



MONTENEGRIN JOURNAL FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES

Volume 9. 2025. Issue 1-2.

CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији
Национална библиотека Црне Горе, Цетиње
COBISS.CG-ID 32743952

ISSN 2536-5592

Publisher: Center for Geopolitical Studies



Center for Geopolitical Studies

Časopis *Montenegrin Journal for Social Sciences* upisan je u evidenciju
medija, Ministarstva kulture Crne Gore pod rednim brojem 782.



MONTENEGRIN JOURNAL FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES

Volume 9. 2025. Issue 1-2. Podgorica, September 2025.

Publishing this issue of MJSS was supported by the
Ministry of Science of Montenegro

Editor in Chief: Adnan Prekic

Managing Editor Assistant: Vukadin Nisavic

Editors: Zivko Andrijasevic, Dragutin Papovic, Ivan Tepavcevic, Milan Scekic.

International editorial board: John K. Cox, North Dakota State University, Fargo, UNITED STATES; Tvrtko Jakovina, University of Zagreb, Zagreb, CROATIA; Lidia Greco, University of Bari, Bari, ITALY; Helena Binti Muhamad Varkkey, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, MALAYSIA; Vít Hloušek, Masaryk University, Brno, CZECH REPUBLIC; Adrian Hatos, Universitatea „Babeş-Bolyai” Cluj, ROMANIA; Srdja Pavlovic, University of Alberta, CANAD

Montenegrin Journal for Social Sciences is indexed in: CEOL - Central and Eastern European Online; ERIH PLUS; Google Scholar; Index Copernicus; CiteFactor; Scientific Indexing Services (SIS); ISRA - Journal impact factor; Electronic Journals Library; ROAD; General Impact Factor; OAJI - Open Academic Journals Index; Slavic Humanities Index.

Proofreading and lecture in English: Danijela Milićević

Proofreading and lecture in Montenegrin: Miodarka Tepavčević

Address: Danila Bojovića bb 81 400 Nikšić, Montenegro;

E-mail: mjss@ucg.ac.me

www.mjss.ucg.ac.me

Prepress and print: Pro file – Podgorica

Circulation: 100 copies



Volume 9. 2025. Issue 1-2. Podgorica, September 2025.

CONTENTS:

BREAKING AWAY FROM TIME AND HISTORY-SERBIA AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, 1987–1991 Dragan POPOVIC	p.7.
GENDER AND AGE DIFFERENCES IN SELF-ESTEEM AMONG ADOLESCENTS Đenita TUCE	p.37.
PUBLISHING ACTIVITY IN MONTENEGRO DURING THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD AND THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1945-1952) Nenad PEROSEVIC, Natalija MILIKIC	p.63.
DIGITAL DEHUMANIZATION OF SOCIETY: THE NEW NORMAL IN A PERVERTED META-SOCIETY OF THE SPECTACLE Muedib SAHINOVIC	str.87.
WE DID NOT TORTURE: MORINJ CAMP AND THE POSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION IN MONTENEGRO Srdja PAVLOVIC	p.117.
MONTENEGRIN–SOVIET COOPERATION DURING THE 1970s AND EARLY 1980s Dragutin PAPOVIC	p.143.
REVIEW:	
TESTIMONIES OF DESCENDANTS OF CHETNIK LEADERS ON THE COMMUNIST REGIME-historical essay Milan SCEKIC	p.185.
HISTORY OF VIOLENCE - Book Review: Fahd Kasumović (ed.), Violence Against Women: Discourses, Perspectives, Lessons from BiH History Amir DURANOVIC	p.197.
REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF DUKLJA AND THE DUKLJANS- Book Review: Dragutin Papović, Discussions on the History of Duklja and the Dukljans Milan SCEKIC	p.205.
A MODERN INTERPRETATION OF THE MEANING OF LAW- Book Review: Miroslav Milović, Law as Potency – Essays on the Philosophy of Law Dragan JAKOVLJEVIC	p.211.
REFLECTIONS ON A TIMELESS NOVEL - Book Review: Živko Andrijašević, The Assassination of Franz Ferdinand Milan SCEKIC	p.215.
INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS	p.221.

Glavni i odgovorni urednik: Adnan Prekić

Sekretar redakcije: Vukadin Nišavić

Urednici: Živko Andrijašević, Dragutin Papović, Ivan Tepavčević, Milan Šekić

Međunarodni uređivački odbor: John K. Cox, North Dakota State University, Fargo, UNITED STATES; Tvrtko Jakovina, University of Zagreb, Zagreb, CROATIA; Lidia Greco, University of Bari, Bari, ITALY; Helena Binti Muhamad Varkkey, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, MALAYSIA; Vít Hloušek, Masaryk University, Brno, CZECH REPUBLIC; Adrian Hatos, Universitatea „Babeş-Bolyai” Cluj, ROMANIA; Srđa Pavlović, University of Alberta, KANADA.

Montenegrin Journal for Social Sciences indeksira se u sljedećim naučnim bazama: CEOL - Central and Eastern European Online; ERIH PLUS; Google Scholar; Index Copernicus; CiteFactor; Scientific Indexing Services (SIS); ISRA - Journal impact factor; Electronic Journals Library; ROAD; General Impact Factor; OAJI - Open Academic Journals Index; Slavic Humanities Index.

Lektura i korektura na engleskom: Danijela Milićević

Lektura i korektura na crnogorskom: Miodarka Tepavčević

Adresa: Danila Bojovića bb 81 400 Nikšić, Crna Gora;

E-mail: mjss@ucg.ac.me

www.mjss.ucg.ac.me

Priprema i štampa: Pro file – Podgorica

Tiraž: 100 primjeraka



Volume 9. 2025. Issue 1-2. Podgorica, September 2025.

SADRŽAJ:

RAZLAZ SA VREMENOM I ISTORIJOM- SRBIJA I EVROPSKE INTEGRACIJE
1987–1991

Dragan POPOVIĆ..... str.7.

RAZLIKE U SAMOPOŠTPVANJU ADOLESCENATA PREMA POLU I UZRASTU

Đenita TUCE..... str.37.

IZDAVAČKA DJELATNOST U CRNOJ GORI TOKOM PERIODA REKONSTRUKCIJE
I PRVOG PETOGODIŠNJEG PLANA RAZVOJA (1945–1952)

Nenad PEROŠEVIĆ, Natalija MILIKIĆ..... str.63.

DIGITALNA DEHUMANIZACIJA DRUŠTVA: NOVO NORMALNO U
PERVERTIRANOM METADRUŠTVU SPEKTAKLA

Muedib ŠAHINOVIĆ..... str.87.

NISMO MUČILI: LOGOR MORINJ I MOGUĆNOST POMIRENJA U CRNOJ GORI

Srdja PAVLOVIĆ..... str.117.

CRNOGORSKO-SOVJETSKA SARADNJA TOKOM 70-IH I POČETKOM 80-IH

Dragutin PAPOVIĆ.....str.143.

