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## THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN SHAPING AND PROPAGATING MAY DAY RITUALS: AN EXAMPLE OF *GLAS SLAVONIJE*, NEWSPAPER FROM OSIJEK (1945-1950)

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The Communist Party of Yugoslavia's (CPY) rise to power in 1945 was followed by a period of fundamental socio-political changes that encompassed all aspects of life. In order to establish a complete political and ideological authority, the government attempted to suppress all elements which, in their view, were not aligned with the doctrine of the Communist Party. As a result, everything that was perceived as remnants of the old socio-political order was marginalised, such as religion, tradition and customs. Moreover, reinterpretation of the past also took place, as well as creation of new rituals and Tito's cult of personality. Accordingly, a completely new calendar of official, state holidays was established, deprived of any national or religious tradition. One of those holidays was May Day, which was celebrated for two days and whose purpose, like most other holidays of that period, was to create uniqueness of feelings and actions in society, focusing on the working class, socialism, CPY, Yugoslavia and Josip Broz Tito. Besides, celebrations of major anniversaries and holidays, including May Day, presented an opportunity for transmission of ideological and political messages, most often articulated through numerous slogans which clearly defined the direction in which the society should move. The media played a key role in this process. Therefore, the central part of the paper consists of the analysis of newspaper articles from Glas Slavonije in order to understand its role in the implementation of those new political rituals and social values.

**Keywords:** Yugoslavia, Slavonia, Osijek, socialism, May Day, *Glas Slavonije*, CPY, "socialist competition", shock work

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## 1. May Day as a Political Ritual

International Worker's Day has been commemorated in the memory of the large workers' protests that took place in Chicago on 1 May 1886, when approximately 40,000 labourers demonstrated while demanding the following: 8 hours of work, 8 hours of rest and 8 hours of cultural education. In the next few days, another 25,000 workers joined the strike. Eventually, police intervened with weapons on the evening of 3 May, killing six and wounding approximately 50 workers. Many protesters were arrested as strike leaders were taken to court. In the end, five were sentenced to death and three were given long prison terms. Apart from Chicago, protests were organised in many other American industrial cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Milwaukee. While making plans to commemorate this event, the American Federation of Labour, a national organisation of labour unions, decided in 1888 to celebrate the first of May as an international labour holiday. Their example was also followed by the Second International at its first congress in 1889.1 As early as the following year, the date became the "international day of universal solidarity among workers", which was celebrated by large parades and demonstrations, most often organised by socialist, communist, anarchist and other left-wing movements. In the same year, in 1890, May Day was celebrated for the first time on the territory of today's Croatia, when the manifestation was held in Zagreb.2

Since several countries had passed a regulation introducing the eighthour work day after the First World War, this requirement was no longer the basis of May Day events. On the other hand, various political and economic demands, with the inevitable critique of capitalism as a socio-economic order, came into focus. After the outbreak of the October Revolution in 1917, in which the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, May Day became a national holiday for the first time in one country. In the years to come, celebrations in the USSR turned into mass state parades whose purpose was to show the world the political and economic strength of the world's first communist country in which the working class, freed from the "shackles of capitalism" and in alliance with state-party structures, was finally realizing its full potential.<sup>3</sup>

Života Kamperelić, Milorad Mandić, *Kratka istorija Prvog maja* (Beograd: Radnička štampa, 1969), pp. 3-17.; Valentina Gržinić, "Jugoslavensko trojstvo: rad, mladost i Republika: Obilježavanje socijalističkih praznika u Istri", in: *Radionica za suvremenu povijest: istraživanja diplomanata pulskog sveučilišta 2011.-2013.*, ed. Igor Duda, Anita Buhin and Igor Stanić (Pula; Zagreb: Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli; Srednja Europa: 2013), p. 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ed. Milivoj Slaviček, *Crveno proljeće: svjedočanstva o Prvom maju* (Zagreb: Lykos, 1958), p. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ž. Kamperelić, M. Mandić, *Kratka historija Prvog maja*, p. 68; http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Praznik rada

After twenty years of illegal activities,4 during which the May Day celebrations were constantly under special police supervision, the Yugoslav communists took power in 1945 and, following the example of the Soviet Union, introduced May Day as a national holiday. Thus, May Day, along with the New Year, Women's Day, Youth Day, days of liberation of individual cities, days of uprising related to individual republics and Day of the Republic, was part of a new calendar of state holidays, which aimed to establish the identity and legitimacy of new authorities and instil norms and values of the ruling ideology.<sup>5</sup> In this sense, the newly formed socialist holiday year, which played an important role in the process of suppressing previous traditions and introducing new customs and rituals, can be seen as an illustrative example of a phenomenon present in modern political systems, described as "the invention of tradition" by British historian Eric Hobsbawm. While emphasising that there is probably no time and place with which historians are concerned which has not seen the "invention of tradition", Hobsbawm defines it as "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by reputation, which automatically implies continuity with the past". In doing so, he distinguishes three basic types of "invented traditions": 1. those establishing or symbolising social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, 2. those establishing or legitimising institutions, status or relations of authority, and 3. those whose main purpose was socialisation, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour.<sup>6</sup>

By imitating almost all Soviet patterns and techniques of governance, the Yugoslav communist authorities adopted the already well-established USSR's model of political rituals, with specific events relating to the National Liberation Struggle (NLS), or the international movement for workers' and women's rights, as the starting point for state holidays.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In 1920, the government of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes passed the so-called *Obznana* (*Announcement*), a decree banning communist activities in the country and outlawing the CPY.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Igor Duda, *Danas kada postajem pionir: Djetinjstvo i ideologija jugoslavenskog socijalizma* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2015), p. 195; Lydia Sklevicky, *Konji*, žene *ratovi*, ed. Dunja Rihtman Auguštin (Zagreb: Ženska infoteka, 1996), p. 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger, *Izmišljanje tradicije* (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2002), p. 10, 17; I. Duda, *Danas kada postajem pionir*, p. 196; L. *Sklevicky, Konji*, žene, *ratovi*, p. 176; Reana Senjković, "Politički rituali", in: *Refleksije vremena 1945.-1955.*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Jasmina Bavoljak (Zagreb: Galerija Klovićevi dvori, 2012), p. 203; Valentina Gržinić, "Jugoslavensko trojstvo", p. 72.

I. Duda, Danas kada postajem pionir, p. 196; Reana Senjković, "Politički rituali", p. 203.

The importance of these new state holidays and their mass celebrations in the socialist Yugoslavia was also manifested in their political, cognitive and integrative characteristics and functions. The political character of manifestations was expressed through obligatory speeches held by representatives of the political elite to the gathered participants, in which all currently important socio-political messages were conveyed. The cognitive function of holidays, which according to Lydia Sklevicky was closely related to the function of social control, had a purpose of making society and social relations understandable, transferring knowledge about the past and present and increasing the ability to imagine the future. The third, integrative function was particularly important to Yugoslav society, as the introduction of unique, common holidays presented an extremely important segment in the process of eliminating dividing factors. The communist authorities sought to reduce them to the lowest possible level by affirming values that had an integrative effect and could create a sense of community within the Yugoslav society, which posed a considerable challenge given its exceptional national, religious and cultural heterogeneity. In this sense, May Day also played a very important role as a holiday that "easily erases differences in language, skin colour, habits, customs and characteristics of both nations and individuals".8

The successful instillation of new political patterns and rituals in the consciousness of the Yugoslav population, including those related to May Day, was the responsibility of a thorough system of political propaganda within which the print media presented the most powerful mean for "re-educating the masses". That is why the central part of this paper is constituted of an analysis of newspaper articles published in Osijek's *Glas Slavonije*, just before and during the May Day celebrations from 1945 to 1950. Its aim is to elaborate how the previously mentioned theoretical paradigm of "the invention of tradition" was applied and realized in practice. The article focuses on the period of early socialism (i.e. socialist construction), since that represents the time of the most intensive propaganda campaign which glorified labour, labour achievements and new working methods, accompanied by the need to mark war and labour victories solemnly and with dignity. After that period, political rituals, with the exception of Youth Day, began to lose on importance

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *Crveno proljeće: svjedočanstva o Prvom maju*, p. 5; L. Sklevicky, *Konji*, žene, *ratovi*, p. 185-186; I. Duda, *Danas kada postajem pionir*, p. 195.

Magdalena Najbar-Agičić, "Agitprop među novinarima: Uspostava komunističke vlasti i nadzor nad medijima", in: Stvaranje socijalističkog čovjeka. Hrvatsko društvo i ideologija jugoslavenskog socijalizma, ed. Igor Duda (Zagreb-Pula: Srednja Europa, 2017.), p. 182; Tomislav Anić, Radništvo i propaganda: "Socijalističko takmičenje" u Hrvatskoj 1945.-1952. (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Zagreb, 2010), p. 101; Berislav Jandrić, Hrvatska pod crvenom zvijezdom: Komunistička partija Hrvatske 1945.-1952. (Zagreb, 2004), p. 201.

and their impressiveness, while "socialist competition," one of the essential features of the early socialism, entered a phase of regression. 10

# 2. The Role of the Media in Shaping Yugoslav Communist Propaganda

Before the analysis of selected articles, it is necessary to look at the main features of the socialist Yugoslavia's system of political propaganda, with a special emphasis put on the press as one of the most important media of that period.

After the victory in the Second World War and the takeover of power, the CPY managed to establish full political authority in a very short time, confronting almost all real and potential political opponents. In contrast to this process, the establishment of ideological authority among the population, which, in addition to the political one, was supposed to guarantee the stability and longevity of the new socio-political order, could not and should not rely solely on repressive methods. Having this in mind, and with the aim of creating a new, socialist man and adopting new political rituals, propaganda played an extremely important role in the socialist Yugoslavia, as it did, after all, in all authoritarian and totalitarian political systems. From the very definition of propaganda,11 it is clear that one of the main preconditions for achieving its desired effect is the establishment of a monopoly over the media. Writing about the importance of establishing a monopoly over the media in shaping the communist totalitarian system, Najbar-Agičić points out: "The rapidity with which the Yugoslav communists managed to achieve this in the first years after the end of Second World War is impressive".12 The newly established communication model was typical of socialist countries and served exclusively to convey the ideas of the Party and state authorities. The role of the media in this context was to "mobilise the public" and shape it according

Reana Senjković, "Politički rituali", p. 225; T. Anić, Radništvo i propaganda, p. 93, 287.

Among many definitions of propaganda, we will list here only some of them. According to Jowett and O'Donnell, propaganda is "the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist". Garth S. Jowett, Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 5th ed. (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2012), p. 7. A similar definition is given by Parry-Giles who describes propaganda as "strategically devised messages that are disseminated to masses of people by an institution for the purpose of generating action benefiting its source". Shawn Parry-Giles, *The Rhetorical Presidency: Propaganda, and the Cold War 1945-1955* (Westport: Praeger, 2002), p. XXVI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> M. Najbar-Agičić, "Agitprop među novinarima", p. 177.

to a "preconceived ideological pattern".<sup>13</sup> Agitprop – the department for agitation and propaganda of the Central Committee (CC) of the CPY and its lower departments – played the central role in this process, as well as in shaping of the propaganda discourse. As the most authoritative institution in the information system, Agitprop set basic ideological and political guidelines and controlled their application. Press control was particularly important and it was entrusted to a separate department "for agitation and the press", whose directors had clearly defined tasks:

"... to follow the entire press on his territory, as well as the central party press. He takes care that all political and other issues are properly articulated in the press, and that directives of the central press are properly applied and interpreted in the press on his territory. He takes care of what kind of articles should be included, what should be emphasised in the press, what should be done, especially underlined, and what not. [...] He takes care of what kind of people should enter the editorial office of party and other newspapers and magazines, and he himself joins some important newsrooms if necessary."

