Tito himself had this to say about that situation and the Church in general: "Admittedly, I kept going to Sunday mass because my mother willed it, but I believe that that was the moment that the Church and myself went our separate ways."<sup>14</sup> In his birth town of Kumrovec he finished four grades of elementary school, and later learned the locksmith's trade in Sisak. During his studies to become a locksmith he is first introduced to the ideas of the socialist movement, and in 1910., by becoming a member of the Association of metallurgy workers at the Worker's House in Zagreb, he directly became a member of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia. Due to his aspirations for a better life, motivated by the hunger he experienced in his childhood, a motivation he mentioned in his interviews, as well as motivated by nice clothes, Tito went abroad for employment.<sup>15</sup> From 1910. do 1913., both seeking employment and being temporarily employed he travelled the route from Zagreb, Trieste, Kamnik, Čenkov, Munich, to Vienna and Wiener Neustadt. In the above-mentioned period Josip Broz developed significantly within his own trade. He was skilled in bicycle, motorbike, and car repair, but he also mastered two languages, German to a larger, and Czech to a lesser extent. Ivo and Slavko Goldstein state: „ He tasted the allure of good earnings and employments, but also the bitterness of unemployment, fruitless hovering over doors, searching for work, and the utter poverty which arises when in a foreign land you spent your modest savings, and no new jobs are in sight. He participated in several great strikes, fought against strike-breakers, and celebrated May 1<sup>st</sup> with the masses of workers. When he was literally hungry in Trieste and Vienna, he received monetary aid from his metallurgy union, which helped him with seeking employment, among other things.” From the above, it is clear that the period from 1910. to 1913. had great influence on the amplification of Tito's affection towards the organization of workers, empathizing with the people who were in a similar situation, and on the further development of his socialist ideas.<sup>16</sup> At

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14 Pirjevec, Jože. Tito i drugovi, Zagreb: Mozaik knjiga, 2012., 27

15 Blažina, Boris. „Djetinjstvo i mladost Josipa Broza Tita 1892. - 1920. kroz prizmu biografija: kontradikcije, nedosljednosti, politizacija, pedagogizacija.” *Povijest u nastavi* XIII, br. 26 (2) (2015): 86-93.

16 Goldstein, Ivo, Goldstein, Slavko. Tito, Zagreb: Profil, 2015., 34.



the onset of World War I., he was conscripted into the 10<sup>th</sup>. company of the 25<sup>th</sup>. regiment of the 42<sup>nd</sup>. home guard division. He quickly realized he had no place among the said army, and in the following years he characterized it as stupefying and torpid. He was a prisoner in the Petrovaradin fort, from whence he was transferred to the battlefields of Galicia and the Carpathians. As a prisoner he was taken to the village of Kalasijevo to perform forced labour, from whence he escaped through Kungur, where he also laboured, to Sankt Petersburg, and soon after to Finland, in 1917. There, he would once again get arrested and taken to Omsk, where he joined the Yugoslav section of the Russian Communist Party. His time in captivity and exile was spent learning languages and mastering a great number of literary works.

He became a member of The Communist Party of Yugoslavia when he returned to Zagreb in 1920., and only a year after, all party activity was prohibited, forcing them to operate illegally. He was arrested in 1928. and sentenced to 5 years in prison, he first served his sentence in Lepoglava, then Maribor, and finally, Ogulin. After getting out of jail he starts operating under the name of Tito, and in the name of The Communist party of Yugoslavia, he operates abroad, which in 1934. netted him the title of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of The Communist Party of Yugoslavia. During World War II., Tito headed the National Liberation Movement and led an uprising. Owing to his initial wartime achievements in the battle against the occupiers, in 1942. the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia is formed, coming out victorious from World War II, and Tito, as a marshal and a people's hero, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of March 1945., in Belgrade, formed the government of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, taking the highest office of the newly formed country as his own.<sup>17</sup>

### **Tito in literature and media**

As was previously stated, the media were the main instrument in constructing and maintaining the cult of personality. The omnipresence in the media, while maintaining a dose of mysticism, along with controlling the press, was instrumental. As in all other regimes, it was necessary to control what was published about the ideological leader,