PRIKAZI:

SVJEDOČENJA POTOMAKA I PORODICA ISTAKNUTIH PRIPADNIKA ČETNIČKOG
POKRETA O KOMUNISTIČKOJ VLASTI-Istorijski esej

Milan ŠĆEKIĆ..... str.185.

HISTORIJA NASILJA-Prikaz knjige: Fahd Kasumović (ur.), Nasilje nad ženama:
diskursi, perspektive, lekcije iz bh. povijesti

Amir DURANOVIĆ..... str.197.

PROMIŠLJANJA O ISTORIJI DUKLJE I DUKLJANA-Prikaz knjige: Dragutin
Papović, Rasprave o istoriji Duklje i Dukljana

Milan ŠĆEKIĆ..... str.205.

MODERNO TUMAČENJE SMISLA PRAVA-Prikaz knjige: Miroslav Milović,
Pravo kao potencija – Eseji o filozofiji prava.

Dragan JAKOVLJEVIĆ..... str.211.

VANVREMENSKI ROMAN-Prikaz knjige: Živko Andrijašević, Ubistvo Franca
Ferdinanda.

Milan ŠĆEKIĆ..... str.215.

UPUTSTVA ZA AUTORE..... str.221.

Original scientific article

PUBLISHING ACTIVITY IN MONTENEGRO DURING THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD AND THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1945-1952)

Nenad PEROŠEVIĆ¹

Faculty of Philosophy – Nikšić, University of Montenegro

e-mail: nenadpnk@gmail.com

Natalija MILIKIĆ²

Faculty of Philology – Nikšić, University of Montenegro

e-mail: natalijab@t-com.me

ABSTRACT:

The paper discusses publishing activity in Montenegro during the period 1945-1952, which was organized and developed as part of the overall efforts, aspirations, and strategy implemented by the new government (*people's government*) under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY)

1 **NENAD PEROŠEVIĆ** - is an associate professor of historical sciences at the University of Montenegro, Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić. His research focus is mainly on the historical processes of the 19th and 20th centuries, such as cultural and historical heritage, the history of the development of school system and education, the process of industrialization and de-industrialization, the development of culture and art, etc. He is the author of a number of scientific papers, encyclopedic entries, and the like. He co-authored two monographs: *Culture of the Modern Age* (2011) and *From the Society of the Reading Room of Nikšić to the Public Institution National Library "Njegoš" Nikšić 1881-2021*. (2021); he is also a co-author of the textbook *Once upon a time ... We lived together* (2014).

2 **NATALIJA MILIKIĆ** - assistant professor at the Faculty of Philology in Nikšić, University of Montenegro (Study Program for Russian Language and Literature). She is the author of the monograph "Interlinguistic Homonymy and Paronymy in the Teaching of Russian Lexis" (2008). In the same year (2008), she edited an anthology of world love poetry "The Golden Book of Love". She translated the "Historical and Geographical Atlas of Montenegro, 16th-20th centuries" into Russian Prof. Dr. Jevto M. Milović 2006. He is the author of scientific papers in relevant international journals and proceedings.

after the war, aiming for the comprehensive cultural development of society. This planned task was particularly challenging given the varying levels of cultural (under)development among the Yugoslav republics and their peoples, a disparity already evident in the interwar period. The development of cultural activities, including publishing, went through two phases between 1945 and 1952: the phase of national reconstruction (1945-1946) and the phase of economic planning embodied in the Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1947-1952). A significant challenge in the development of publishing, as well as cultural activities in socialist Montenegro, was the fact that Montenegrin society had suffered severe devastation during World War II. This, combined with the inherited cultural underdevelopment of the interwar period and economic poverty, posed a major obstacle to the revitalization of any cultural activity. Although not all planned objectives could be achieved, the establishment of a solid foundation for publishing enabled its subsequent development, which in turn contributed significantly to the broader advancement of culture. In particular, several new newspapers and magazines of various types were launched, investments were made to improve print quality, and aspiring journalists were educated in order to relieve literary writers from the obligation of writing for various publications. As a result, the circulation of newspapers, magazines, books, and brochures increased between 1945 and 1952/53.

KEYWORDS: Montenegro, publishing activity, CPY, Yugoslavia, propaganda

SAŽETAK:

U radu se govori o izdavačkoj djelatnosti u Crnoj Gori u periodu 1945-1952. godine, koja je organizovana i razvijana kao dio ukupnih napora, težnji i strategije koje je nova vlast (*narodna vlast*) pod rukovodstvom Komunističke partije Jugoslavije (KPJ) sprovodila nakon rata težeći sveopštem kulturnom razvoju društva. Planirani zadatak je bio tim teži imajući u vidu različite nivoe kulturne (ne)razvijenosti jugoslovenskih republika i njihovih naroda koje su bile

vidljive i u međuratnom periodu. Period razvoja kulturnih djelatnosti a time i izdavačke djelatnosti 1945-1952. godine, prošao je kroz dvije faze: fazu obnove zemlje (1945-1946), i fazu privrednog planiranja oličenog u Petogodišnjem planu razvitka privrede (1947-1952). Poseban problem u razvoju izdavačke djelatnosti, ali i u razvoju kulturnih djelatnosti u socijalističkoj Crnoj Gori, ogledao se u činjenici, da je crnogorsko društvo teško stradalo u Drugom svjetskom ratu, što je u sprezi sa naslijeđenom međuratnom kulturnom nerazvijenosti i ekonomskim siromaštvom, predstavljalo veliki problem za oživljavanje bilo koje kulturne djelatnosti. Iako se sve planirano nije moglo ostvariti, postavljanjem solidnih temelja za izdavačku djelatnost omogućen je njen kasniji razvoj, što je bio i značajan doprinos ukupnom razvoju kulture. Prije svega pokrenuto je više novih listova i časopisa različitog karaktera, ulagalo se u kvalitet same štampe, školovao se novinarski kadar kako bi se književnici rasteretili obaveza da pišu za razne listove, a tiraž listova, časopisa, knjiga i brošura je rastao u periodu od 1945. do 1952/53. godine.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Crna Gora, izdavačka djelatnost, KPJ, Jugoslavija, propaganda

INTRODUCTION

The establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of SCS) in 1918 did not significantly improve the conditions for faster cultural development of the people, particularly in the economically underdeveloped regions of the Yugoslav state, including Montenegro. The activity of Montenegrin intellectuals was felt much more in larger Yugoslav centers than in Montenegro itself. For example, in 1923, Montenegro had only about 200 university-educated individuals. Indeed, during the interwar period (1919-1941), there were attempts to improve the situation in cultural activities in Montenegro: libraries and reading rooms were established; 19 newspapers and the same number of magazines were published, though often with interruptions and irregular production; 154 works of prose and drama, as well as texts in the field of literary criticism and folk literature, were printed (averaging one to twenty per year); 133 journalistic works on various topics were published; 32 different discussions and other publications were released; and only 16 textbooks and works related to education were published. Overall, this was still insufficient.¹