Thus, in the period of underdevelopment of other media and post-war scarcity, journalism became one of the most important means of political struggle. Although the legislative framework, i.e. *The Press Law* passed on 24 August 1945, emphasised the freedom of the press as one of its main principles, while censorship did not formally exist, the latter was established, as Katarina Spehnjak notes, through various illegal means. Imposed or voluntary self-censorship also played a great role in that sense. Control of the press was achieved by the establishment of state's ownership over publishing companies, printing houses, printing paper and the entire distribution apparatus.<sup>15</sup>

Special attention within the information system was given to daily newspapers, so in the period from 1945 to 1952 six republican (regional) informative and political dailies were published in Croatia: *Vjesnik* (Zagreb), *Narodni list* (Zadar), *Glas Slavonije* (Osijek), *Riječki list* (Rijeka), *Slobodna Dalmacija* (Split) and *La voce del popolo* (Rijeka). The newspaper *Glas Slavonije* was founded in 1943 as a body of the Regional Committee of the United People's Liberation Front of Slavonia. At first, it was printed on the Papuk mountain,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Katarina Spehnjak, "Uloga novina u oblikovanju javnog mnijenja", Časopis *za suvremenu povijest*, 25 (1993), No. 2-3: 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> B. Jandrić, *Hrvatska pod crvenom zvijezdom*, p. 161; M. Najbar-Agičić, "Agitprop među novinarima", p. 181; Katarina Spehnjak, *Javnost i propaganda: Narodna fronta u politici i kulturi Hrvatske 1945.-1952.* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest; Dom i svijet, 2002), pp. 90, 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> K. Spehnjak, *Javnost i propaganda*, pp. 91, 102; K. Spehnjak, "Uloga novina u oblikovanju javnog mnijenja", p. 166.

and after the end of the war in Osijek, where it is still published under the same name. In the period that is the subject of this research, the average circulation of *Glas* was about 15,000 copies, and the editors-in-chief were Mate Opić, Jozo Milošević and Mira Gumhalter.<sup>16</sup>

Being the only daily newspaper for the area of Slavonia, Syrmia and Baranya, *Glas Slavonije* had an important ideological and formative role in the system of political propaganda and "mobilisation of the masses" on this territory. Therefore, in what follows, by using articles of this newspaper as examples, propaganda elements and methods will be presented and analysed (those that were unavoidable and ubiquitous in shaping and implementing political rituals related to May Day), as well as political function of holidays, attitude towards labour, shock work as a dominant concept and ritualisation and formalisation of May Day celebrations.

## 3. Political function of May Day celebrations

As it was mentioned earlier, the political character of public holidays was most often manifested through obligatory speeches held by the representatives of political elites to the gathered participants of the celebration. Furthermore, May Day proclamations of the CPY's Central Committee also had this role. Those were conveyed by Yugoslav press on 1 May, while attempting to highlight current socio-political developments and agitate for active participation of all social classes in important government projects. In this context, the following sentence sums up very well the fundamental message of the first May Day celebration in the new socio-political circumstances of 1945: "This year the working class of Yugoslavia, united with the other working masses of Yugoslavia into one unshakable whole, is truly free to celebrate the first of May".<sup>17</sup>

Since war operations in some parts of the country were still ongoing, the May Day celebration was planned to serve as a special incentive for the mobilisation of all forces with the aim of the final liberation of the country. Also, its purpose was the affirmation of the new government among wider parts of society which was present on the territory under its control. Since final battles were taking place in western parts of Slavonia at that time, at the end of April and in the first days of May, *Glas Slavonije* pointed out that the people

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> K. Spehnjak, *Javnost i propaganda*, p. 102; K. Spehnjak, "Uloga novina u oblikovanju javnog mnijenja", p. 173; Luka Pejić, "Analiza propagandnog diskursa Narodne fronte Jugoslavije u Osijeku s posebnim osvrtom na list *Glas Slavonije* (1945.-1947.)", *Glasnik arhiva Slavonije i Baranje*, 13 (2015): 275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> "Proglas upućen narodima Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije povodom 1. maja", *Glas Slavonije: glasilo Narodne fronte za Slavoniju (GS)*, 1 May 1945, p. 1.

of Slavonia celebrated May Day "with a rifle in hand, destroying the last remnants of savage hordes and raising our villages and cities with a hammer and plough from ruins". $^{18}$ 

Similar messages were included in the proclamation to the peoples of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, issued on May Day in 1945 and entitled "To the Peoples of Yugoslavia. To the working people of the city and the village". The proclamation was sent by the executive boards of the republican liberation fronts, the executive board of the main board of the United Trade Unions, the Central Board of the United Alliance of Anti-Fascist Youth of Yugoslavia (UAAYY) and the Central Board of the Anti-Fascist Women's Front (AWF).<sup>19</sup> The introductory part of the text reads:

"We are celebrating this year's May Day in the sign of decisive victory over the mortal enemy of the Yugoslav peoples, Slavs and all freedom-loving humanity, over German fascism. [...] Our heroic Yugoslav Army is completing the liberation of our glorious and suffering homeland. Flags of the democratic federal Yugoslavia will soon fly over Zagreb and Ljubljana; soon our army will bring freedom to the Slovenian Littoral, Istria and Carinthia."

Moreover, the unity is emphasised, i.e. the "alliance" of all layers of society, which became evident during the National Liberation Struggle, "which forms the basis of our people's government". The proclamation itself is structured according to that and it is thematically divided into smaller subchapters in which the authorities address soldiers, workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, youth and women. This form, with minor changes, is present in all May Day proclamations of the analysed period. Thus, the part addressed to soldiers, states the following:

"Move forward under the leadership of the Great Commander, People's Hero Marshal Tito. Into the last battle for the final liberation of our homeland! Do not let even one fascist bandit escape from our country. Clean the country of occupiers and the last remains of domestic traitors! Carry the flag of liberation wherever our peoples are still moaning under the yoke of foreigners."

The part dedicated to workers, among other things, says:

"You have always been on the front line of the general people's struggle for freedom and progress. You have always been hit hardest by the reaction

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> "Prvi maj", GS, 1 May 1945, p. 2.

 $<sup>^{19}</sup>$  In the following years, the May Day proclamation will be sent by the CPY's Central Committee.

that led our country to ruin. Be at the forefront of the struggle to build a true democracy, to revive our people's state, for the political, economic, social and cultural progress of the Yugoslav peoples! Lead in the field of work for the reconstruction of our devastated economy, for the bright future of the working people! Show what sacrifice and feats you are capable of when it comes to liberating our country from the occupiers, securing freedom and independence of our homeland, securing a happy future for the working masses! [...] Take to the streets on the first of May and manifest your unity, your strength and determination! Democratic Federal Yugoslavia is your heritage. It was created by your struggle and you are its pillar and touchstone."

The following message is sent to the peasants, who according to the social structure constituted the absolute majority of the partisan units:

"[...] you peasants have carried on your shoulders the victory of our glorious peoples in the war of liberation against the fascist invaders. With your great sacrifices you have won what you have longed for for centuries: land and freedom! The fruits of the land will belong to the one who works it! [...] Strive with all might in your fields, provide bread for our heroic army and city population, compete in the work of economic renewal of the country, because by doing so you will work on your own progress and prosperity."

Commitment and active participation in the construction of a new socio-political order was also required of civil servants and intellectuals:

"The new Yugoslavia provides you with all the possibilities for the development of your capacities, opens the perspective of a bright future – without unemployment and without surrendering your capabilities to anti-people parasites. Put all your knowledge and all your abilities, all your experiences and all your strengths at the service of your people, keeping in mind only their interests. Only in faithful and dedicated service to the people, will you find the basis of your own better future! Be vigilant guardians of the people's heritage! Work persistently on social and cultural progress. Fight without mercy against slackness and negligence in work, against old bureaucratic methods!"

The last part of the proclamation is addressed to the youth:

"You were the most bitter enemy of the old rot and the most enthusiastic builders of a new happy life. Strengthen the unity of the young generation, the guarantee for a better life of our homeland's new generations, the guarantee of brotherhood and unity and equality of the people of Yugoslavia in the future! By fighting for the victory of new Yugoslavia, you have paved the way for yourself to knowledge, freedom and science. The new, more humane and happier world, which is being born, on the people's and your victims, belongs to you."<sup>20</sup>

In the following year, in 1946, May Day held a special significance for Yugoslavia since it was the first peacetime celebration. The communist government consolidated its political authority, which was confirmed by the elections in November 1945, in which the Popular Front's list won an absolute victory,<sup>21</sup> and the state was internationally recognised. Therefore, the May Day celebration was used to show, among other things, the results of one of the most difficult, "but also one of the most glorious years of renewal".<sup>22</sup> The introductory part of the May Day proclamation issued by the CPY's Central Committee emphasises the importance of this holiday, which for the working class "symbolically represented its hard struggle for better working and living conditions, for its political and social rights, for true democracy, for a life worthy of man". Elaborating further the reasons why May Day had become a national holiday, it is stated that the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY) was a country of "urban and rural workers" and that work in new socio-political circumstances had gained a new meaning, a new role:

"Work in new Yugoslavia will no longer be a necessary evil or shame, but a necessary need and pride of every citizen of our country who becomes aware that work is a strong driving force of social progress and cultural development, who becomes aware that those who do not work will not be able to benefit from its results. [...] it connects and firmly brings together workers and peasants, it fills that gap between workers and peasants, which in the past was artificially created by various 'friends' of peasants."

In what follows, the proclamation points out that great successes had been made in rebuilding the country in the previous year, in which workers, peasants and young people had played a decisive role. However, it also immediately urges: "Develop a versatile working contest, create as many cheap products as

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 20}$  "Proglas upućen narodima Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije povodom 1. maja"  $GS,\,1$  May 1945, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Elections for the DFY Constituent Assembly were held on November 11, 1945. Only one electoral list was set up, that of the Popular Front (PF). The opposition was not allowed to organise, campaign or appear in public, which is why all pre-war civic parties, including the strongest Croatian political party, the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS), withdrew from the elections. Two ballot boxes were set up at polling stations – one with a list of PF candidates and the other one without a list of candidates (so-called black or blank boxes). Out of almost 89% of registered voters in Yugoslavia who went to the polls, the Popular Front won 88.69% of the vote.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> "Prvi maj – dan mobilizacije narodnih snaga za obnovu i izgradnju", GS, 28 April 1946, p. 6.

possible indispensable for the life of the people, because by doing so you will accelerate the realisation of your well-being as well."

The message to the peasants is:

"Sow every inch of the land, intensify the farming of a variety of livestock, produce as much food as possible for the lives of workers and the rest of the population, because that way you will get the various industrial products you need cheaper and faster."

For the young people, who during that period took part in numerous work actions throughout the country, it is stated that by doing such work they "gained the boundless trust of their people". At the end of the proclamation, the communist authorities address the soldiers, asking them to focus in peacetime on perfecting their military knowledge, techniques and military skills, in order to be "strong and worthy guardians of the achievements of the great liberation struggle".<sup>23</sup>

The first of May in 1947 was celebrated in the sign of the beginning of the first five-year plan, i.e. the adoption of the Law on the Five Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia 1947-1951,24 which foresaw the planned industrialisation and electrification of the country and the construction of heavy industry. Its realisation, according to the proclamation of the CPY's Central Committee, was supposed to mean "the final victory of the Yugoslav people in their struggle for independence, for free internal development". That victory, the proclamation continues, would increase Yugoslavia's reputation in the world and show "how a small country has managed to preserve its independence and build a happy life of free people and a happy community of free and equal peoples". The realisation of the Yugoslavia's first five-year plan, as stated, was to bring economic independence, eliminate misery and poverty, achieve welfare for "broad masses", "construct a new society", and economically integrate all Yugoslav republics. This was supposed to be the basis of "indestructible brotherhood and unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> "Živio Prvi maj općenarodni praznik rada", GS, 1 May 1946, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> According to Ivana Dobrivojević, the adoption of the industrial development plan in the form of a law was intended to further emphasise its importance. Its execution and accelerated industrialisation became the main state goal after the war. Accordingly, the completion of tasks "set by the plan has been declared an honour and a duty of every citizen". Ivana Dobrivojević, "Industrijalizacija kao imperativ. Ekonomska politika Partije 1945.-1955.", in: *Socijalizam na klupi. Jugoslavensko društvo očima nove postjugoslavenske humanistike*, ed. Lada Duraković i Andrea Matošević (Pula-Zagreb: Srednja Europa, Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, Sa(n)jam knjige u Istri, 2013), p. 21-23.

"The realization of the First Five-Year Plan will change the face of our country, it will change the souls of our people. Our country will become prosperous and happy, our people will love their free country even more and fight with even more zeal for the great ideals of advanced humanity – democracy, peace and equality of the people."

The part of the proclamation dedicated to workers calls for their intensified activity:

"Give the country more coal and ore! Give the masses more textiles! More construction materials to build new companies and new apartment buildings! More agricultural machinery and tools, more goods for our village! More footwear, clothing and food for the masses! Develop versatile strive in labour and innovation in production! Save material at every step, constantly raise labour productivity, reduce production costs! Fight lazy and unemployed, fight against all those who obstruct the progress of production! Fight for the realisation of the Five-Year Plan, for a happy future of the working class and of all the labourers of our country!"