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17 Blažina, Boris. „Djetinjstvo i mladost Josipa Broza Tita 1892. - 1920. kroz prizmu biografija: kontradikcije, nedosljednosti, politizacija, pedagogizacija.” *Povijest u nastavi* XIII, br. 26 (2) (2015): 98-112.



because otherwise, his image could be undermined, and by that very same virtue, the cult of personality itself, which was in the case of Josip Broz constructed over a long period of time. Even while World War II was still raging on, the name of Tito grew in popularity among the people thanks to his fellow fighters, while the communist propaganda kept a watchful eye over each and every detail pertaining to him, with the purpose of creating a spotless image of the Party leader, and the future head of state.<sup>18</sup> Goldstein remarks that Josip Broz Tito is first mentioned in the media in 1942. as “commandant Tito”, in the newspaper “Vjesnik”, and since then became ever more present in the press, and after the aforementioned war ended, his name and image were ever-present.<sup>19</sup> It is mentioned in “Slobodna Dalmacija” (The Free Dalmatia), which often relayed his speeches to the populace, using nr. 74 of “Slobodna Dalmacija” published on the first of November 1944. as an example, that : “ Marshal Tito has invited all citizens of Yugoslavia to consolidate brotherhood and unity, saying: ‘Every honest citizen should be prepared to cooperate with us on the upbringing and restoration of our destroyed homeland.’”<sup>20</sup> After the formation of communist Yugoslavia, The Communist Party of Yugoslavia promoted the freedom of the press pro forma, while the reality was completely different, and Tito himself controlled all of the media that was reporting on him. His every move was carefully observed by journalists and was touted as headline news in all of media.<sup>21</sup> Likewise, during the fight against the occupiers, songs were made in Tito’s honour, and simultaneously with the growing of the cult of personality, the number of songs grew as well. Some of the more well-known ones are “Tito goes over Romanija”, “Comrade Tito, we swear to you”, “With marshal Tito”, “With Tito and Stalin”, and many others. By analysing each of the mentioned songs, it becomes noticeable that the Yugoslav people celebrate him for his wartime achievements, and in that way approve him as their leader who will lead them towards a better future.<sup>22</sup> Numerous movies which glorify the struggle of the Yugoslav Partisans and their leader were also being made, with the most well-known being “The

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18 Despotović, Ljubiša, Šljukić, Srđan, Gavrilović, Darko, Perica, Vjekoslav, Velikonja, Mitja. *Mitovi epohe socijalizma*, Novi Sad: Fakultet za evropske pravno-političke studije, 2010., 20- 21.

19 Goldstein, Ivo, Goldstein, Slavko, Tito, 480.

20 Slobodna Dalmacija, Split, br. 74., 1. studenog 1944.

21 Goldstein, Ivo, Goldstein, Slavko, Tito, 486.

22 *ibid.*, 480.



Battle of Sutjeska”, and “The Battle of Neretva”, with numerous film reviews speaking volumes about its magnitude and success, as well as an Oscar nomination for the best foreign language film. Some of the world-famous actors from the mentioned movies are Yul Brynner, Orson Welles, and Richard Burton as Tito in “The Battle of Sutjeska”.<sup>23</sup> Tito’s presence, more specifically his idealisation in school textbooks, with the purpose of raising youth fit for Yugoslavia, should also be mentioned. Along with Tito, brotherhood, unity, and the victory of the Yugoslav Partisans over the occupiers was also highlighted.<sup>24</sup>

### Relay races

The idea of doing relay races in Tito’s honour officially came from Josif Prohaska, a gymnasium professor from Kragujevac, and in time it grew into an all-encompassing Yugoslavian manifestation which sought to unite all strata of society, age groups, and from a geography standpoint, all territories of Yugoslavia, and in that way, contribute to the construction of a shared national identity of the newly formed country. It was often interpreted as a symbol of unity, which is not surprising, because, in a certain way, it united all who took part in said manifestation, be it by relaying the baton, filling it with letters, or by simply passively observing.<sup>25</sup> The relay race was formally established in Zagreb, in August of 1945., during the second assembly of the Gymnastics board of Yugoslavia. It is important to mention that the idea of relay racing was taken from the time when Petar II. Karađorđević was the ruling monarch, in whose honour relay races were also being held.<sup>26</sup>

In the formative years of the aforementioned manifestation, the emphasis was primarily put on the glorification of the People’s Liberation struggle with Tito at its forefront, which brought the approval of the people to his rule, while simultaneously fostering the unity of the Yugoslav people. Starting in 1957., the official emphasis is put on the youth, who were supposed to continue the tradition of Yugoslav unity

23 Zvijer, Nemanja. „Presenting (Imposing) Values through Films. The Case of the Yugoslav Partisan Films.” *Images 2*, br. 2 (2014): 1-12.