The development of the press and publishing activity during the war years 1941-1945 depended on military-political conditions. In the temporarily liberated territories, newspapers were primarily published as organs of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). Under the direct leadership of the Agitprop commission of the Provincial Committee (PC), several newspapers were published in Montenegro: *Narodna borba*, *Saopštenje*, *Omladinski pokret*, *Bilten*, *Naša žena*, *Riječ slobode*, *Glas Sandžaka*, *Pobjeda* and *Nova Boka*.² Agitprop (abbreviation for agitation and propaganda) was the department for agitation and propaganda within political and other organizations. Through the agitprop apparatus, the Party spread its cultural ideas across Yugoslavia. The beginnings of the Agitprop apparatus were noticed immediately after the CPY went underground in 1920, and the organizational foundations were laid by a directive from the Central Committee (CC) of the CPY, most likely issued in March 1945.³ In addition to the aforementioned press controlled by the CPY and the agitprop apparatus, there was also collaborationist press in Montenegro,

such as *Glas Crnogorca* and later *Crnogorski vjesnik*.⁴ In Yugoslavia, by 1945, 13 daily newspapers were published with an average circulation of 672,000 copies, which was 233,600 more than before the war, when 23 daily newspapers were published. The most widely read was the Belgrade-based *Borba*, which at the time was the organ of the CPY. In Montenegro, there were no daily newspapers in 1945.⁵

Publishing Activity During the Reconstruction Period (1945-1946)

The period of economic reconstruction in Montenegro refers to the two-year period of measures and activities aimed at repairing war damage and restoring economic potential in 1945 and 1946. However, the *people's government*, in line with the size of the liberated territory in Montenegro, began planning the guidelines and instructions for the country's economic recovery as early as March 1944.⁶ The task was even more difficult considering the severe war damage inflicted on both the population and material goods in Montenegro. During the war, 40,446 people were killed or executed; 95,346 were interned, of which 25,144 were disabled (260 blind); there were over 6,000 war orphans; the number of people who lost their breadwinners during the war reached 65,000, and the estimated war damage amounted to 43,813,929,569 dinars at 1938 prices⁷. In percentage terms, Montenegro lost 11.7% of its population in the war.⁸

During the reconstruction period in Montenegro, priority was given to restoring transportation, rebuilding destroyed residential and school buildings, and providing food aid to the population. Seeking to elevate the cultural level of the population, the government launched literacy campaigns through courses for illiterate population. In 1945, the number of illiterate people in Montenegro was 81,401, accounting for 21.9% of the total estimated population of 371,000. By the end of 1946, there were still 69,032 illiterate residents. Although reconstruction was carried out with extremely limited material and financial resources and a shortage of qualified personnel in all fields, notable results were achieved in the cultural sector: 113 cultural centers and 46 reading rooms were established, and the number of students in schools rose to around 50,000

in 1946.⁹ However, despite significant progress in literacy efforts, illiteracy remained an issue in Montenegro. The first post-war census in 1948 showed that, out of Yugoslavia's total population (15,772,098), 20% or 3,162,836 people were illiterate. In Montenegro, out of a total population of 377,189, 41% or 156,004 people were illiterate. The 1953 census revealed that, out of Yugoslavia's total population (16,936,573), 41% or 6,959,896 people were illiterate, while in Montenegro, out of 419,873 inhabitants, 197,306, or 47%, were illiterate.¹⁰

The Party considered economic reconstruction as a crucial prerequisite for the swift stabilization of political conditions in Yugoslavia, while recognising that economic recovery could not be achieved without the cultural advancement of the people and society as a whole. These aspirations created the conditions for a process of modernization to be realized within the new socialist society, where culture played a prominent role.

Given the outlined priorities in the country's reconstruction and the material and financial limitations of society, the publishing sector was unable to achieve all the planned results during this period. Nevertheless, even under such conditions, Montenegro had a more active publishing industry than in the pre-war period. Increasing attention was given to publishing enterprises and the printing of literature with ideological-political and artistic content, as well as textbooks, which were still mostly obtained from Serbia. In August 1946, the printing and publishing enterprise *Obod* was established in Cetinje, with the Minister of Education serving as its administrative and operational head.¹¹

The Yugoslav press came under the total control of Agitprop, which oversaw its content while also determining the editorial staff. The activities of the powerful Agitprop apparatus were dictated by the Party's monopoly, which also extended to ownership or control over printing houses. In addition to the press, full control was extended to schools, textbooks, curricula, pedagogical publications, and other printed materials. In the press, all issues had to be interpreted from the standpoint of the general Party line, which was defined by Marxist-Leninist theory. The press, as the primary form of publishing activity,

assumed a significant role both in its content and in its socio-political and ideological function. It was tasked not only with informing the public but also with serving an ideologically combative role. It was expected to educate, foster a revolutionary spirit, and guide both individual behaviour and the activities of mass organizations. In Montenegro as well, the press, publishing activity, schools, and artistic institutions were constantly under the supervision of the Agitprop Department of the PC CPY for Montenegro, as well as the press department of the Presidency of the Government of the People's Republic of Montenegro (PGPRME).¹² The head of the Agitprop apparatus at the time was Milovan Đilas, and his close associates were communists who had already distinguished themselves in interpreting Party policy in the cultural sphere even before the war: Radovan Zogović was responsible for culture, while Vladimir Dedijer and Boris Zihlerl (upon returning from the Soviet Union) supervised the press, among others. Due to the fact that most members of this body, led by Đilas, were highlanders (Montenegrins, Herzegovinians, Dinarics), this powerful centre was later referred to as the *centre of 'ijekavized' ideology*.¹³

As of December 1946, six newspapers were published in Montenegro: *Pobjeda* (informational-political, published by the Executive Committee of the People's Front of Montenegro), *Omladinski pokret* (informational-political, published by the Main Committee of the People's Front of Montenegro), *Naša žena* (informational-political, published by the Main Committee of the Women's Antifascist Front of Montenegro (WAF)), *Privredni život* (professional-agricultural, published by the Society of Economists of the Economic Ministries of the PRME), *Službeni list Narodne Republike Crne Gore* (official gazette, published by the Presidency of the Government of the PRME), and *Stvaranje* (literary-artistic, published by the Publishing Enterprise of the PRME). For 1946, it was planned that *Ilustrovana Pobjeda*, a newspaper designed as an informational-political-entertainment publication, would be issued monthly in Cetinje. However, this idea was not realized in 1946 nor in the later period. The publication of all these newspapers was accompanied by several common problems: poor technical equipment in the printing houses where they were printed, a lack of quality correspondents and journalists for specific sections,

and financial instability. The Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (PC CPY) for Montenegro recommended measures to improve the quality of *Pobjeda* and ensure its financial stability. It was suggested that printing costs be reduced while increasing the number of subscribers to raise the newspaper's circulation beyond its then-weekly print run of 27,000 copies. To address the issue of quality contributors for *Pobjeda*—and thus improve the quality of its articles—it was decided that all officials from state administration, enterprises, trade unions, and other organizations would be required to write one article every two months on their respective fields. Ministries were instructed to have their press officials collect materials for publication. Given the period's focus on mass labour efforts to construct or rebuild economic and other buildings, an expert was to be assigned to each worksite to report on progress. The issues of finding qualified correspondents and ensuring financial stability also hampered the operations of *Omladinski pokret* and *Naša žena*, and these problems were slow to resolve. *Privredni život* and *Stvaranje* faced significant challenges in securing quality contributors, as Montenegro at the time had very few experts engaged in literary criticism or economic issues.¹⁴