A similar message is sent to the peasants, who are urged to give more wheat, corn and other cereals, tobacco, fruits, vegetables, meat and dairy products. They are encouraged to fight against all those who avoid or refuse to fulfil their obligations to the state and thus "try to separate the peasants from the workers, the village from the city". The government's message to the young people is:

"Be in the forefront of the struggle to build the country, to realize the First Five-Year Plan! Be proud that you have become an example of loyalty to the homeland all over the world, and an example of selfless work and perseverance in your homeland! The Five-Year Plan will achieve all requirements for a happy life, for the bright future of new generations. The youth of Yugoslavia, fight for its realisation, fight from now on, as before, to be the first at work, the first in the fight for the cause of the people and the homeland!"

The last part of the proclamation is dedicated to women, who are also invited to participate in their own way in the realisation of the five-year plan, whose purpose was to ensure a better and brighter future for all mothers and their children.<sup>25</sup>

 $<sup>^{25}\,\,</sup>$  "Prvomajski proglas Centralnog komiteta Komunističke partije Jugoslavije", GS, 1 May 1947, p. 1.

On the same day, Glas Slavonije published the May Day proclamation written by the Executive Board of the Popular Front of Yugoslavia, whose main theme is the realisation of the five-year plan. The introductory part points out that Yugoslavia had managed to rebuild factories, mines and roads in a short period, i.e. within two years from the end of the war, and that "at the end of 1946, in the most important economic branches, we reached the level of pre-war production, and in some branches we even managed to exceed it". All this, it is stated, had created the preconditions for "systematic approach to the planned socialist construction of the national economy". The five-year plan is presented as the final stage of the fight started during the war, and its achievement as the final victory "which destroys to dust and ashes all those stupid and hostile stories of foreign reactionists, who are not yet tired of inventing lies and slander against the new Yugoslavia". The proclamation is also rather optimistic when it comes to a belief in positive outcome of the five-year plan. Results that had been previously achieved in the reconstruction are mentioned as a guarantee of its realisation, as well as solid foundations of the people's state, stability of political, social and economic relations, financial situation, and brotherhood and unity of all Yugoslav peoples. The second part of the proclamation, which follows the pattern set by the proclamation written by the CPY's Central Committee, is comprised of messages to workers, peasants, intelligentsia, youth and women. Its content is very similar to the messages of previous proclamations.<sup>26</sup>

Despite quite optimistic announcements and full-scale media advertising, the following years showed that the results of the five-year plan were far from expected. This confirmed the views of critics who had warned from the very beginning that the set goals were unreal. Poor economic policy, military expenditures (especially after the conflict with the Cominform in 1948), and a catastrophic drought in the early 1950s, resulted in one-year extension of the plan, while some important investment projects were not completed until 1956. Accelerated industrialisation, which represents the major feature of this period, was largely made possible by the transfer of funds from agriculture to industry, which led to agricultural backwardness and falling standards, as farmers were forced to sell their products at very low prices. Thus, the village and the peasants paid the highest price for an unrealistic and megalomania-cal project such as the five-year plan, which made Yugoslavia the largest food importer in Europe during the 1950s.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> "Proglas Izvršnog odbora Narodne fronte Jugoslavije", GS, 1 May 1947, p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Zdenko Radelić, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945.-1991.: Od zajedništva do razlaza* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2006), p. 23-24.; I. Dobrivojević, "Industrijalizacija kao imperativ", p. 28-29.

The May Day proclamation of the CPY's Central Committee in 1948 is thematically divided into two parts; the first, the more extensive, dedicated to the international situation characterized by the struggle between the capitalist and imperialist West and the democratic, progressive and libertarian East, and the second part, focused on domestic political and economic circumstances which were marked by the five-year plan. The greater preoccupation with international events can be explained by the fact that 1947 and 1948 are considered to be initial years of the Cold War, in which the definite differentiation of the opposing ideological-political blocs, led by the USA and the USSR, took place. A large number of authors find the American plan for the reconstruction of post-war Europe to be of crucial importance. The so-called Marshall Plan<sup>28</sup> was adopted in July 1947 and it lasted four years, during which \$13 billion of economic and technical assistance was sent to European countries with the aim of rebuilding, but also suppressing possible strengthening of communist parties, in war-torn European economies. Assistance was offered to both the USSR and its allies, but they refused it. The proclamation on the Marshall Plan reads:

"The Marshall Plan is a mask used to restore the power of imperialism in new democracies, and to force them to renounce close, economic and political cooperation with the Soviet Union. This plan is directed against the industrialisation of democratic European countries and therefore against the foundations of their independence and sovereignty. The revelation of the American plan of enslavement of European countries by the representatives of the USSR represents a great victory for the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and countries of the new democracy."

The proclamation continues with an attack on the United States, noting that the American imperialists were getting closer and closer to the German and Italian fascists, who wanted to make the working class "submissive slaves just as Hitler and Mussolini once tried to do". The animosity between the two blocs is portrayed as a struggle between two camps; on the one hand, the camp of "progress and freedom", and on the other hand, the camp of "darkness and oppression". It is stated that Yugoslavia is at the forefront of the struggle, which is why "sympathy for our peoples is growing all over the world". Moreover, the establishment of communist regimes in Central and Eastern European countries is described as the implementation of progressive, democratic measures and liberation from "imperialist slavery and the jaws of capitalism". Furthermore, praises are expressed for communist parties in France and Italy,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The initiative was named after United States Secretary of State George Marshall.

while the Greek civil war<sup>29</sup> is described as a tragedy in which the Greek people were "pushed by Churchill and the Truman Doctrine".<sup>30</sup> Ending of the first part of the proclamation is devoted to China and the reinforcement of communist forces led by Mao Zedong:

"Conditions are being created for new life and work, democratic authorities are being strengthened and culture is flourishing. The Chinese people will have to overcome many more obstacles and endure many difficulties before their homeland is completely liberated. But it is also certain that this great country cannot be plunged back into the state of political and economic backwardness in which it has been for a long time."

The second part of the proclamation, as mentioned earlier, is largely devoted to the results achieved during the initial year of the five-year plan, for which is said that it had become "the property of all our people" and thanks to which "a new industrial Yugoslavia is rising today from the old, backward and agrarian country, a place where the workers will be provided with a better life and unprecedented perspectives". The successes achieved in industry, agriculture, education and culture are mentioned. The promise of a better and happier life to all social strata, which is an unavoidable leitmotif of all May Day proclamations, is used as motivation for further effort and engagement.<sup>31</sup>

The 1949 celebration of May Day was different in many ways from all the previous ones. The May Day cover of *Glas Slavonije* also changed its visual identity. Some of its parts (the name of the paper, the title of the proclamation by the CPY's Central Committee, the flag in the hands of a young worker) were printed in red for the first time. Also, a certain change is indicated by a particularly prominent slogan visible in the upper right corner of the cover, also printed in bright red letters: "We want a comprehensive cooperation, but we have the strength to raise our homeland on our own and make it happy!". Indeed, in 1949, the May Day was celebrated for the first time after the Yugoslav conflict with the USSR and the so-called Resolution of the Information Bureau of June 1948. This document served as a public condemnation of the

 $<sup>^{29}</sup>$  The armed conflict which lasted from 1944 to 1949 between the government forces, supported by the United Kingdom, and later the United States, and the Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS), supported by the Eastern Bloc countries.

 $<sup>^{30}</sup>$  The U.S. foreign policy plan, named after U.S. President Harry Truman, announced on 12 March 1947. It referred to the need to stop the spread of communism by giving economic aid to Greece and Turkey.

 $<sup>^{31}\,\,</sup>$  "Da živi 1. maj, dan borbene mobilizacije trudbenika svijeta za mir i demokraciju",  $GS,\,1\,$  May 1948, p. 1.

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$  The Cominform, founded in 1947 with its headquarters in Belgrade, was an advisory body to nine European communist parties, whose real goal was to establish Soviet control over

Yugoslav communist leadership by Cominform's members, led by the USSR, and it was followed by exclusion of the CPY from the organisation and relocation of its headquarters from Belgrade to Bucharest. The event shook Yugoslavia deeply, causing it to lose its most important political and economic ally and role model. It also surprised the entire international public, who found it hard to believe that there could be a communist state "based on Soviet organisational principles, and to the greatest extent, Soviet ideology, while independent of Moscow". 33 The importance of this break up was also confirmed by attitudes of American politicians and diplomats, who saw in it "potentially the most important event since the capitulation of Japan". 34 Therefore, it is not surprising that the traditional May Day proclamation of the CPY's Central Committee, just like the entire celebration of this holiday in 1949, had the task of rejecting accusations against the CPY and its leadership. Moreover, the aim was to raise morale and optimism, greatly shaken by the new political situation which called into question the very realisation of the five-year plan. Thus, the proclamation speaks of "monstrous" and "slanderous" attacks, denying and belittling "the glorious revolutionary struggle of our working class":

"The USSR and the people's democracies are trying to organise an economic and political boycott and are undertaking the means and methods characteristic of the capitalist world – to break the working zeal of our masses and to force our peoples to submit to unjust and unequal relations. Under the excuse of criticising the CPY's leadership, all sorts of attempts are made to disrupt our socialist economy and the state power of our working people. The consistent anti-imperialist foreign policy of our country is hidden and falsified in all possible ways. Everything that the progressive movements have been fighting against for a long time, and all cultural people consider to be a relic of the past, a method of fighting typical of reactionary bourgeoisie and feudal cliques – is being used against our Party and our country."

It is further pointed out that these attacks, thanks to the strength of the Party and the Yugoslav people, had not weaken the country, but "temporarily delivered a serious blow to those great ideals for which the proletariat has been

other communist parties and to subject the socialist countries to the USSR state policy. The Resolution of the Information Bureau was the culmination of long-running disagreements between Yugoslavia and the USSR on various issues: the border dispute with Italy, the independence of Tito and the CPY from the USSR, Yugoslav unification with Bulgaria and Albania, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Tvrtko Jakovina, *Američki komunistički saveznik: Hrvati, Titova Jugoslavija i Sjedinjene Američke Države 1945.-1955.* (Zagreb: Profil/Srednja Europa, 2003), p. 244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> T. Jakovina, *Američki komunistički saveznik*, p. 226.

fighting for more than a hundred years". It is said that the principles of equality of peoples and states in socialism were disturbed, as well as the principles of protection and assistance to small nations, and those of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The proclamation reads that "lies and slander are accepted as an admissible means of struggle in the workers' movement". The second part of the text emphasises the unity of all the workers of Yugoslavia, who will overcome all difficulties with their selfless labour and unity, accomplish all the tasks of the five-year plan and build socialism on their own. It is stated that the battle for the realisation of the five-year plan was in full swing. Workers are urged to "concentrate their forces more than before on the planned tasks of production and capital construction of heavy industry, mining, electrification and forestry". The part dedicated to the peasants talks about the socialist transformation of the countryside, which will result in saving the village from "centuries-old backwardness", erasing the differences between town and village and ending the exploitation of the working peasantry by "rural rich". The sequel, dedicated to soldiers, people's intelligentsia and youth, focuses on vigilance, necessity to defend achievements of the people's revolution, selfless and devoted commitment, socialist construction, the need to fight bureaucracy and strengthen labour discipline, order, punctuality and speed while doing work, etc.35

In the following year (1950) the May Day front page of *Glas Slavonije* was again printed with red details. The proclamation of the CPY's Central Committee is, for the most part, concentrated at demonstrating growth of Yugoslavia's economic power, as well as its great political and economic successes, which were supposed to be the best answer to "the Cominform's detractors":

"Let us kill slanders of the enemies of socialist construction in our country with even more iron and steel, with even more coal and oil, with even more machines, new turbines and engines! [...] Our Party has succeeded in responding to the propaganda war of lies and slander, led by a huge propaganda apparatus, with facts whose power is so strong that our deeds must appear before the whole world in all their greatness. This is the greatness of socialist reality of selfless work of the people of our country. These facts are so strong that they reveal the compilers of fabrications about our country in all their nakedness."