24 Koren, Snježana. *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945.-1960.)*, Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2012., 118.

25 Panić, Ana, „Štafeta-simbol zajedništva“ u: katalog *Štafete 1945-1987*, Beograd: Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, 2008., 13.

26 Goldstein, Ivo, Goldstein, Slavko. *Tito*, 496.



established in 1945. by contemporary officeholders, judging by Tito's speeches. The general distribution of the relay races was on the main ones, and the local ones, with larger Yugoslav cities having relay races of their own, as well as the relay races of The Yugoslav People's Army which were more numerous, considering that every sector of the Army had its own relay race. The path that the relay races took was strictly defined in order to pass through all of the places which held historical significance, while the citizens especially looked forward to the main relay race which was greeted by flags, banners, and flowers. In time, the number of participants in the relay races grew, according to the sources from 1950., the number of participants was upwards of a million. In the period between 1945. and 1956., the relay race was called "Tito's relay race", and was, as was previously mentioned, primarily aimed at glorifying the persona of Tito and his victory in World War II., along with the mention of the youth in the ceremonial speech of Josip Broz Tito in front of the White palace, where the final part of the manifestation was being held between 1946. and 1956. Starting with the mentioned 1956., the final ceremony was transferred to a new location, the stadium of the Yugoslav People's Army, and by changing the location a change among the relay races was also implemented, more specifically, only the federal baton was handed in, that is to say, "The Baton of youth", instead of multiple main ones, as was the case before. Since the appearance of "The Baton of youth", focus was officially shifted to the youth and their importance, which led to the development of a holiday within the said manifestation, called "Youth Day". The youth was exceptionally engaged in that period, and carrying the baton was a great honour among the young of Yugoslavia. Therefore, the first and final carriers of the baton were carefully selected based on their achievements in education, sports, or work. Tito himself gifted gold watches to the final carriers of the baton, and the carriers often appeared in the newspapers.<sup>27</sup> The final time that the baton was handed in to Tito was in 1979., who was in poor health at the time, with the baton filled to the brim with letters wishing him a full and speedy recovery, and only a year later, due to the president passing away on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1980., the manifestation was cancelled with the statement "The match is postponed."<sup>28</sup>

27 Panić, Ana, „Štafeta-simbol zajedništva“ u: katalog Štafete 1945-1987, Beograd: Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, 2008., 15-17.

28 Ridley, Jaspers. Tito (Biografija), Zagreb: Prometej, 2000., 23.



## **Tito's funeral as a reflection of a successful cult of personality**

Josip Broz Tito died on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1980., in Ljubljana, at the age of 87, and his final farewells, and the way in which the Yugoslav public took in the news of his passing, are clear indicators of the power of his cult of personality. Several hours after his death, the presidency of The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Central Committee of The League of Communists of Yugoslavia held an emergency session, declaring the death of the president Tito by “enshrining all of Yugoslavia in black”, suspending all types of work in the following eight hours. His body was transferred by train from Ljubljana to Belgrade, where the final farewells were held, with the people of Yugoslavia arriving at the train stations to commemorate him. On the day of the funeral, the 8<sup>th</sup> of May 1980., the delegation of The League of the Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia laid a Baton of youth on Tito's coffin in the Assembly of The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The funeral of Josip Broz Tito, held on Dedinje in The House of flowers was, according to numerous historians, one of the most important governmental funerals in history, as well as one of the largest meetings of world politicians ever, with the funeral being broadcast in 58 countries. The presence of some of the highest-ranking statesmen from 128 countries was proof enough of the level of respect Tito commanded all around the world. Also, judging by the available sources, especially recordings, it was evident that the sadness of the Yugoslav people due to their president dying was honest and grand, and that by lamenting Tito, they lamented Yugoslavia whose end was approaching.<sup>29</sup>