The difficulties faced by the editorial boards of these newspapers in finding qualified personnel become clearer when considering that, in 1946, Montenegro had only 2,600 qualified workers and 1,350 mid-level professionals available.¹⁵ Thus, the shortage of skilled workers was evident in all professions. At that time, Montenegro did not have universities or higher education institutions, so future students had to go to larger Yugoslav centres for their education, and after completing their studies, they had to be persuaded to return to Montenegro and continue their work and professional careers in a situation where the economic conditions for life and career advancement were less favorable compared with those in the larger Yugoslav economic and cultural centers (Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Ljubljana). For the same or similar reasons, established writers like Mihailo Lalić and Mirko Banjević, as well as painters Petar Lubarda and Milo Milunović, left Montenegro for Belgrade. Archival data also indicates that the issue of textbooks for primary and secondary schools in Montenegro could not be solved by relying solely on the publishing capacities of Montenegro. By April

1946, schools had received a small number of primers and readers for the first four grades of primary education. It was requested that a minimum of 30,000 copies of primers be printed in Albanian language.¹⁶ Due to the lack of textbooks for secondary schools in Montenegro, during the 1945/46 school year, many textbooks were sent from the People's Republic of Serbia, including General History of the Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Eras (2,500 copies), Russian Language (4,100), Botany (2,290) and Logarithmic Tables (1,450).¹⁷ Although significant, this assistance only partially solved the issue of the shortage of appropriate textbooks for primary and secondary schools.

Literary work in Montenegro began shortly after the liberation in 1945. Several writers who had emerged between the two World Wars became active: Mihailo Lalić, Mirko Banjević, Janko Đonović¹⁸, and alongside them, Mihailo Ražnatović, Radonja Vešović, Čedo Vuković, and Mirko Vujačić also began their literary work. Between 1945 and 1951, culture, art, and literature in Yugoslavia, including Montenegro, were marked by socialist realism. Thus, writers were required to write about topics that were not exclusively literary as well. For example, Đonović wrote about the new method of work being applied in lime kilns; Banjević wrote about tractors; Ratko Đurović about the plans for draining Lake Skadar; Ražnatović about the Montenegrin shock brigade that participated in the construction of the Šamac-Sarajevo railway; and Aleksandar Ivanović about the problems caused by drought. Most of them were also involved in editing and writing numerous brochures, collections of works and poems on the topic of the National Liberation War (NLW). Although it may seem surprising at first, this was to be expected, given that writers and literary figures in Montenegro were the first journalists. There was no other journalistic personnel; it had to be created, as was the case with other professional staff. Most writers and literary figures wrote in 1944-1945 for *Omladinski pokret*, and shortly thereafter published works in *Stvaranje* (whose first issue was published on 1 October 1946). They also wrote for *Pobjeda* (Ratković 1956, 569-570). As for book publications, only one was released: the poem *Sutjeska* by M. Banjević (1946) in Cetinje.¹⁹

Publishing activity during the Five-Year Plan (1947-1952)

The Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the PRME²⁰ set strategic guidelines in the field of culture, with investments planned for education and culture in the amount of 470 million dinars, and 29 million dinars allocated for the arts. The Five-Year Plan covered every segment of economic, cultural, and social aspects of life.²¹ Throughout the course of the Five-Year Plan, nine newspapers, some of which were periodic, along with two magazines, were being published in Montenegro. The newspapers were mostly of a party press nature. In addition to *Pobjeda* (whose first issue was published in Nikšić on 8 October 1944), *Partijski rad* was launched on 15 October 1949 as the organ of the CC of the Communist Party of Montenegro (CPME), it ceased publication after 1952. Other publications included *Omladinski pokret* (the organ of the People's Youth of Montenegro), *Naša žena* (the organ of the Main Board of the Women's Antifascist Front, WAF) and *Titov pionir* (the organ of the Council of the Pioneer Union of Montenegro). Besides these newspapers, the magazines *Stvaranje* and *Istorijski zapisi* were also printed. The first issue of *Istorijski zapisi* was published in 1948 as the organ of the Scientific Society of the of the People's Republic of Montenegro (PRME).²² All these newspapers and magazines were printed in Cetinje. Until the paper price increase in 1951, the following newspapers were also published: *Trinaesti jul* (the organ of the Association of Fighters), *Fiskulturnik* (the organ of the Physical Education Union) and *Prosvjetni rad* (the organ of the Council for Education and the Organization of Educational Workers). *Bilten* was printed in Nikšić, covering local district news, however due to financial difficulties, it ceased publication in the first half of 1952.²³

While realizing the Five-Year Plan goals, newspapers in Montenegro faced several difficulties, primarily due to poor material conditions, a lack of expertise among some staff, and organizational shortcomings. *Trinaesti jul*, which was regularly published from September 1949 to January 1950 with a circulation of 7,000 copies (2,600 subscribers, and the rest of copies were distributed through the Association of Fighters), encountered many challenges in its editorial process. The newspaper *Naša žena* was in a much worse position: it was initially not published regularly, and it was printed on low-quality paper, resulting in poor-

quality photographs.²⁴ In 1949, the Agitprop Commission positively evaluated the papers' coverage on the tasks of the Women's Antifascist Front (WAF), the role of mothers in child-rearing, women's participation in economic development, and the Village Works Association (VWA), as well as the conflict between the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and the Cominform. However, criticisms of the articles' content included insufficient reporting on WAF's cooperation with other mass organizations and the general economic issues. There was also inadequate coverage of the prominent women in the war and revolution, as well as in ideological, cultural-political, and cultural-educational work.²⁵ Agitprop reasonably pointed out that the newspaper often exaggerated praise without deeper analysis or solid articles. To make the newspaper a platform for the women's struggle for equality and participation in all aspects of social life, it was essential to strengthen the editorial team with qualified personnel, thereby improving the quality of its content.²⁶

During the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, the most skilled journalists were employed at *Pobjeda* and *Radiostation Titograd*. The situation was significantly worse for others, monthly published periodicals, as they were edited by individuals, some of them were not even journalists by profession, making high-quality work unattainable. Efforts were made to improve this, but frequent staff changes were often politically motivated, with journalists dismissed for reasons of political unsuitability. On the other hand, weaker contributors were given opportunities for professional development through education. At *Pobjeda*, the editor was replaced, eight journalists were dismissed, and five or six contributors were sent to study. However, filling vacant positions and strengthening editorial teams was slow, as the administrative apparatus, itself in need of skilled personnel, could not provide the necessary staff. It was not until 1952 that *Pobjeda* recruited five journalists — described as 'stronger communists' — who, in addition to having the appropriate ideological profile, also possessed grater journalistic experience or a university degree.