In the proclamation, workers are asked not to spare effort in achieving the set goals in the final stages of the five-year plan and thus show that, despite all the difficulties, they do not know "about obstacles that could not be

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 35}$  "Prvomajski proglas Centralnog komiteta Komunističke partije Jugoslavije", GS, 1 May 1949, p. 1.

overcome". Part of the text is dedicated to the affirmation of peasant labour cooperatives, as the implementation of the *Basic Law on Agricultural Cooperatives*, passed in June 1949, was in full swing. On the basis of this legislation the authorities forced the collectivisation of peasants and their private estates in cooperatives, relying on the Soviet model. Since a large number of peasants this, as well as compulsory repurchases, the media used the opportunity to highlight all advantages of the cooperative system and its role in improving living conditions in the countryside:

"It is a way of a more beautiful, cultural and better life in our countryside. It is a way of constant improvement of the supply and nutrition for the entire population of our country and increasing raw materials for our industry. [...] Reinforce and consolidate your cooperatives, because further growth and strengthening of socialist cooperatives depends on your work! Millions of stand-alone peasants are looking at you, preparing to join labour cooperatives. The better you work, the sooner they will decide to join the existing labour cooperatives or the establish new ones."

The final part of the proclamation contains traditional messages to the people's intelligentsia and soldiers, which mostly come down to the consolidation of brotherhood and unity and socialist construction.<sup>36</sup>

## 4. May Day Competitions and Shock Work

The May Day competition of various work collectives, which took place from November to April, and whose results were added up and publicly presented on Labour Day, played a very important role in achieving the set economic, as well as ideological and political goals. However, outside the context of Labour Day, the communist authorities insisted that these competitions should become an everyday and common work method throughout the year, emphasising that the working class has the obligation to participate in such competitions in order to contribute to a faster recovery and further development of the Yugoslav economy. The competition system was declared a communist method of building socialism, and it was supposed to increase work productivity by increasing work intensity and (or) extending working hours. The organisation of a labour "socialist competition" was taken from the Soviet theory and practice, and it was the integral part of the recovery of the post-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> "Prvomajski proglas Centralnog komiteta Komunističke partije Jugoslavije", GS, 1 May 1950, p. 1.; Z. Radelić, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945.-1991.*, p. 195-196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> "Veliki radničko-namještenički zbor u Osijeku", GS, 1 May 1945, p. 6.

war economy. Besides the economic goals, the system of labour competitions also had a formative character in modelling a new socialist man. The man who came up with the "socialist competition" concept was V. I. Lenin, who pointed out that these competitions achieve "the principle of comrade aid as an instrument of country's general progress". The following stage of the "socialist competition" was the so-called Stakhanovite movement, named after Aleksei Grigorievich Stakhanov, a miner and the most famous Soviet shock worker, who managed to mine 102 tons of coal during a single shift in 1935. As highlighted by Tomislav Anić, the Stakhanovite movement differed from the "socialist competition" in the fact that it relied on technological advancements and the use of technological innovations in production rather than relying solely on increased work intensity.<sup>38</sup>

The manual worker thus became a symbol of the new society that was being created, and everything was accompanied by an extensive publicity, especially in the print media. In 1947, some 80% of Yugoslav workers were included in the competition, and 30,000 of them were declared shock workers by November 1948. The intensified work was not rewarded by adequate material compensations, though.<sup>39</sup> Instead, a system of "moral rewards with socialist symbols", such as flags, medals and the honorary title of shock worker, was introduced. Besides the shock worker title, a deserving worker could earn the following honorary titles: Socialist Work Champion, Distinguished Socialist Work Champion, Socialist Work Hero of the People's Republic, Socialist Work Hero of the FPRY.<sup>40</sup>

The good results of the labour socialist competition were both the rapid revival of certain parts of the economy and the construction of the traffic infrastructure. However, this enthusiasm, present mainly among younger population, was short-lived. Hard work and sacrifice without increased personal income led to a decline in discipline, frequent sick leaves, low productivity, and conflicts, in which the shock workers, whose productivity imposed high production quotas on other employees, were often the victims. All that caused

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> T. Anić, *Radništvo i propaganda*, p. 93, 98, 104; Andrea Matošević, *Socijalizam s udarničkim licem: Etnografija radnog pregalaštva* (Zagreb-Pula: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku i Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, 2015), p. 11, 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> It is, nevertheless, necessary to say that the shock workers were entitled to certain benefits, such as additional supply in food, clothes, footwear and fuel. With a shock worker's card, they were able to achieve priority status if the needed check-ups and hospital treatment, or other healthcare services. Also, they were able buy train, steamboat, bus, theatre and cinema tickets without having to wait in a row. T. Anić, *Radništvo i propaganda*, p. 132; A. Matošević, *Socijalizam s udarničkim licem*, p. 55

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> T. Anić, Radništvo i propaganda, p. 143.

a drop in popularity of the new authorities, who tried to achieve the economic progress by "using workers as a stepping stone". 41

The effort to establish new work methods and values became even more apparent during the May Day competitions. According to newspaper articles in *Glas Slavonije*, in the studied period, the most intense were the preparations for the 1946 Labour Day celebration, which is not surprising, as that was the first peacetime celebration, during the peak of the one-year post-war rebuilding of the country. Also, it received more media coverage than the ones in the following years. This is evident from the number of published articles on the topic in April, as it was the first comprehensive May Day competition, with participants from all the branches of economy. The newspaper articles mainly gave simplified unilateral reports, in which the former regimes and the western capitalism were criticised, whereas the socialism was idealised. Furthermore, we find articles thematising plans, the better future, various promises, and news on major success in production and prominent workers.

The efforts to encourage diligence and participation in the competition, but also to warn of the consequences of non-participation, are best illustrated by the inscriptions in the form of slogans, located in the Osijek furniture factory "Povišil": "The workers and the employees! Do not be deceived by reactionary clique, agitating for abstinence. The abstinence is reaction!", "Save money and materials", "Be punctual and disciplined. That is the way you demonstrate your awareness". The first slogan was located at the very entrance to the factory, and, as stated in the article, it represented a message by which the diligent and conscientious workers warned their colleagues "not to be deceived by the propaganda of the enemies of the people, whose criminal activities would go as far as to talk workers out from participating in the competition". The aforesaid slogan clearly shows that non-participation in the competition was considered an act against the people and a subversion, which were, without a doubt, a proof of the animosity of an individual or a group towards the new socio-political order.<sup>43</sup>

The criteria considered during the evaluation of the best work collectives of the May Day competitions were overfulfilling quotas, that is, monthly production plans, voluntary work hours as well as cultural and educational activities.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Z. Radelić, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945.-1991.*, p. 219-222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Because of the war, the 1945 May Day competition lasted only for 15 days.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> "Izradba hotelskog namještaja u državnoj tvornici pokućstva *Povišil*", *GS*, 19 April 1946, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> "Nastavit ćemo takmičenjem do potpune obnove naše zemlje", GS, 3 May 1946, p. 1.

The purpose of last criterion was cultural and ideological education of the working class, and it represented one of the aspects of the ideological formation, conducted in various manners at all the levels of the society since 1945. Manifold cultural and educational activities, organised and conducted among the work collectives during the first years had the purpose of raising "class awareness of the workers". There were significant problems in organisation of these activities, as evidenced by the article titled "The Status of the Cultural and Educational Work of the Branches in the Competition", from 26 April 1946, which addressed the issues of various organisational flaws, ideological inadequacy of programmes and small attendance. The local union branches, who were, among other things, in charge of agitation and animation of the workers to participate in the cultural and educational programmes of their work collectives, were responsible for the situation. However, the main problem was, according to the article, "irresponsible leniency towards the petty-bourgeois taste" in planning the events:

"A corrupt artistic taste and tendency to make every educational into an amusement programme is the result of a certain policy which aimed to blunt the blade of the class struggle, to stupefy and dissolve worker's ranks. In that very segment, the main task of the cultural and educational work of the union branches is to ideologically revive the programmes of worker's events." <sup>45</sup>

Besides the competitions at the local level, the competitions involving the factories in the same industry from different parts of the country were also common. Thus, the mentioned furniture factory "Povišil" competed in 1946 with the furniture factories "Kruljac" from Nova Gradiška and "Karabiner" from Novi Sad, as well as the carpentry producers from Šentvid in Slovenia; "Osječka ljevaonica željeza" competed with the foundries "Gođevac" from Belgrade, "Satrid" from Smederevo, and "Metrolivarna" from Maribor; "Drvni kombinat Belišće" was declared the best company in wood processing industry in the FPRY in 1947.46

In Osijek, during the evaluation of the best collectives in the May Day competition, the companies and institutions were divided into three groups: the first group included the companies with over 200 workers and other employees, the second comprised of the companies with between 100 and 200 workers; whereas the third consisted of the companies between 15 and 100 workers. The winners of the 1946 May Day Competition and the interim flag

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> "Stanje kulturno-prosvjetnog rada podružnica u takmičenju", *GS*, 26 April 1946, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> "Tvornica pokućstva Kruljac u prvomajskom takmičenju", *GS*, 19 April 1946, p. 4.; "Drvni kombinat Belišće najbolje poduzeće drvne industrije u FNRJ", *GS*, 4 May 1947, p. 2.

were the leather factory "Kožara" in the first, the brush factory "Siva" in the second, and the trading company "Glavnaprod" in the third group. In the following year, the winners the matches factory "Drava", the pastry factory "Sloboda", a and P. T. T. (the post, telegraph and telephone company).<sup>47</sup>

More on what the May Day competitions in some of the best-known Osijek factories were like follows in the text below.

The newspaper report from 1946 on the "Povišil" furniture factory states that the attendance of workers and other employees was 100%, and that everyone put in maximum effort for the competition to succeed:

"When we enter the factory, we see that everyone is busy. While at the entrance a group of workers works on the exterior, a sound of machinery and saws can be heard from all the departments. That sound reveals the hard work behind the factory walls."

The article also mentions various cultural and educational activities in the factory – the amateur theatre group, the singer and musician society, sports section, reader's group, literacy courses, apprenticeship courses and the wall newspaper.<sup>48</sup>

On the same year, 90% of workers and other employees of the Osijek iron foundry ("OLT") participated in the competition. It is stated that the production programme was exceeded by 80%, expenses for the materials, energy and production were cut by 2.5%, and that the 80% of 1939 quota was reached. Furthermore, the workers of "OLT" achieved a visible progress in the field of culture and education:

"Lectures are held on regular basis, they founded their own library, publish wall newspaper, and the sport activities are on a high level. To date, 25 events were organised."49

In the following year (1947), the production focus of the Osijek iron foundry was agricultural machinery. Therefore, the goal of the May Day competition was to produce the necessary machinery as soon as possible, which would enable proper tillage and faster completion of the set spring sowing plan. It is interesting that on the same year "OLT" introduced competition

 $<sup>^{47}\,\,</sup>$  "Nastavit ćemo takmičenjem do potpune obnove naše zemlje", GS, 3 May 1946, p. 1; "Najbolji radni kolektivi grada Osijeka", GS, 1 May 1947, p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> "Izradba hotelskog namještaja u državnoj tvornici pokućstva *Povišil*", *GS*, 19 April 1946, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> "Prvomajsko takmičenje radnika ljevaonice", GS, 27 April 1946, p. 3.

between the departments within the factory, which, according to the author of the article, "increased the work enthusiasm" of all the workers.<sup>50</sup>

In "Prva tvornica sapuna Osijek" (a soap factory, "Saponia" since 1953) in the 1946 May Day Competition, according to *Glas Slavonije*, all the workers participated, and the biggest success was achieved in the production sector that exceeded the quota by 28.40%. The article mentions individuals who distinguished themselves in their work and by improving the performance of certain machines, and thus by their diligence and example they motivated "their comrades to work more actively". In the field of culture and education, the biggest achievement was a literacy course, attended by 22 workers. Ten wall newspaper issues were published, ten lectures were held, and a youth library was established. For the needs of the country reconstruction fund, the soap factory workers volunteered 2414 work hours.<sup>51</sup>

The 1946 May Day Competition in Osijek power plant was mainly directed towards the improvement of the power grid and reconstruction of power lines in Baranya, in order to ensure power supply to the remaining villages that had to be electrified. The article also states that all the requirements of the competition were 100% achieved, which "proves that this important industry of ours has aware workers and youth, walking alongside other working masses in the May Day competition". A high number of voluntary workhours, almost 3000, the workers worked on cleaning and tiding the factory premises and facilities, whereas the cultural and educational activities included the reader's group, various courses (apprenticeship, bookkeeping, senior fitter's course), events, expert lectures and the wall newspaper.<sup>52</sup>

Within the May Day competitions, a number of work actions were organised in order to clear or reconstruct the objects destroyed during the war, in which participated the youth in great numbers, organised in work brigades. *Glas Slavonija* brings an example from Nova Gradiška, where 500 youth members and citizens worked on covering the remaining and bomb craters, pulling down bunkers, cleaning garbage, as well as the bank of a nearby brook, etc.<sup>53</sup> The citizens of Osijek similarly participated in the 1946 Competition. Every city district had their own task to complete during the competition, aimed to help cleaning and reconstruction of the city. The tasks were completed before the competition ended in all parts of the city, except in some