### **“And after Tito, Tito”**

Contrary to the expectations of many, the commemoration of “Youth Day” continued after Tito's death along with the relaying of the baton, which was handed in to the president of The League of the Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia since 1980. The manifestation took on a new disposition, more accurately, it nostalgically remembered Tito and maintained a memory of him, which is why it was called “And after Tito, Tito!”. For the following seven years various events were held including concerts, sports competitions and quizzes concerning Tito in order to maintain awareness of the deceased president among the

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29 *ibid.*, 23-26.



populace, and by that same virtue, awareness of Yugoslavia, as much as it was possible.<sup>30</sup> Utilizing the archive of “Slobodna Dalmacija”, the concert at The Yugoslav People’s Army’s stadium called “With Tito within us” from 1982. can be used as a good example, with there being over seven thousand performers present, as the source claims.<sup>31</sup> Also, in 1984., on “Youth Day”, a ship named Josip Broz Tito set sail.<sup>32</sup> The media still reported how on the eve of “Youth Day”, the youth still dedicated their accomplishments to Tito as their supreme authority, even though the reality was different. The youth were growing more distant from the idea of celebrating “Youth Day”, with many considering it redundant. The central celebration was still held at The Yugoslav People’s Army’s stadium in Belgrade, but criticism grew year after year. Particular dissent among the population was caused by the 1983. celebration due to an almost 10 metre statue of Tito looming over the said stadium. A question was asked: “Do we need Tito in supernatural size?”<sup>33</sup>

The baton was filled with pessimistic letters, the youth asked for changes, and in time, the importance of the relay race disappeared completely, the relay race was now only being used by the government to sweep real problems under the rug. Due to the scandal that happened in 1987., the relay race was permanently abolished. Namely, a group called “New collectivism” made a poster modelled after a 1936. Nazi poster, which got approved as a conceptual solution for the “Youth Day” celebration, causing widespread discontent among the population, prompting the campaign “Relay race, no thank you.” It was evident that the Yugoslav population, especially the younger generations had no intention of maintaining an emotional connection with Tito’s Yugoslavia and with Tito himself with nostalgic celebrations, a connection the people in power hoped they would maintain. Instead, they asked for the improvement of living conditions, and the state was best described by a quote from the paper of Ana Panić: “The new conceptual solution did not put the genies back in the bottle. The baton that had eight red droplets on its top was not a call for reconciliation.

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30 Panić, Ana, „Štafeta-simbol zajedništva“ u: katalog Štafete 1945-1987, Beograd: Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, 2008., 18.

31 Slobodna Dalmacija, Split, 25. May, 1982.

32 Slobodna Dalmacija, Split, 25. May, 1984.

33 Panić, Ana, „Štafeta-simbol zajedništva“ u: katalog Štafete 1945-1987, Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, Beograd, 2008., 33-34.



With considerable despondency the baton passed through Yugoslavia for the last time. The message it carried was, in fact, a warning.”<sup>34</sup>

### Conclusion

Josip Broz Tito was one of the most important and well-known politicians all over the world. By emerging victorious from World War II., he stood at the forefront of Yugoslavia which he led until his death. His rule was marked by elements of a cult of personality which were stated throughout the paper, and the aforementioned elements enabled him and The Communist Party of Yugoslavia who stood behind him to direct the politics of Yugoslavia relatively, with clear adoration from the people. The elements of the cult of personality were especially important in times of crises, as was the conflict with The Soviet Information Bureau in 1948. For many years, Tito linked all of Yugoslavia’s manifestations, and his cult was so powerful that he was called “the best leader and friend of peoples and the young ones”. He enjoyed compliments from both politicians and nations of the world, by that virtue, the citizens of the United States called him a dominant figure of the world scene, the Africans a patriarch of the non-aligned, the English a symbol of the 20<sup>th</sup>. century, and the Germans a gift of fate. He held all nations of Yugoslavia together, and after his death, it was clear that the stated country had no future. According to Simić and Despot, Tito’s death did not enshroud only Yugoslavia in black, but the entire global political scene as well, a scene that respected him greatly, which is why the aforementioned authors say: “ When the laws of biology failed to overlook even him, Tito’s successors said that with his death the global history became a widow, and they consoled their compatriots with the oath: ‘ And after Tito, Tito.’”<sup>35</sup>

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34 *ibid.*, 35.

35 Simić, Pero, Despot, Zvonimir, „Tito-Jedna biografija“, 21.-23.



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