There was still a need for two or three skilled journalists to manage specific sections, but with *Pobjeda* being published twice a week, the situation had improved. The newspaper employed three field correspondents and was better organized technically, featuring more engaging articles, which led to an increase

in circulation from 6,000–6,300 copies to 7,500–7,840. Challenges remained in tackling economic and political topics in depth, and in somewhat lacking coverage of internal politics. Other newspapers at the time had no permanent field correspondents.²⁷ Poor technical resources and financial constraints affected all monthly publications, including the magazines *Omladinski pokret* and *Naša žena*. Although journalists had begun reporting more independently, pressures were noted against those who criticized the managers of official enterprises or highlighted business mistakes.²⁸

After the completion of the Five-Year Plan, Yugoslavia and Montenegro experienced an increase in the number of daily, biweekly, monthly, and bimonthly publications of various genres. Several new newspapers were launched within a short period, with efforts focused on improving content quality and technical standards. Although Montenegro had the fewest publications in 1953, it was also the smallest federal republic in both territory and population.

Table. 1: number of newspapers and their circulation in 1953.²⁹

	Number of newspapers	Circulation in millions
Yugoslavia	457	318
Bosnia & Herzegovina	37	12
Montenegro	5	1
Croatia	122	46
Macedonia	24	6
Slovenia	71	52
Serbia – total	198	201
Serbia proper	163	188
SAP Kosovo	5	1
SAP Vojvodina	30	12

The situation in journalism was the subject of discussion at the Third Congress of Journalists of Yugoslavia held in Belgrade (4-5 October 1953), attended by M. Đilas, a delegation of journalists from Greece, and numerous other guests. The report submitted by the Board of Directors of the Journalists' Union highlighted weaknesses in the work of trade union branches in addressing members' problems, while the efforts of the Journalists' Union of Yugoslavia to expand

cooperation with foreign journalistic organizations were positively evaluated. Greater assistance was sought for the further development of local press due to its importance in promoting self-management. Youth press should, above all, receive financial support, and all leaders were advised not to withhold information from journalists, with a recommendation to define the concept of state secret as soon as possible to prevent related problems. The Journalists' Union of Yugoslavia was admitted to the Socialist Alliance of Working People, and after a lively discussion, the Union's statute was adopted, which foresees stricter criteria for membership, internship requirements, etc. The Board of Directors and the Presidency were elected during the Congress.³⁰

In terms of publishing activity and literary work, the early years of the Five-Year Plan did not see a large number of books by local authors. In Montenegro, 1947 saw the publication of a single book—M. Banjević's poem *Njegošev spomenik*. In 1948, J. Đonović's travelogue from Czechoslovakia, *Na Vltavi* and M. Lalić's poetry collection *Staze slobode* were published. A slightly higher production was recorded in 1950: Mihailo Gazivoda's *Pripovjetke*; J. Đonović's two travel and chronicle books, *Pod Gran Sasom* and *Hronike i putopisi*; A. Ivanović's *Stihovi*; and M. Lalić's *Izabrane pripovjetke*. Over the next three years, only one more book by a local author was published—Milenko Ratković's children's book *Dioba Šunjine družine* (1951), the first of its kind in Montenegro.³¹

It is worth noting that in 1950, a group of 13 young poets published their joint anthology, *Stihovi mladih*.³² The group of writers who had begun their work in Montenegro relocated to Belgrade (M. Lalić, J. Đonović, M. Banjević, M. Ražnatović, M. Vujačić). Among the older generation, A. Ivanović, Č. Vuković, editor of *Stvaranje*, R. Đurović, director of the Central Library, and Professor Vladimir Mijušković remained. Literary production varied across different genres. Poetry was the most abundant, with works by M. Banjević, M. Lalić, and A. Ivanović. In prose, M. Lalić dominated, producing his best works after moving to Belgrade, followed by M. Gazivoda and Č. Vuković, while J. Đonović stood out in travel writing. Children's literature was initially published mainly in *Titov pionir*, which began circulation in 1950, though its early issues featured

no works by Montenegrin authors. Instead, they included works by Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Vojo Carić and Mira Alečković. The themes in these early issues differed little from those in other periodicals. For instance, Jagoš Jovanović wrote about the 1918 Boka sailor uprising—an incomprehensible topic for children. The first literary contribution by a Montenegrin writer appeared in issue no. 10, featuring a poem by Dragutin Vujanović. Gradually, other writers began contributing (Milo Kralj, M. Ratković, Mirko Vujačić, M. Đonović, Dušan Dostinić), along with journalists Palangić and Šoć. *Titov pionir* became a true children's monthly only after M. Gazivoda took over as editor, aided by improved material and organizational conditions.³³

Unlike books by domestic authors, the circulation of various other printed books, brochures, and textbooks in Montenegro increased steadily year by year, until the rise in newsprint prices also affected the circulation of printed works. The publishing enterprise *Obod* planned to print three books in 1947 as part of the centenary of *Gorski vijenac*, four textbooks for elementary schools, seven books of Montenegrin literature, *Ustav NR Crne Gore*, *Narodni heroji Crne Gore*, and several other political brochures. As a mandatory minimum to be fulfilled, several works were proposed for printing: *Gorski vijenac*, *Njegošev album*, *Spomenknjiga o stogodišnjici Gorskog vijenca*, *Narodna čitanka*, *Čitanka za II i III razred osnovne škole*, *Bukvar za šiptarsku manjinu*, and *Knjiga poezije i proze posvećena NOB-u*.³⁴ In 1950, 14 works of fiction, three scientific works, and five textbooks were printed, with a total circulation of 147,866 copies. Out of that number, 120,207 copies were sold, with a total price of 4,365,708 dinars, while 27,659 copies remained unsold, valued at 1,280,929 dinars. This total circulation did not include the circulation of the magazine *Stvaranje*, which was published in 2,200 copies in 1950. Its subscription cost 180 dinars, and up to 500 copies remained in stock. In 1951, seven works of fiction, four scientific works, and five textbooks were printed, with a total circulation of 105,335 copies. Out of that number, 54,865 copies were sold, with a total value of 3,657,435 dinars. A total of 50,570 copies remained unsold, valued at 4,993,215 dinars. This circulation of printed works did not include the circulation of the magazine *Stvaranje*, which was published in 1,800 copies in 1951. Its annual

subscription price was 400 dinars, and 150 copies remained in stock.³⁵ Due to some rather sharp criticisms of the quality and content of *Stvaranje* in 1953, some cultural and public figures cancelled their subscription to the magazine for that year. Although *Stvaranje* had its shortcomings, it remained the only literary magazine in Montenegro at that time; only somewhat later did another magazine for literature and culture—*Susreti* (1953–1962).³⁶