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> "Živjeli junaci rada udarnici/novotari – ponos naših naroda", 1 May 1947, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> "U jeku prvomajskog takmičenja. Radnici i namještenici tvornice sapuna u prvomajskom takmičenju", 27 April 1946, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> "U jeku prvomajskog takmičenja. Radnici i namještenici elektrane u prvomajskom natjecanju", *GS*, 28 April 1946, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> "Prvomajsko takmičenje u radu na obnovi", GS, 24 April 1946, p. 3.

neighbourhoods of the Lower Town, which suffered an immense damage during the war. Therefore, on the last Sunday before Labour Day, an action was organised and the citizens from all parts of Osijek were called to volunteer in clearing the remaining Lower Town ruins, with a remark:

"This work will be a massive manifestation of common awareness of all the citizens of Osijek and their willingness to do more for the reconstruction of our country in this filed." 54

Furthermore, in Feričanici, the youth worked on the reconstruction of the road damaged in the war, renewal of the forest and construction of a park in the village centre. As written in the newspaper report, the youth of Feričanci promised to volunteer 800 days in 1946, but just during the May Day competition they achieved 550 days. An exceptionally interesting is the part of the article that says:

"When it is necessary to wash the laundry for our army, the youth approach the work cheerfully, showing with modesty their gratitude to those who contributed the most to the liberation." 55

Furthermore, during the May Day competitions, the youth participated in work actions of afforestation, renovation and improvement of public parks and gardens, cleaning the garbage, collecting food for the homes for children and elderly people. They also participated in great construction projects, for example, the construction of the "Brotherhood and Unity" Motorway, <sup>56</sup> which presented an opportunity for the youth to escape from the life in a village and parental control. <sup>57</sup> Besides working on the reconstruction of the country, the high-school youth participated in competition between the schools, which,

 $<sup>^{54}\,</sup>$  "U zadnju nedelju u prvomajskom takmičenju svi blokovi grada Osijeka radit će na čišćenju ruševina u Donjem gradu", GS, 25 April 1946, p. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> "Omladina i pioniri Feričanaca u prvomajskom takmičenju", GS, 26 April 1946, p. 4.

Besides completing the infrastructural projects of general significance, the youth work actions (YWA) ah dan ideological purpose, reflected in the use of younger generations in accepting the "brotherhood and unity" concept, as a comprehensive programme of reconciliation in Yugoslavia after the Second World War. In that context, connecting Zagreb and Belgrade by building a motorway and participation of youth in the construction, apart from its economic message, it also contained important ideological and political symbolism. Dušan Popović, "Omladinske radne akcije kao ideološki (udarnički) turizam", in: *Sunčana strana Jugoslavije: povijest turizma u socijalizmu*, ed. Hannes Grandits i Karin Talor (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2013), p. 289-290. See more about the phenomenon of youth work actions in: Reana Senjković, *Svaki dan pobjeda: kultura omladinskih radnih akcija* (Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2016.).

 $<sup>^{57}</sup>$  "Omladina Slavonije ispunjava svoje pretkongresne obaveze", GS,1 May 1946, p. 4; "Omladina Brodskog kotara sprema se za rad na pruzi Brčko-Banovići",  $GS,\,1$  May 1946, p. 7;

besides the voluntary work included the obligation to increase the grade average. which was achieved only by two schools in Osijek. The Teacher's School, that accepted the obligation of increasing the grade average to 3.40, and managed to increase it to 3.45, and the Partisan Gymnasium, which raised its average to 3.82, while its set goal was 3.70.<sup>58</sup>

Similarly, the students of elementary schools participated in the May Day competitions, via their pioneer organisations. They competed in learning, discipline, hygiene, tidiness and appearance of classrooms and schoolyards, regular school attendance, easier manual work, collecting iron, cloth and glass for recycling. For that purpose, the pioneers of the District of Vinkovci decided that every Thursday was going to be a "shock worker's day", when the pioneers would conduct various work and collecting actions. The teaching staff participated in the competitions by organising literacy courses, a number of parent meetings accompanied with events such as concerts, pays etc., theme meetings with presentations, various lectures and round tables.

A significant role in this new concept of work had the shock workers, the employees who earned that title by overfulfilling quotas for several months in a row and shock workers-innovators, who by discovering new methods, improved the working conditions, better use of the machinery or work efficiency. Shock workers were supposed to represent a new work formula, which "exceeds the ordinary awareness on the front, and gains the significance of a soldier on a battlefront". The new form of work was unknown to the majority of the workforce immediately after the war. That is why the authorities often warned about false understanding of the true meaning of the shock work, such as the work for 30 to 40 hours without a break and overtime work. All that, it was said, had only a temporary benefit, but such work the workers can-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Graditelji autoputa proslavili su praznik rada novim radnim pobjedama", 5 May 1949, p. 1; Z. Radelić, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945.-1991.*, p. 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> "Naša omladina u takmičenju na obnovi zemlje", *GS.* 1 May 1946., p. 7; "Iz rezultata prvomajskog takmičenja", *GS*, 8 May 1946, p. 4.

for Duda, during the early socialist period "the best bearers of the new traditions and a yearly rhythm, consequently the stronger social cohesion encouraged by joint celebrations, were the children...". The children, therefore, have a significant role in the May Day competitions, as well as the Labour Day celebrations, where they show achievements in school, participating in the mass celebration with the adults as equals. I. Duda, *Danas kada postajem pionir: Djetinjstvo i ideologija jugoslavenskog socijalizma* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2015), p. 196, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> "Pripreme za prvomajsku proslavu na Vinkovačkom kotaru", *GS*, 27 April 1946, p. 4; "Omladina vinkovačkog kotara započela novim radom", *GS*, 28 April 1946, p. 6.

 $<sup>^{61}</sup>$  "Zadatak osposobljavanja opće-obrazovnih tečajeva",  $GS,\,25$  April 1946, p. 5; "Završen analfabetski tečaj u Velikoj Kopanici",  $GS,\,28$  April 1946, p. 6.

not maintain for long, and soon they would take a break after several days or work less. The explanation for true shock work was provided in a *Glas Slavo-nije* article, as follows:

"It is important that the shock work is conducted within the regular workhours in certain time. The worker who within his regular 8 hours work achieves shock work success understood its meaning more accurately than the one who works 40 hours without a break. The shock worker is required to show efficiency at work, but should keep his free time and his working ability intact, so that he can help himself or the country in other situations in the times of need. The essence of the true shock worker is in full and rational increase of his production ability. That is achieved by implementation of adequate improvements, organisation of work, complete devotion to the machine or work, which leads to increase in competences and maximum use of the machinery."62

The shock work was encouraged from the very rise of the communist authorities to power. Thus, the media, on the occasion of the 1945 Labour Day Celebration, wrote about the shock work among the workers who, "liberated from the Ustasha-Fascist nightmare [...] give such a drive to our industry, which no one will be able to stop". In the newspaper articles we find examples of some factories in Osijek and its surroundings, which, despite the labour shortage, managed to increase production in a very short time since the end of the war, primarily due to shock work, extensive overtime hours and work on Sundays. 63 In the following years, the pages of Glas Slavonije bring a number of articles dedicated to specific people, shock workers and innovators, who received the most media coverage before and during the Labour Day celebrations. Their life stories and the examples of good, dedicated and diligent workers were supposed to be an encouragement for everyone, either in their work or private life. Thus, on 1 May 1946, an article was published on Osijek shock worker-innovators, for whom it was said that they did not like to talk about their work and achievements, that collective work was more important to them, and the following is added:

"Modest and selfless, they represent the people, whose primary guiding thought is: To give as much as possible for the welfare of the people and to work for the common good!"

The article presented nine shock worker-innovators from the Osijek iron foundry, two from the leather factory, two from the silk factory, and from the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> "Prvi napori naše industrije i obrta", GS, 1 May 1945, p. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> "Rezultati rada u našim tvornicama", GS, 1 May 1945, p. 5.

"Siva" brush factory. It brings their names, photographs and a short description of the work and merits that earned them the shock worker-innovator title. The report on the shock worker-innovator of the brush factory "Nikola Vetnić" (formerly "Siva") from 1947, was exceptionally interesting. Among other things, the author writes about two-time innovator Josip Judik. In 1947, due to a lack of materials, further production of toothbrushes came into question, but the aforementioned Judik invented a device for making small specialised blades necessary for making brushes, which until then were acquired exclusively from abroad. Judik himself explained how he came up with the idea for his invention:

"During my evening walks, I kept dwelling on how to do it. I read Engels one night. I came across a place in the book, which especially thrilled me, excited me and gave me faith in success. Engels, if I remember correctly, wrote: 'Work is everything, by work everything is achieved, by work everything was achieved and by work everything will be achieved. By working, the man from his original animal state climbed on the pedestal of man ...' This place from Engels' book gave me the strength for hard innovative work. I had success. And that is a fact and a proof of how right Engels was when he wrote those thoughts."

The number of shock workers and innovators increased each month, and in 1947 some companies already had a large number of three-time and four-time shock workers. During the three-month competition in 1947, 135 employees of the industrial conglomerate of "Borovo" in Vukovar were declared shock workers. The Osijek iron foundry, according to the article published on Labour Day of the same year, had four new, four two-time, seven three-time and 5 four-time shock workers and one new and three two-time innovators. Since 1947, the title of the best worker of the city of Osijek was introduced. The first one to earn the title was Mato Carević, and in 1948, on Labour Day, the title was solemnly awarded to a shock worker Stjepan Bero, an iron turner

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> "Udarnici novotari osječkih industrija u radu za narod i našu narodnu državu", *GS*, 1 May 1946, p. 5-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> "U tvornici četaka i kistova 'Nikola Vetnić' najbolji aktivisti u sindikalnom radu postaju višestruki udarnici", *GS*, 1 May 1947, p. 5. According to Andrea Matošević, "the image of shock workers, to whom reading and learning, that is, the intellectual activities previously reserved for the upper social strata, as well as managers or engineers, are not foreign", was among common motifs of the interwar Soviet labour and workers propaganda. Erasing the distinction between "intellectual and manual work", as the integral part of Lenin's theoretical thought, Matošević continues, was one of the specifics of the socialist workers' movements. A. Matošević, *Socijalizam s udarničkim licem*, p. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> "Živjeli junaci rada udarnici/novotari – ponos naših naroda", GS, 1 May 1947, p. 4; "Svečana proslava Prvog maja u Borovu", GS, 4 May 1947, p. 2.

from the Osijek foundry. In presentation of his life and work, the authors did not miss the opportunity to criticise harshly the former capitalist regimes, characterized by the exploitation of workers and acquiring wealth at their expense, backbreaking work, and even corporal punishment. However, as the article continues:

"after a sudden rain and a storm, the Sun shines again. Thus, for Bero and the others, after the occupation, shined the liberation. He saw the five-pointed stars on caps of the heroic partisans. He immediately joined voluntary work, and no job was too difficult for him."

During his three years as a foundry worker, Bero was declared shock worker six times and said that the fact his work was appreciated was "worth more to him than all the rewards in money". In the end, he gave his impressions regarding the trip to the Adriatic Coast, paid by the union:

"I will never forget the beauty of our sea. Before, I could only dream of such a trip, which only gentlemen of high status could afford. Today, a worker visits the coast, goes on trips, he works, he rules and he creates a better future for himself and his children." <sup>67</sup>

Some of the multiple-time shock workers, innovators and rationalisers received state decorations. The Presidium of the People's Assembly of the FPRY decorated 34 of 1500 prominent workers in 1949, three of which were from Osijek – Đuro Janković, a six-time rationaliser from the Osijek foundry, Mileva Novaković, a four-time shock worker from the Osijek leather factory and Nikola Anić, a ten-time shock worker from "Nikola Vetnić" brush factory. 68

The media also paid attention to female workers, for whom it is said that they "want to share their efforts and success, as in the times of war, equally as men".<sup>69</sup> Most of the women shock workers came from the textile industry. The report from the wool spinning mill "Crvena Zvijezda" in Osijek mentions Ruža Prekodravac, who od the occasion of receiving the title of shock worker gave the following statement:

 $<sup>^{67}\,\,</sup>$  "Naši udarnici ponos našeg naroda: Sa najboljim radnikom grada Osijeka", GS, 1 May 1948, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> "Odlikovani – najbolji borci za izgradnju socijalizma", *GS*, 1 May 1949, p. 2. It was the "Hero of the Socialist Work of the FPRY" decoration, awarded by the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the FPRY for: the exceptional organisational and personal work in the fields of industry, agriculture, traffic, trade, science, and technical discoveries, as well as the development of the state and social system, science and culture. T Anić, *Radništvo i propaganda*, p. 143

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> "Odlikovani – najbolji borci za izgradnju socijalizma", GS, 1 May 1949, p. 2.