To improve the state of publishing in Yugoslavia, a meeting was held in Belgrade on 22 December 1952, presided over by M. Đilas, during which the following decisions were made: to set minimum fees at 10,000 dinars per printed sheet *for works of real literary value*, as determined by the literary council of the publishing enterprise; to grant freelance writers the right to social insurance; to provide writers with discounts on railway travel; to abolish workers' councils in publishing enterprises and replace them with committees that, together with the director, would manage the affairs of the respective publishing enterprise.³⁷

During the final year of the Five-Year Plan, in 1952, the total circulation of 24 books and brochures in Montenegro amounted to 92,000 copies, newspapers to 24,000 copies, and magazines to 12,000 copies.³⁸ The following year, both the number and circulation of published books and brochures in Montenegro increased. This indicates that the Five-Year Plan laid a solid foundation for the further development of publishing activities. Summarizing the results at the end of the Five-Year Plan, the number of books and brochures in Montenegro and Yugoslavia was reported as follows:

Table. 2: number of books and brochures and their circulation in 1953.³⁹

	Number of books/brochures	Circulation in millions
Yugoslavia	4465	21
Bosnia & Herzegovina	250	1
Montenegro	35	0,1
Croatia	1137	5
Macedonia	282	1
Slovenia	635	3
Serbia – total	2126	11
Serbia proper	1786	10
SAP Kosovo	43	0,1
SAP Vojvodina	297	1

Although the number of published brochures and books and their circulation in Montenegro was smaller than in other republics, given the size of the territory, the population, and available publishing capacities, it was nevertheless significant. Compared to the previous year, 1953 saw an increase in both the number of books and brochures published and in their circulation. The statistical data do not provide an overview by republics and provinces of Yugoslavia. Instead, an overview of published books and brochures is presented by type of work at the federal level. Out of the total 4,465 published books and brochures in 1953, the majority were related to social-political sciences (1,363), literature (1,025), applied sciences (795), natural sciences (421), arts (280), history and geography (267), general group (137), unspecified and musical works (118), religion (42), and philosophy (17).⁴⁰

CONCLUSION

The publishing activity in Montenegro from 1945 to 1952 began under very difficult conditions. Material and financial scarcity, as well as the lack of qualified personnel, posed significant obstacles to the development of the publishing industry. The new socialist government in Montenegro and Yugoslavia, led by the Communist Party, aimed to modernize society both the

economically and in terms of cultural and educational development. Making use of its agitprop apparatus, the Party simultaneously expanded its media power through magazines and print media. With the adoption of the Five-Year Plan, the focus was placed on the industrialization of the country, while a significant investments were also planned in the financial and organizational spheres in order to overcome the pre-war cultural underdevelopment. Mass literacy and education of the population were initiated, numerous cultural institutions were opened, and publishing activity was launched. This involved the establishment of new magazines with diverse thematic content, the strengthening literary production, and the acceleration of the education of journalists and writers. One of the major challenges for publications printed in Montenegro was that their main market was precisely the Montenegrin market, which, in terms of the number of readers and economic capacity, could not be compared to the larger and more developed republics. This limitation affected circulation and the number works published. At the end of this period, despite all the shortcomings of publishing activity in Montenegro, solid foundations were laid in this area for further development of publishing industry.

NOTES:

- 1 Zoran Lakić, "Poslijeratni razvoj kulture u Crnoj Gori (1945-1980)", Bibliografski vjesnik, Centralna narodna biblioteka „Đurđe Crnojević“ – Cetinje, Cetinje, 1983, str. 157; Đoko D. Pejović, Prosvjetni i kulturni rad u Crnoj Gori 1918-1941, Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore u Titogradu „Obod“ Cetinje, Cetinje 1982, str. 99-103.
- 2 Branislav Kovačević, *Komunistička partija Crne Gore 1945-1952. godine*, Titograd: NIO „Univerzitetska riječ“, Titograd, 1986, str. 256.
- 3 Ljubodrag Dimić, *Agitpropop kultura. Agitpropovska faza kulturne politike u Srbiji 1945-1952.*, Izdavačka radna organizacija „Rad“ - Beograd, Beograd, 1988, str. 32-37.
- 4 Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1988*, knj. I-III, Nolit Beograd, Beograd, 1988, 359-360,
- 5 *Jugoslavija 1941-1981*, ur. Dušan Maletić, Eksport Pres, Beograd, 1981, str. 143.
- 6 Branislav Marović, *Društveno-ekonomski razvoj Crne Gore 1945-1953*, Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore – NIO „Univerzitetska riječ“, Titograd, 1987, str. 35.
- 7 Branislav Kovačević, *Komunistička partija Crne Gore 1945-1952. godine*, Titograd: NIO „Univerzitetska riječ“, Titograd, 1986, str. 33-34.
- 8 Hrvoje Matković, *Povijest Jugoslavije 1918-1991*, Naklada Pavičić, Zagreb, 1988, str. 293.
- 9 Branislav Kovačević, *Komunistička partija Crne Gore 1945-1952. godine*, Titograd: NIO „Univerzitetska riječ“, Titograd, 1986, str. 40; Branislav Marović, *Društveno-ekonomski razvoj Crne Gore 1945-1953*, Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore – NIO „Univerzitetska riječ“, Titograd, 1987, str. 157.
- 10 *Popis stanovništva 1953. Starost, pismenost i narodnost. podaci za opštine prema upravnoj podeli u 1953. godini*, knj. XI, Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd, 1960; Statistički godišnjak NR Crne Gore 1955, Zavod za statistiku NR Crne Gore, Titograd, 1955.
- 11 Branislav Marović, *Društveno-ekonomski razvoj Crne Gore 1945-1953*, Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore – NIO „Univerzitetska riječ“, Titograd, 1987, str. 151.
- 12 Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1988*, knj. I-III, Nolit Beograd, Beograd, 1988, 121; Branislav Marović, *Društveno-ekonomski razvoj Crne Gore 1945-1953*, Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore – NIO „Univerzitetska riječ“, Titograd, 1987, str. 151.
- 13 Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1988*, knj. I-III, Nolit Beograd, Beograd, 1988,

124-125; M. Đilas (1911-1995), born in Podbišće, Kolašin. He studied philosophy in Belgrade and became a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) in 1932. He held several significant party and political positions before and during the war. After the liberation, he was a minister in the Yugoslav government, a member of the Politburo, and a member of the federal Assembly. Due to conflicts with the policies of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), he was expelled from the Party in 1954, and then he resigned from LCY. He published several books and writings with political and literary content, and due to his opposition and writings against the policies of LCY and the state's interests, he was convicted twice in court. *Drugi kongres Saveza komunista Crne Gore. Stenografske bilješke*, prir. Branislav Kovačević. Slavko Stanišić, Mile Bakić, Republički centar za kulturno-umjetničku djelatnost, Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd, 1990, str. 182; R. Zogović (1907-1986), born in the village of Mašnica, Gornje Polimlje, he was a poet and translator from the Russian language. During the conflict with the Soviet Union and the countries of the Cominform, he distanced himself from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's (LCY) struggle against Stalinism. He published several poetry collections. *Mala enciklopedija Prosveta. Opšta enciklopedija*, knj. I, Izdavačko preduzeće Prosveta – Beograd, Beograd, 1969, str. 527; V. Dedijer (1914-1990), born in Belgrade, he was a historian, publicist, and academic. During the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), he was a correspondent journalist, and from 1941, he participated in the war in Yugoslavia. After the war, he held various political positions, edited the magazines *Trideset dana* and *Nova misao*, and was the director of the magazine *Borba* before retiring from political activity in 1954. He published several books and works on historical topics. *Mala enciklopedija Prosveta. Opšta enciklopedija*, knj. I, Izdavačko preduzeće Prosveta – Beograd, Beograd, 1969, str. 384.