"I was not a worker before, but immediately after the beginning of the war I grew fond of the workers' movement and I now actively participate in the struggle of our peoples. Right after the demobilisation, I too wanted to become a fighter on the reconstruction front and I am working today, so I am very happy that I achieved the title of shock worker."

A number of multiple-time shock workers we find in the Osijek linen spinning mill, who explained their enthusiasm with the knowledge that they do not work merely for their personal gain, but for the welfare of the whole "people's community". Viktorija Forster, a shock worker from the Osijek matches factory "Drava", gave a similar opinion. She, as brought by the article, does not think about the retirement even after 30 years of work, "aware that she can still contribute to the people's community by doing her work".<sup>71</sup>

## 5. Form and rituals of the May Day celebrations

Given the importance and role of the Labour Day celebration in the postway Yugoslavia, the scale and intensity of the preparations and the effort invested by the authorities in the better organisation of the celebration, from the local, republic and federal level, is not surprising. The preparations used to begin in mid-April, by distributing various instructions to all levels of the authority how to prepare the population for the celebration and how to encourage a more massive participation, how to decorate a town/village, which slogans to use, what will be the schedule of the celebration, and on which socio-political phenomena one should put emphasis in a speech held on that occasion. Besides the authorities, the population also received instructions for the Labour Day celebration via media, from various socio-political organisations (People's Front, Women's Antifascist Front, pioneer and youth organisations and the League of Trade Unions), and at work. In the first post-war years, the activities preceding Labour Day were mostly dedicated to the acknowledgement of the holiday among in population and interpretation of its meaning. For that purpose, various public lectures were organised throughout the country.72

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> "Hoću da budem borac na fronti obnove", GS, 1 May 1947, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> "Živjeli junaci rada udarnici/novotari – ponos naših naroda"; *GS*, 1 May 1947, p. 4; "Udarnice osječke lanare pridonose povećanju proizvodnje", *GS*, 1 May 1947, p. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Državni arhiv u Osijeku [State Archives in Osijek] (hereafter: DAOS), fonds no. 310, Kotarski komitet Saveza Komunista Hrvastke Našice [District Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia Našice] (hereafter: KK SKH Našice), box 1, Opći spisi (1946), 2/1946.; DAOS, fonds no. 312, Kotarski komitet Saveza Komunista Hrvatske Osijek [District Com-

The position of the authorities was that a relatively small number of people had been acquainted with the history of Labour Day, celebrated for over 50 years, and for that reason there "should not be a single meeting without May Day as a topic, as well as May Day competition and preparation for the celebration of that public and state holiday". For the purpose of better organisation, in almost all cities, and even in smaller places, special committees were established to manage the celebration, which consisted of representatives of the government, various socio-political organizations and unions.<sup>73</sup>

According to the instructions of the communist authorities, in the celebration of the Labor Day in 1945, emphasis should have been placed on the participation of the entire population in the rebuilding and building the country, and some of the theses for May Day speeches were: defeat of the German army, the alliance between USSR, Great Britain and USA, the establishment of the government with J. B. Tito on its head, founding of federal units, the equality of Croats and Serbs in Croatia and importance of the alliance between Yugoslavia and USSR. These theses were the basis for the speech given by Božidar Maslarić, a high party official, during the central Labour Day celebration in Osijek. He began his speech with these words:

"On May Day, on Labor Day, on the holiday of all our patriotic peoples, we celebrate this year's May Day as double victors. The first victory was that our Osijek can freely and soulfully say what lies in its heart, to celebrate its May Day holiday in freedom. May Day is significant today also because the glorious and heroic Red Army set its foot on the lair of Hitler's Germany, entered Berlin to strangle the bloody fascist beast."

Besides Maslarić, the speeches were given by the Red Army representative Cebrov and the member of the Regional Committee of the United People's Liberation Front, Ivo Amulić. During the celebration, the following slogans were used: "Long live May Day, the day of the fighter's gathering of the democratic forces of our peoples!", "Long live the victory of the Anti-Hitler Coalition over the greatest enemy of the mankind – the Hitler's Germany!", "Long live our great allies The Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of

mittee of the League of Communists of Croatia Osijek] (hereafter: KK KPH Osijek), box 1, Opći spisi (1945) Izvještaj KK KPH Osijek upućen KK KPH Vinkovci od 25. travnja 1945.; "Pripreme za proslavu Prvoga maja u Narodnoj fronti", *GS*, 26 April 1946, p. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> "Proslavimo što svečanije Prvi maj opće-narodni praznik rada", GS, 25 April 1946, p. 3.

 $<sup>^{74}~</sup>$  DAOS, fonds no. 312, KK SKH Osijek, box 1, Opći spisi (1945.) Izvještaj KK KPH Osijek upućen KK KPH Vinkovci od 25. travnja 1945.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> "Prvomajska svenarodna smotra u Slavoniji", *GS*, 4 May 1945, p. 1-3.

America!".<sup>76</sup> Programmes for the occasion of Labour Day were held throughout Slavonia, Baranya and Syrmia, as evidenced by archival documents, and numerous newspaper articles published in *Glas Slavonije*, which reported the following:

"Slavonia celebrated May Day. Columns of people were on the move in the villages on that day, in their holiday suits, under flags and banners. United, Croats and Serbs, workers, peasants and the people's intelligentsia, celebrated this national holiday for the first time in freedom, cheering for Marshal Tito, to their first people's government, the Yugoslav Army, the Red Army, the Soviet Union and Marshal Stalin"

In 1947, when Labour Day became the official state holiday in the FPRY, it was emphasised that its "celebration has to be exceptionally solemn", and that the key role in the ceremony should be given to the People's Front, WAF, the youth organisations and, especially, the unions. Also, it was pointed out that the speeches should be given by "the most popular working men".78 The celebration in Osijek began, as it will become traditional in the coming years, early in the morning hours with military music playing on the city streets, and at 9 o'clock the beginning of the big May Day rally was scheduled. After the introductory speeches, the competition results were announced, flags were awarded to the best work collectives and youth work brigades. The afternoon programme was marked by sports activities and competitions, plays and performances by cultural, artistic and singing societies, while during the evening there were parties and play put on for this occasion.<sup>79</sup> Some 10,000 people attended the central celebration, according to Glas Slavonije, and the main speaker was Nikola Jakšić-Gedžo, the Secretary of the District Committee of the People's Front in Osijek and the member of the assembly, who gave an overview on current socio-political and economic circumstances in the country. After introductory remarks on the Labour Day celebrations during the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and during the war, he highlighted the economic and political successes of the new authorities over the past year and continued on the importance of work in the new Yugoslavia, as well as the role of the media in promoting work values: "Our press highlights wonderful examples

 $<sup>^{76}</sup>$  "Proglas upućen narodima Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije povodom 1. maja",  $GS,\,1$  May 1945, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> "Pojačanim radom dočekujemo Prvi maj", *GS*, 4. svibnja 1945., p. 5-7; DAOS, fonds no. 310, KK SKH Našice,box 1, Opći spisi (1945.), 5/1945.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> DAOS, fonds no. 309, Kotarski Komitet Saveza Komunista Hrvatske Đakovo [District Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia Đakovo] (hereafter: KK SHK Đakovo), box 1, Opći spisi (1946.), 245/1946.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> "Današnja proslava Prvog maja u Osijeku", GS, 1 May 1946, p. 15.

of the shock work, it is filled with photographs of workers with serious faces, leaning over their machines. Instead of fancy ladies wearing expensive dresses and well-groomed dogs, we see images of enthusiastic work." In the final part of his speech, he stressed the need to deal with the "remnants of fascist forces", threatening peace and security, cooperation of all Slavic peoples, and to undo the injustice regarding the Yugoslav border disputes over Trieste, Venezia Giulia and parts of Istria. 80

The reports from other Slavonian towns and villages talk about "solemn and magnificent" celebrations that managed to gather a great number of people (Slavonski Brod 10,000, Vukovar 7000, Đakovo 4000, Našice 3000, Nova Gradiška 3000), and the schedule of the celebration was mostly similar to the one in Osijek.<sup>81</sup>

The 1947 May Day Celebration also did not lack the reasons to highlight its importance. In the official party documents, there is a predominant opinion that Labour Day has an "immense significance", as its celebration is for the first time marked by "mobilisation of the masses of people in order to achieve the five-year plan", and that a detailed celebration schedule had to be made. The idea was to organise a torchlight procession, ignition of bonfires, with the people singing and dancing, and speeches on the importance of Labour Day on the eve on 1 May in towns and cities. On Labour Day, they planned a procession with a mass gathering, on which the slogans, banners and pictures should illustrate "the results of the country being rebuilt and politically strengthened". Furthermore, the plan was to hold a ceremonial academy, consisting of lectures, together with cultural and musical programme including songs and recitals "on work, reconstruction and building". In the afternoon, as in the previous years, various sports competitions and the further musical and cultural events were planned. A similar schedule, only to a lesser extent, was intended for rural places.<sup>82</sup> Along with that, a list suggesting over one hundred different slogans that were to be used during the celebration, taking into account local conditions, was distributed to all the levels of authority. Some of the slogans were: "Long live comrade Stalin, a genius teacher and the leader of the progressive mankind!", "Long live the initiator and organiser of the five-year electrification and industrialisation plan - comrade Tito", "Long live the alliance of workers and peasants in the struggle for better life, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> "Govor narodnog poslanika Nikole Jakšića-Gedže", GS, 3 May 1946, p. 2-3.

Weličanstvene proslave Prvog maja u Slavonskom Brodu, Vukovaru, Đakovu, Valpovu, Orahovici i Kneževu", *GS*, 3 May 1946, p. 4-5; "Narod Slavonije slavi Praznik rada", *GS*, 4 May 1946, p. 3; "Veličanstvene proslave Prvog maja u Slavoniji", *GS*, 5 May 1946, p. 3; "U Donjem Miholjcu slavilo je Prvi maj 17 sela", *GS*, 7 May 1946, p. 4.

<sup>82</sup> DAOS, fonds no. 309, KK SKH Đakovo, kut. 1, Opći spisi (1947.), 200/1947.

the happy homeland!", "Let us keep pour Army protected – it is the child of our people's", "Long live our heroic youth, the vanguard of the work front!", "Fight for the plan – fight for a better life!", "Let us fight against idlers and sluggards!", "Increase of productivity – faster achievement of the five-year plan!", "Competition – that is our work system!", "Shock workers are pride of this country's working class!", "Cultural upliftment of the working people – a condition for productivity increase!"<sup>83</sup>

Around 30,000 people attended the celebration in Osijek, which was a significant increase in comparison to previous years. A large number of trucks on which individual companies and factories presented their products and symbolic depictions of work in the form of installations and large models participated in the procession. Peasant cooperatives from the Osijek district also took part in the procession, displaying with their tools and machines. One of the farms from the "Belje" State Property came with a large combine, behind which the workers carried various orchard and vineyard tools. They were followed by the pioneer detachments "with a sharp step and clear foreheads", carrying banners with slogans "Long live comrade Tito, the leader and the teacher of the youth", "We, the pioneers, will also fight to achieve the five-year plan", followed by youth work brigades. At the rear of the procession came the members of sports clubs. During the afternoon, a large exhibition of traditional costumes and handicrafts, organised by the city committee of the WAF, was put on, while a large festival of cultural and artistic societies was held in the Park of Culture. The conclusion in almost all newspaper reports was that Labour Day was celebrated "more solemnly than ever", and that the "magnificent parade of town and village workers", which lasted for two full hours, represented the "indestructible alliance between workers and peasants".84

After the 1948 celebration brought no major changes and novelties in comparison to the previous ones, the 1949 Labour Day celebration, as stated earlier in the text, took place in completely different circumstances, which occurred as the consequence of the Yugoslav conflict with the USSR. Thus, the instructions of the CC CPC regarding the organisation of the Labour Day celebration, sent to all regional, district and city committees, stated:

"During this year's May Day celebration, there will be a stronger emphasis on the Party during processions, rallies and popular celebrations, and the slogans will highlight the struggle against the slander against our country and the struggle for peace. Throughout the celebration there should be

DAOS, fonds no. 309, KK KSH Đakovo, kut. 1, Opći spisi (1947.), spis "Teze za 1. maj".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> "Prvi maj, dan mobilizacije za izvršenje i premašenje petgodišnjeg plana, svečano je predstavljen cijeloj Slavoniji", *GS*, 3. svibnja 1947., p. 1-2; "S veličanstvene prvomajske smotre u Osijeku", 4 May 1947., p. 3.

emphases on our fundamental achievements and the results in achieving the plan of our industry and the socialist reconstruction of rural areas..."