14 Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG), Podgorica, Odjeljenje za sređivanje arhivske građe Podgorica (OSOAGP), Podgorica, fond PK KPJ za Crnu Goru, fasc. II, dok. br. 1/46, 4. decembar 1946.

15 Branislav Marović, *Društveno-ekonomski razvoj Crne Gore 1945-1953*, Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore – NIO „Univerzitetska riječ“, Titograd, 1987, str. 152.

16 Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), Beograd; fond 317-50-73, dok. br. 22-178, 10. april 1946.

17 Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), Beograd; fond 317-50-73, dok. br. 22-181, 10. april 1946.

18 M. Lalić (1914-1992), born in Trepča near Andrijevica, was a writer and academic. After the war, in which he participated, he worked as an editor and contributor to several Yugoslav magazines and newspapers. In 1946, he moved to Belgrade where he continued his career. He published several collections of short stories, novels, travelogues, and poems. M. Banjević (1905-1968), was a writer born in Paprat near Nikšić. He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade in 1934. A participant in the war, he later became the editor of several magazines published in Cetinje. Since 1953, he lived and worked in Belgrade. He published

several poetry collections. J. Đonović (1909-1991), born in Tomić, in Crmnica, was a writer and academic. He participated in the war and, after the liberation, went on to edit several youth and literary magazines. He also held various positions in cultural institutions in Cetinje and Belgrade. His works included poems, novels, essays, literary reports, and travelogues. Nikola Racković, *Prilozi za leksikon crnogorske kulture*, Centralna biblioteka „Đurđe Crnojević“, Cetinje, 1987, 20, 59, 110-111.

19 Nikola Racković, *Prilozi za leksikon crnogorske kulture*, Centralna biblioteka „Đurđe Crnojević“, Cetinje, 1987, 20. Social realism (socialist realism) is an artistic movement that places art in the service of ideology. It originated in the Soviet Union, while being prevalent in Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1951, after which its influence gradually waned until around 1953-1954. An example of the party affiliation of art was the poem by Radovan Zogović, *Pjesma o biografiji druga Tita*, which was written during the period of the National Liberation War. Radomir Jovanović, *Veliki leksikon stranih reči i izraza*, Alnari, Beograd, 2006, str. 1224; Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1988*, knj. I-III, Nolit Beograd, Beograd, str. 126-128; Lidija Merenik, *Umetnost i vlast. Srpsko slikarstvo 1945-1968*, Vujičić kolekcija, Beograd, 2010, str. 13.

20 First, on April 28, 1947, the Yugoslav Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy (1947-1951) was adopted, and then on June 12, 1947, the Five-Year Plan for Montenegro was also approved. The plan was later extended by one more year. The Yugoslav plan was largely modeled on the First Five-Year Plan, the *pyatiletka*, adopted in the Soviet Union in May 1929. Đuzepe Bofa 1985, *Povijest Sovjetskog Saveza*, knj. I-II, IRO „Otokar Keršovani“, Rijeka, 1985, str. 277-278; Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1988*, knj. I-III, Nolit Beograd, Beograd, 1988, str. 94.

21 More in: *Petogodišnji plan razvitka narodne privrede NR Crne Gore u godinama 1947-1951*, Skupština NR Crne Gore, Cetinje, 1947, str. 39-50, 102-103, 109-113.

22 Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG). Cetinje, fond. Predsjedništvo Vlade NR Crne Gore, fasc. 7, dok. br. 3460, 3. decembar 1952.

23 Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG). Odjeljenje za sređivanje arhivske građe Podgorica (OSOAGP), Podgorica, fond CK KPJ, fasc. 94, dok. br. 1421/52, 28. avgust 1946. CK KPCG-CK KPJ Komisiji za agitaciju i propagandu.

24 Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG). Odjeljenje za sređivanje arhivske građe Podgorica (OSOAGP), Podgorica, fond CK KPCG, fasc. 14, dok. br. 2834/48, 12. oktobar 1948. Zemaljski odbor AFŽ za Crnu Goru – CK KPCG-Upravi za agitaciju i propagandu.

25 Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG). Odjeljenje za sređivanje arhivske građe Podgorica (OSOAGP), Podgorica, fond CK SKCG, fasc. 34, b. br. dok, 15. novembar 1949. Neka pitanja za anлізу lista “Naša žena”.

- 26 Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG). Odjeljenje za sređivanje arhivske građe Podgorica (OSOAGP), Podgorica, fond Poklon zbirka Blaža Jovanovića, fasc. 12, b. br. dok, 31. decembar 1952. Agitprop CK SKCG – Kabinetu predsjednika Vlade Blažu Jovanoviću.
- 27 Nenad Perošević, "Partijska štampa u Crnoj Gori 1944-1945. godine", Medijski dijalozi, Vol. VIII, N^o 21, Podgorica, 2015, str. 213-224.
- 28 Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG). Odjeljenje za sređivanje arhivske građe Podgorica (OSOAGP), Podgorica, fond CK KPCG, fasc. 94, b. br. dok, 28. avgust 1952. CK KPCG – CK KPJ-Komisiji agitacije i propagande.
- 29 Jugoslavija 1918-1988. Statistički godišnjak, Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd, 1989.
- 30 Nenad Perošević, "Partijska štampa u Crnoj Gori 1944-1945. godine", Medijski dijalozi, Vol. VIII, N^o 21, Podgorica, 2015, str. 223.
- 31 Radosav Rotković, "Deset poslijeratnih godina književnog stvaranja u Crnoj Gori", Stvaranje, br. 9-10, Podgorica, 1956, str. 565-579.
- 32 Milo Kralj, "Kulturni razvoj i tokovi do 1970", u: *Aktuelna pitanja razvoja crnogorske kulture*, Republička samoupravna interesna zajednica kulture, Podgorica, 1984, str. 8.
- 33 Radosav Rotković, "Deset poslijeratnih godina književnog stvaranja u Crnoj Gori", Stvaranje, br. 9-10, Podgorica, 1956, str. 569-570, 573-579.
- 34 Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG). Odjeljenje za sređivanje arhivske građe Podgorica (OSOAGP), Podgorica, fond PK KPJ za Crnu Goru, fasc. 6, br. dok. 558/47, 10. februar 1944. Plan državnog izdavačkog preduzeća "Obod" za 1947.
- 35 Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), Beograd; fond 317-50-73, bez. br. dok, 20. novembar 1951, Savjet za nauku i kulturu NRCG – Savjetu za nauku i kulturu Vlade FNRJ.
- 36 Nikola Racković, Prilozi za leksikon crnogorske kulture, Centralna biblioteka „Đurđe Crnojević“, Cetinje, 1987, 191.
- 37 Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), Beograd; fond 317-82-115, bez. br. dok, 22. decembar 1952, Zaključci sa sastanka održanog kod druga Đilasa.
- 38 *Bogatstvo nerazvijenih. Dosadašnji rezultati i mogućnosti daljeg razvoja nedovoljno razvijenih socijalističkih republika i SAP Kosovo*, ur. Momčilo Vuković, NIGP „Borba“, Beograd, str. 133-134.
- 39 *Jugoslavija 1918-1988. Statistički godišnjak*, Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd 1989.
- 40 *Jugoslavija 1945-1964. Statistički pregled*, Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd 1965.