It was also pointed out that all the larger regional centres had to organise processions in which the "the most honourable pace should be occupied by workers, shock workers, decorated men with Yugoslav and union flags, with the Yugoslav and republic coats of arms and a large picture of comrade Tito". Regarding the pictures, it was stated that care should be taken not to make significant differences in their size, and that the pictures of Tito and those of the "classics of Marxism-Leninism" may be slightly larger than the others, which include the members of the republic and federal Politburo. It was pointed out that flags, slogans, light bulbs, various electric lights, pictures, coats of arms, greenery and flowers should be used to decorate buildings, and that care should be taken to decorate the central points, that is, the busiest city streets. The breakup with the USSR reflected the May Day slogans: "Defamation campaign against Yugoslavia weakens the unity of the socialist world in its struggle for peace and democracy", "We are proud to have a Party unafraid of any difficulties", "People, Party, Front and Tito – they are one", "Cowards, waverers, defeatists have no place in our ranks", "Socialist building of Yugoslavia - undeniable confirmation of the rightness of the path of our Party and our peoples".85

The Labour Day celebration in Osijek, which was to demonstrate the loyalty to the CPY and J. B. Tito, again gathered about 30,000 people, and the central topic of speeches was the new political situation. Thus, Mirko Bošković, the Secretary of the City Committee of the CPC for the City of Osijek, addressed in his speech the difficulties, that were unforeseen, but successfully overcome, despite the defamation campaign by the USSR and other countries of people's democracy. He continued:

"A rather strange situation occurred, the countries of people's democracies and the Soviet Union say that we are not building socialism. However, it is known that not only are we building socialism, but we are also doing it successfully, in big steps, and so far, we have he have achieved huge results, which no slander can conceal."

After Bošković, the audience was addressed by Božidar Maslarić, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and a federal minister, who commented on the Yugoslav-Soviet relations in the following words:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> DAOS, fonds no. 312, KK SKH Osijek, box 2, Opći spisi (1949.), 4250/1949.

"Can it be said that comrade Tito and the Central Committee, leading the CPY, are traitors to socialism, that they are the enemies of the Soviet Union, when these very people taught us to love the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party and comrade Stalin. How much suffering the party leaders endured in the old regimes, from the rifle butts of the gendarmerie and the police just to defend the Soviet Union. I, comrades, have spent my whole life fighting for the protection of the Soviet Union, and today I have become a 'traitor'. The arguments they use are just claims, and claims that not proven to be facts, are only slander and lies."

In the end he expressed his support to the CPY with a promise that "we will get down to completion of our five-year plan and building of socialism as one", what, according to *Glas Slavonije*, caused loud roar of approval and cheers in support of Tito and the Central Committee. The procession that followed represented the industrialisation, electrification and socialist transformation of the village, namely in the form of graphs, which showed the results of production of work collectives, with a display numerous agricultural and industrial machines and vehicles. 86

During the 1950 celebration, the emphasis was again mostly on Yugoslav-Soviet relations, but also on better acceptance of peasant cooperatives and encouraging the completion of spring sowing as soon as possible. The May Day slogans were chosen according to these topics: "Long live the peasant cooperatives - fighters for the socialist transformation of the village", "Fulfilling obligations towards the state – the first duty of the working peasantry", "Developing socialist competition in the countryside – fighting for high yields of agricultural crops", "Let us finish the spring sowing by 1 May."87 On the eve of the celebration in Osijek, special attention was given to the decoration of the city. Thus, the largest number of triumphal arches, designed as the models of bridges, cranes, power lines and chimneys, were placed on the city streets. The largest triumphal arches were, as usual, placed on Bulevar Jugoslavenske Narodne Armije (Boulevard of the Yugoslav People's Army; today Europska Avenija), which was, until that year, called Bulevar generalissimusa Staljina (Boulevard of Generalissimus Stalin). There, near the Post Office, a stage was set up where the central ceremony was held and in front of which marched a traditional procession of workers, peasants, pioneers, youth and sports clubs. At the head of the procession were the republic and federal flags, pictures of the Politburo members and J. B. Tito, followed by the detachments of the Osijek garrison, greeted with an applause and cheers:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> "Svečana proslava Prvog maja u Osijeku", GS, 4 May 1949, p. 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> DAOS, fonds no. 309, KK SKH Đakovo, box 5, Informacije (1950.), Spis "Parole za Prvi maj".

"At that very moment, every citizen felt, every fighter felt, more than ever before, how they are inextricably bound to each other, how they represent one whole, one people, who know what they want, who know how to govern themselves without any tutor. The working men and the armed part of our people have always been together, and, therefore, together they celebrate Labour Day."88

## Conclusion

The Labour Day celebrations, as well as the celebrations of other state holidays during the period of the Socialist Yugoslavia had great significance and role in the efforts of the new authorities to gain public support, as well as gaining support for the important political and economic plans and project, such as the reconstruction of the country, the five-year plan and founding of the cooperatives. Also, they became a part of the new political rituals, which had a important educational, integrative and mobilisation role in the process of the modelling of a new socialist man. The celebrations accompanied all current domestic and international events, processes and represented the fundamental topic of the traditional May Day manifestos of the CC CPY and the majority of speeches during the celebrations, which in a biased glorifying manner referred to Yugoslavia and the communist system, whereas the West, and after 1948, the USSR, were depicted in a negative light. The May Day competitions of various work collectives, which peaked in April, played a very important role in achieving the set economic goals, and the results were publicly presented on Labour Day. Increased work productivity, especially when it came to the rebuilding of the country in ruins and executing the five-year plan, was also encouraged by rewarding those who stood by working hard, overfulfilling the quotas, devising new working methods, inventing new machines or improving the existing ones. These individuals, shock workers and innovators, became a sort of national and local heroes and they had a significant role during the May Day celebrations, when they enjoyed great media attention, as proved by numerous articles on the pages of Glas Slavonije. The ritualisation and formalisation of the Labour Day celebration was reflected in its extent and the commitment of the authorities to its organisation, which began in mid-April. During that time, the exact schedule of the celebration, the topics of speeches, slogans and decorations were prescribed. The end goal was to make Labour Day an all-national holiday, which strengthened the unity of all Yugoslav peoples, as well as the opportunity to send those socio-political messages that the authorities, at some point, considered vital.

 $<sup>^{88}</sup>$  "Prvomajska proslava – smotra jedinstva i čvrstine trudbenika grada Osijeka",  $GS,\,4.$  svibnja 1950., p. 1.

## 7. Appendices



1945 May Day front page



CLIENA 3 - DIN

OSIJEK, SRIJEDA, 1. SVIBNJA 1946.

GOD, IV. BROJ 322

m gligod se radi! Rarvijajte svestrana nadam utakmica, stvarajte što više, sto stimlija pretivoda. potrebalu za život naroda, jer čete time ubrasti sotvarneja i vašeg blagostanja. SELJACI!
U pitanjo obove naše zemlje vaše zajedničke učešće s radnicima ima rješavajuću alogu. Mnogi naši, krajevi strahovite su postradali od okupatora, od rata. Većina bas tih krajeva bla je neosla je io mera la jivo višena sa tih krajeva bla je neosla je io mera la jivo i radi pedaj zeme je mera la ješ mera je io mera la ješ mera je io mera la ješ mera je io mera la ješ mera je neosla je io mera la ješ neosla je mera je io mera la ješ mera je neosla je io mera la ješ neosla je mera je io mera daje sa višena pomeće ina krajevima. Zasljic sve ili pedaj zemlje, pokradite što višena iz pemor ina krajevima. Jašije sve ina je io mera je io mera ješ ne io mera je io mera je

strijskim prezvouma.

OMLADINCE! OMLADINKE!

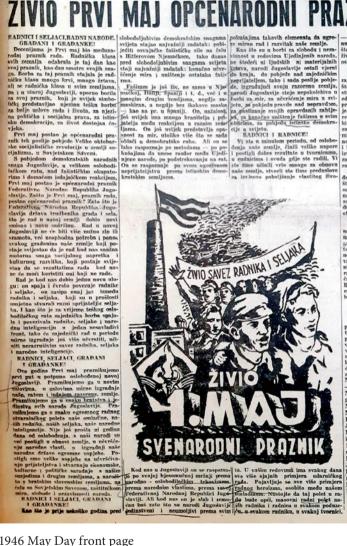
Vas dosadašnji radni polet i heroizam našoj zemlji nego i daleko van njemli prama. Produžite s dosadašnjim poletnim prama p

NOVE JUGOSLAVENSKE
ARMHE!
Naši naredi traže od vas ne samo da
prema svojim mogeinostima učestvujete u izgradnji naše zemlje nego i da, r
prvom redu, ovidaste do najviše, mjere
vojnim znanjem, vojnom tehnikom
vojnom vještimom, jer cete samo na ta
način biti snažni i dostojni čruvni te
kovina volike oslobedilače borbe, same
kovina volike oslobedilače borbe, same
kovina volike oslobedilače borbe, same
kovina volike općenavodni praznik rade
— Prvi maj!
Neka živi radni narod Jugoslavije,

— Prvi maj! Neka živi radni narod Jugoslavije, graditelj nove i sretnije budućnosti Neka živi i razvija se Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija! Da živi bratstvo i jedinstvo narodi Jugoslavije!

Jugoslavije: Da živi nerazrušivi savez radnika i seljaka! Da živi herojska omladina Jugo slavije! Da živi nova, slavna Armija

Da živi nova, slavna asum Jugoslavije! Da živi mocini, bratski Sovjetski Saver na čelu s velikim Staljimom! Da živi pratstvo slavenskih naroda Da živi pobjeda mira u svijetu! ENTRALNI KOMITET KOMUNISTICKE PARTLI JUGOSLAVIJE



Smrt fatismu - Sloboda narodul

GLASILO NARODNE FRONTE ZA SLAVONIJU

Osijek, četvrtak 1. svibnja 1947.

Cijena pojedinom broju Din 3,-

Broj 630

## PRVOMAJSKI PROGLAS

## CENTRALNOG KOMITETA KOMUNISTICKE PARTIJE JUGOSLAVIJE

Narodi Jugoslevije!

Opet su dolit veliki danj vade histori.

Opet su dolit veliki danj vade danja danja

privreda uredno opakrbijuje grad i udastriju. Sa esljadekel zastriju. Sa esljad obliju produkte od industrije. Tako će se utvrstiti tedinavto nake privrede i onemogiciti svi pokusaji slabljenja ili usporavanja ravitan ove ili one privreda oblavi.

Građani Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije. Na ovogodišnji pramik Prvog maja vi otvarate novu, veličanstvenu stranicu historije naroda Jugoslavije, najlejeni i najslavniju poslije herojske Narodno-oslobodišneke borbe — vi otpodinjete bitku za ostvarenje Prvog pregodišnje plana izgradnje nove Jugoslavije.

tija Jugoslavije organizator i rukovo-dilac naroda u borbi protiv okupatora u ratu i organizator i rukovo-dilac bor-be za izgradnju boljeg i sretnijeg ži-vota u miru!

Živjela Narodna fronta Jugoslavije, moćno oružje naroda Jugoslavije u njihovoj borbi za narodnu vlast i izgradnju sretnog života!

> CENTRALNI KOMITET KOMUNISTIČKE PARTIJE JUGOSLAVIJE



Politarine pfelleus u potere

Cijena pojedinom broju Din 1'50 Misselna pretplata Din 37'--Cijena pojedinom broju Um 100 Mjesica pretjeta Din 37-0 List Italat svaki dan estm panedjeljka Uredništva i uprava Onijek I. Bulevar generalizimasa Steljina broj 40. - Telefon uvedništva i uprava 21008, okspedita 22-7. Takuti ratum; Naradam hanka F.N.R.J. Preduzina Onijak broš 55-00002.

Broi 940-941

## DAN BORBENE MOBILIZACIJE TRUDBENIKA SVIJETA ZA MIR I DEMOKRACIJU

DAN BORBENE MOBILIZACIJE TRUDBENIKA SVIJETA ZA MIR I DEMOKRACIJU

propositeli prazibi praka profesional chiefe profesional profesional chiefe prof

GLASILO NARODNE FRONTE

all imamo snage, da i sami podignemo svoju domovinu i učinimo je sretnam!