REFERENCES:

- Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), Beograd, fond Savet za nauku i kulturu Vlade FNRJ, fasc. 317-50-73, 10. IV 1946, dok. br. 22-181.
- Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), Beograd, fond Savet za nauku kulturu Vlade FNRJ, fasc. 317 – 22 – 42, Savjet za nauku i kulturu NRCG – Savjetu za nauku i kulturu Vlade FNRJ, 20. XI 1951.
- Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), Beograd, fond Savet za nauku kulturu Vlade FNRJ, fasc. 317 – 82 – 115, Zaključci sa sastanka održanog kod druga Đilasa, 22. decembar 1952.
- Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG), Cetinje, fond. Predsjedništvo Vlade NR Crne Gore, fasc. 7, 3. XII 1952, dok. br. 3460.
- Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG), Podgorica, Odjeljenje za sređivanje i obradu arhivske građe (OSOAGP), fond PK KPJ za Crnu Goru, fasc. II, 4. XII 1946, dok. br. 1/46.
- Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG), Podgorica, Odjeljenje za sređivanje i obradu arhivske građe (OSOAGP), fond CK KPJ, fasc. 94, CK KPCG-CK KPJ – Komisiji za agitaciju i propagandu, 28. VIII 1952, dok. br. 1421/52.
- Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG), Podgorica, Odjeljenje za sređivanje i obradu arhivske građe (OSOAGP), fond CK KPCG, fasc. 14, Zemaljski odbor AFŽ za Crnu Goru – CK KPCG-Upravi za propagandu i agitaciju, 12. X 1948, dok. br. 2834/48.
- Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG), Podgorica, Odjeljenje za sređivanje i obradu arhivske građe (OSOAGP), fond. Poklon zbirka Blaža Jovanovića, fasc. 12, Agitprop CK SKCG – Kabinetu predsjednika Vlade Blažu Jovanoviću, 31. XII 1952.
- Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG), Podgorica, Odjeljenje za sređivanje i obradu arhivske građe (OSOAGP), fond CK KPCG, fasc. 94, CK KPCG – CK

KPJ-Komisiji agitacije i propagande, 28. VIII 1952, dok. br. 1421/52.

- Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG), Podgorica, Odjeljenje za sređivanje i obradu arhivske građe (OSOAGP), fond PK KPJ za Crnu Goru, fasc. 6, Plan Državnog izdavačkog preduzeća NR CG "Obod" za 1947, 10. II 1947, dok. br. 558/47.
- *Drugi kongres Saveza komunista Crne Gore. Stenografske bilješke*, prir. Kovačević Branislav, Stanišić Slavko, Bakić Mile, Republički centar za kulturno-umjetničku djelatnost – Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd, 1990.
- *Jugoslavija 1945-1964. Statistički pregled*, Beograd: SFRJ – Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1965.
- *Jugoslavija 1918-1988. Statistički godišnjak*, Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1989.
- *Petogodišnji razvitak narodne privrede NR Crne Gore u godinama 1947-1951*, Cetinje: Skupština NR Crne Gore, 1947.
- *Popis stanovništva 1953. Staros, pismenost i narodnost. Podaci za opštine prema upravnoj podeli u 1953. godini*, knj. XI, Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1960.
- *Statistički godišnjak NR Crne Gore 1955*, Titograd: NR Crna Gora – Zavod za statistiku, 1955.
- Bofa Đuzepe. *Povijest Sovjetskog Saveza*, knj. I-II, Opatija: IRO "Otokar Keršovani" Opatija, 1985.
- *Bogatstvo nerazvijenih*, ur. Vuković Momčilo. NIGP "Borba", Beograd, 1975.
- Dimić Ljubodrag. *Agitprop kultura. Agitpropovska faza kulturne politike u Srbiji 1945-1952.*, Izdavačka radna organizacija "Rad", Beograd, 1988.
- Jovanović Radomir. *Veliki leksikon stranih reči i izraza*, Beograd: Alnari,

2006.

- *Jugoslavija 1941-1981*, ur. Maletić, D. Eksport pres, Beograd, 1981.
- Kovačević Branislav. *Komunistička partija Crne Gore 1945-1952. godine*, Titograd: NIO "Univerzitetaska riječ" Titograd, 1986.
- Kralj Milo. *Kulturni razvoj i tokovi do 1970*, u: Aktuelna pitanja razvoja crnogorske kulture, Titograd: Republička samoupravna interesna zajednica kulture, 1984, 1-19.
- Lakić Zoran. "Poslijeratni razvoj kulture u Crnoj Gori (1945-1980)", Bibliografski vjesnik, god. XII, br. 1, (1983), 157-177.
- *Mala enciklopedija Prosveta. Opšta enciklopedija*, knj. I, Beograd: Izdavačko preduzeće Prosveta – Beograd, 1969.
- Merenik Lidija. *Umetnost i vlast. Srpsko slikarstvo 1945-1968*, Beograd: Vujičić kolekcija, 2010.
- Marović Branislav. *Društveno-ekonomski razvoj Crne Gore 1945-1953*, Titograd: Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore – NIO "Univerzitetaska riječ", 1987.
- Matković Hrvoje. *Povijest Jugoslavije 1918-1991*, Naklada Pavičić, Zagreb, 1998.
- Pejović D. Đoko. *Prosvjetni i kulturni rad u Crnoj Gori 1918-1941*. Cetinje: Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore u Titogradu, "Obod" Cetinje, 1982.
- Petranović Branko. *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1988*. knj. I-III, Nolit Beograd, Beograd, 1988.
- Perošević Nenad. "Partijska štampa u Crnoj Gori 1944-1945. godine". *Medijski dijalozi*, Vol. VIII, N^o 21, (2015), 213-224.
- Racković Nikola. *Prilozi za leksikon crnogorske kulture*. Cetinje: Centralna narodna biblioteka "Đurđe Crnojević", 1987.
- Rotković Radoslav, "Deset poslijeratnih godina književnog stvaranja u Crnoj Gori", *Stvaranje*, br. 9-10, (1956), 565-579.