## Prvomajski proglas Centralnoga komiteta Komunističke partije Jugoslavije



OMOVINE, DAN BORBENE SMOTBE SNAGA MIRA, NA-

2IVJELA HEROJSKA KOMUNISTICKA PARTIJA JU-OSLAVIJE, BORAC ZA POBJEDU NASE PRAVEDNE STVARI U MEĐUNARODNOM RADNICKOM POKRETU. PREDVODNIK NASHI RADNIH MASA U SOCIJALISTICKOJ IZGRADNJI NASE ZEMLJE :

> CENTRALNI KOMITET KOMUNISTICKE PARTIJE JUGOSLAVIJE

# REVIEW OF CROATIAN HISTORY 17/2021, NO. 1, 377-423 GRIJEDA. 1. SVIBNJA 1945. GEXS SEXVONIJE STRANK & ivjeli svjesni radnici - naši udarnici! Udarnici-novotari osiečkih industrija maji Napori radnih masa Slavotjele nake zemlje pred dasmo vremenu. Poglednil smo dnevtjele nake zemlje pred dasmo vremenu. Poglednil smo dnevtjele nake zemlje pred dasmo vremenu. Poglednil smo dnevtjele nake zemlje pred dasmo slavotjele nake zemlje pred dasmo vremenu. Poglednil smo dnevnakom povišena poslednih nastava posl u radu za narod i našu narodnu državu masa unše zemlje ispumljo u potti svoje zadatke. to radnicima-udarnicima grada, koji su u svome radu izvršili šenje norme počam od 20% pa e sve do 100, 150 i više posto, to svališenjem movih — novotari, smalašenjem movih — novotari, skorištavanje strojeva i materisto zinšel, da su uz mlnimalne uspjeli dati maksimum proizvou korist naroda, za obaovu i iz ju niše radava opustošene zemlje, udarnika-novotara? Kada stupanjima u razgovor odmah ćemo činjenicu, da ne vole govoriti o n igovortil. Skromni i nesebični, retaravljaju ljude, kojima je prva o i zvorjili skromni i nesebični, retaravljaju ljude, kojima je prva s i zvojim radom koristiti općem \*\*IDARNICI — NOVOTARII\*\* Buro Janković, strojobravar dnik taposlen na stroju morno je kod svakog odiskivanja povedi gornij dio stroja, koji se pomiće u obiku pričeržene poluge, a koji je tedak 25 kg. Ovo povlećenje izvešio je radnik u toku radnog vrenena oko 180 puta na dali odavlja ovaj rad, strojobravar Ljevaonice Buro Janković kometrizao je na-pravu, koja se osniva na komprimiranom zraku i koja pritiskom na polugu automatski vrši pokretanje gornige dijela stroja. Na taj način postignuta je veliku ušteda na ljudicoj msni, Radnik goda sa lakočem obavlja svoj rad, a sa kodenom obavlja svoj rad, a dapriča o svome izmuu. Or naclaslige, da je to stituća i da je to bila njegova dužnost prema radniku i narodu. U ovene istome dojeljenju zaposleni u strojoljereć Antun Žusko i rukodine ljevaoneć, ne čelim zaposlenu ta strojoljereć Antun Žusko i rukodine ljevaoneć ios Stejan, Antun Panho prema podnike ljevaonećenia ka strojoljereć Antun Žusko i rukodine ljevaonećine čelim zaposleni u strojoljereć Antun Žusko i rukodine ljevaonećine čelim zaposleni u strojoljereć Antun Žusko i rukodine ljevaonećine čelim zaposleni u strojoljereć Antun Žusko i rukodine ljevaonećine čelim zaposleni u strojoljereć Antun Žusko i rukodine ljevaonećine čelim zaposleni u strojoljereć Antun Žusko i rukodine ljevaonećine čelim zaposleni u strojoljereć Antun Žusko i rukodine ljevaonećine čelim zaposleni u strojoljereć Antun Žusko i rukodine ljevaonećeni se da su premena se postavanje se postavan Đuro Janković, strojobravar LIEVAONICE LIEVAO IDARNICI — NOVOTARI LJEVAONICE Oto Stojan, rukovoditac Ljevaone

Prelazinio u laboratorij tvornice. Ov-dje radi i stvara tehničar Antun Jelić. Jedanacst godina rada u tvornici i 31 godinu života, a rezultati rada veoma značajni. Zanimamo se za rad tehničara



Antum Jelić, tehničar

Jelića. Ušteda u nizvome željezu za 50
do 60% za potrebe ovako velike tvornice
vise je nego značajna. Primjenom
specifično vocoma laganog za obrovenom specifica vocoma laganog velovenom specifično vocoma laganog velovenom s



Hija Balentović, bravar rezultati njegovog rada stavljaju ga u redn njabolji udarnika. Balentović je izvršio preudenbu putkoga štednjaka, te jena taj nadni postigao uktedu materijala od jednog kilograma po štednjaka. Od 10. sata. Preudešeni štednjaka. Od 10. sata. Preudešeni štednjaka. Od 10. sata. Preudešeni štednjak je inga. Za izradi ručeta za poči kolgatik prije vršeno rukom. Balentović je to rezunje prenio na stroj i na taj nažin, da je pričvrstio na stroj i na taj nažin, da je pričvrstio na stroj i pomičnu glavu koja vrši okrećaje na obje strme te je atalno u rokoretu tako da u radu nema na ljudskoj snaži okrećaje na obje strme te je atalno u rokoretu tako da u radu nema na ljudskoj snazi povišena je prokrodnja ručica od 400 do 500 komada na 2.500 komada. Balentović nije zastao ni kod ovih rezultata. On je skratio pera za vrata od peći, ali ih je donskle proširio tako da je postimo sili učinak, a silu kod ovog movog postupka ismesi 50%, a kvalitet ovih pera daleko je bolji. Kod bušenja ručica se peć vršeno je bušenje gvintova u dubluu od 25 mm. a sada preimakom modela no Balentović u bušenje se vrši svega 5 mm. model 20 m. a sada preimakom modela no Wemenu ika od postupa se u višenje se vrši svega 5 mm. model 2000. Os. u ušteda no Wemenu ika od postupa se u ušteda na materijalu, a pogotovo na alatu, koj je uslijed dubokog bušenja često pučao.



Među njekromnije udarnike — novo-are osječke ljevaonice spada svakako tolar Franjo Puhin. Našli smo ga spravo za vrijeme odmora pred vrati-

Shock workers and innovators from Osijek (Glas Slavonije, 1 May 1946, p. 5)

### 4. V. 1947. GLAS SLAVONDE -

## prisustvovalo je proslavi u Požegl

POZEGA. — Nekoliko dana prije 1. ma-ja radnici i gradani Požege podizali su na ulazina u grad i na Trgu maršalu Tila ve-like slaveluke, otkitili ih zelenilom, paro-lama i zastavicama. Uoči 1. maja pailii su se na okolnim brdima veliki krijesovi, koji se na okolním brdíma veliki krijesovi, koji u svijetili do kasne noči. U vatrogasnom domu održena je akademija, na kojoj je govorio upravitelj gimnazije Josip Car. Drug šćulac održao je referat o historija-tu 1. maja. Nakon nastupa sindikalnog pjevačkog društva >Jedinstvo« i tamburaške sekcije KSV-a izveli su članovi kazališne sekcije KSV-a nekoliko prizora iz drame »Neprijatelji« od Gorkoga.

»Neprijateljie od Gorkoga.
Ulicama, kojo su bilo okićene zastavama, zelenilom 1 slavolucima, prošia je 1.
maja u zoru glazba vatroganog druttvana u 8 sati krenula je od Piskuiturnog doma do Titova trga maniferatednom povorka, u kojoj su osim gradana masovno nastupile sindikalne podružice sa zastavama, transperentima i slikama. Metalei državna jivasenice zosili su antobio svogakvizitama. Radniel SFOM-a nastupili su
kanionima.

Na zmousitkom maniferatelicama kanionima.

ru govorio je na trgu predsjednik KSV-a Ivan Kujundžić, narodni zastupnik lilja Rikanović Putnik, ...oji je istakao, da rad-Rikanovič Putnik, ...oji je istakao, da rad-nička klasa ovogodišnji J. maj slavi u pu-noj slebodi i u pripremama za izvrženja i premađenje petgodišnjeg jana. O histoji J. maja govorio je tajnik KSV-a Tomo šču-lac, a nakon njega govorili su predstavile NF-c, Narodne vlasti, omladine i AFZ-a.

Svi su georei hill prekidani odusekvijelm poklicima, skandiranjem i pjeskom. Na tigu je nastupilo i sindikalno pjevačko društvo 3-delintvo- koje je pred više od 3000 gradana i radnika otpjevalo hinnu, nekon čega je javno pokvaljen radni ko-lektiv Državne ijevacnica kao najbolji u Poksgi.

Poslije podne priredene su brojne fiskulturne igre i natjecanja, a navečer je kaza-lišna sekcija KSV-a prikazala u cijelosti dramu »Nepr<sup>s</sup>jatelji« od Gorkoga.

Zahvaljujući dobroj organizaciji, proslav-ljen je I. maj vrlo svećano u Polegi, a isto tako u svim većim bližim mjestima. — ij.

## Na svečanoj proslavi Prvoga maja u Orahovici sudjelovali su mnogobrojni seljaci iz okolnih sela

OKOIAM SOLO

ORAHOVICA. — Ovde je vvećano proveljen sestanacedni spansih reda Prvi
sil. Već rano vjitno state su posovća senata u većanim nodnima pod barjacima
transparenima. Dolazio je narod iz junata Donje Pistane, iz sela Dolci. Zdenci,
staršalog Dunkia, Obradovca i Kutova.
divrašalog Dunkia, Obradovca i Kutova.
divrašalog Dunkia, Obradovca i Kutova
nijed voj depprison za odlobećnie maše
smile. Danas su ga prodavili manifestiradi svoju odloženost da udole sve sveje
nage za izvrtenije petgošinice plana.
Druz Mirke Boktović Patika, prvoborac

### Preko 3.000 radnika i gradana S veličanstvene prvomajske smotre u Osijeku U Županji su 1. maj proslavili i radnici, koji grade šećeranu



Narod šamca i okolice dao je 1. maja omladini obaveze za pomoć u izgradnii Omladinske pruge

Vrlo svedano prodavljen je 1. maj u Sla-onakom Samcu — na početku Omladin-ke pruje. Uoči dana kremite su Smladin-ke pruje. Uoči dana kremite su Smladin-ke prodavljenika su Smladinika su Smladinika kazana i transparanima, uz pjesmu, gla-bu i nepekidne poklitic na igralitic, glije o odrana večenosti. Te večeri palieni su rijesovi, a narod je s omladinom prodav prijesovi, a narod je s omladinom prodav governena u sandalni glemostanosta.

dugo vremena u narodnim igrami.
Na dan 1, maja održala se svećanost na trgu. koju je otvorio tainik Mjesnog odbo-ra NF-e, dok je Stipo Kotanović govorio u ime kotarskog odbora NF-e. O značenji i izgradnij pruje. o peteodišniem planu i bratstvu slavenskih naroda govorio je ind. Golotov.

Poslije podne održane su utakanice u no-sometu, odbojci, trčanju, gadanju i drusim islaulturaim disciplinama. — Graditeliska omladina poslala je pozdravne brzolave Centralnom vijeću narodne omladine Jugo-slavije. — kk.

### Invalidi u Nuštru svečano su proslavili Prvi maj



A report on May Day celebrations in Slavonia (Glas Slavonije, 4 May 1947, p. 2)

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## 8.2. Archival Sources

State Archives in Osijek

- 1. DAOS, fonds no. 310, Kotarski komitet Saveza komunista Hrvatske Našice, box 1.
- 2. DAOS, fonds no. 312, Kotarski komitet Saveza komunista Hrvatske Osijek, box 1, 2.
- 3. DAOS, fonds no. 309, Kotarski komitet Saveza komunista Hrvatske Našice, box 1, 5.

## 8.3. Press

1. Glas Slavonije: Glasilo Narodne fronte za Slavoniju:

1945: 1 and 4 May;

1946: 9, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30 April, 1, 3,4, 7 and 8 May;

1947: 1, 3 and 5 May;

1948: 1 May;

1949: 1, 4 and 5 May;

1950: 27 April, 1 and 4 May

## 8.4. Internet Sources:

1. http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Praznik\_rada