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## AGRICULTURE DEVELOPMENT IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF NIKŠIĆ (1945-1991)

### SUMMARY

The economic development of Montenegro in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia (1918–1941) failed to bring about substantial progress, and as a result, Montenegro was the most underdeveloped part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, along with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Southern Serbia. The lack of a developed industry meant that most of the population of Montenegro was oriented towards agriculture. According to the 1931 census, the agricultural population accounted for 79.6% of all Montenegrins. Economic backwardness and material poverty were further deepened by the wartime devastation from 1941–1945 which hit Montenegro and what was then called the District of Nikšić. In socialist Yugoslavia (1945–1991), Montenegro and the Municipality of Nikšić underwent major socio-economic changes that would eventually have a profound impact on the position and status of agriculture in the economies of Montenegro and the Municipality of Nikšić. One period saw strong economic development, but this was not evenly distributed across all branches of industry. From 1945–1991, agriculture could not keep pace with industry. This can be attributed to several factors. The Municipality of Nikšić is a quintessential example of socio-economic transformation from a typically agrarian environment into an industrial environment under the socialist socio-economic model.

**Keywords:** Municipality of Nikšić, agriculture, Yugoslavia, Montenegro

### INTRODUCTION

The Municipality of Nikšić (Figure 1), covering an area of 2,065 km<sup>2</sup>, is the largest municipality in Montenegro and accounts for 15.0% of the territory of Montenegro (13,812 km<sup>2</sup>). The complex relief basis, climatic conditions, favorable geographical position and transport links with the rest of Yugoslavia all made impact on the socio-economic development of the Municipality of Nikšić. Until 1948, there was a high percentage of the agricultural population in Montenegro and the Municipality of Nikšić, but the ensuing years saw a fall in this percentage. According to the 1948 Census, the agricultural population accounted for 75.4% in Montenegro and 73.7% in the Municipality of Nikšić

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(Radojičić, 2010; Radojičić, 2015). Having brought the economic potentials of Yugoslavia and Montenegro at their pre-war level in the period of reconstruction of the country in 1945 and 1946, the state attended to the issue of planning the economic development (Andrijašević, 2018).

The First Five Year Economic Development Plan aimed at economic development of Yugoslavia, and thus, the development of Montenegro as well, was adopted in 1947, with an emphasis on the development of industry as a fundamental branch of economy. A village and a farmer were to contribute to the process of industrialization and urbanization, bringing in raw materials, agricultural products and workforce engaged in numerous infrastructure projects. Such orientation had a substantial effect on the agriculture development in the country, and the Municipality of Nikšić is an example that demonstrates all the positive and negative sides of accelerated industrialization, which led to changes in the economic structure of the population, instigated population migration, developed transport links and towns, and diminished villages and affected the lifestyle habits of the agricultural population which, up to that moment, made up the majority population (Perošević and Barović, 2015; Lalatović, 1955; Mićunović, 1955).

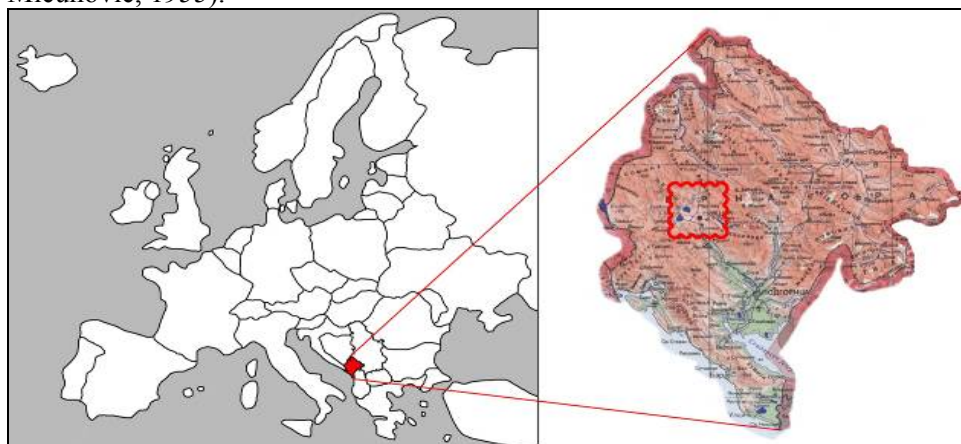


Figure 1. Geographic location of Nikšić field

Source: Vujačić, Duško, *Geografske specifičnosti Nikšićkog polja* [Geographic Particularities of Nikšić field], Diploma Paper, July 2012.

## MATERIAL AND METHODS

The paper is based on historiographical facts and data that have not been published so far and can be found in the historical funds of the State Archives of Montenegro (DACG), Department for Systematization and Processing of Archival Documents Podgorica, (OSOAGP), the funds of the Communist League of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia Nikšić (f. SK KPJ Nikšić), box VII; the State Archives of Montenegro, Department for Systematization and Processing of Archival Documents Podgorica, (OSOAGP), the funds of the District People's Committee of Nikšić (f. SNO Nikšić) box XXVII. The paper also rests upon

statistical data published in the Statistical Yearbooks of Yugoslavia and Montenegro and in the literature. In order to deliver a quality report of the most significant data and fact through text and tables, we employed the methods (historiographic methods, analysis and synthesis methods) which point to the complexity and interdependence of the process of industrialization and de-agrarization of the Yugoslav and Montenegrin economic system in which the Municipality of Nikšić was a prototypical example of the positive and negative effects brought about in the 1945-1991 time span.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Agriculture 1945-1991

In the mid-twentieth century, economic underdevelopment in Central and Eastern Europe was essentially equated with the absence of industrialization process and holding on to the agricultural economy. The countries of this region, including Yugoslavia, launched a vigorous industrialization campaign in the 1950s and 1960s, and due to this, by the end of the 1960s, all countries in the region, with the exception of Albania, became industrialized countries. About half of the Gross National Product (GNP) was generated through industry: Czechoslovakia - 61%, Hungary - 57%, Poland - 54%, Romania - 52%, Yugoslavia - 49%, Bulgaria - 46%, and only 20% was generated through agriculture - Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia. The UN statistical data (1988) show the momentous structural changes that have taken place in the socialist countries of Eastern and Central Europe indicating that industry is a leading branch of economy in the GNP. That same year, the share of industry in GNP in Romania was 62%, in Czechoslovakia - 61%, Bulgaria - 58%, and its share was slightly less in Hungary - 41%, Yugoslavia - 45% and Poland - 48%. Agriculture accounted for 10-15% of GNP in these countries. With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the abandonment of the socialist socio-economic model in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, industry has gone into a sharp decline since 1990. In the 1991-1992 period, industrial production in Poland fell by 40%, in Czechoslovakia by more than 36%, in Hungary by almost 40%, in Yugoslavia by 30%, etc. (Berend, 2001).

It is important to point out that the socialist model of government in Yugoslavia differed from that of other socialist states. This difference was reflected in the position of workers and their role in society. Self-governance, as a form of social structure in Yugoslavia, went through several stages laid down by the Law on the Management of State Economic Enterprises and Higher Economic Associations by the Workers' Collectives (1950), the Constitutional Law (1953), and the Constitution (1963).

However, the normative conceptual and theoretical structure was not implemented in practice, exhibiting both its advantages and disadvantages until the final breakup of the state and the fall of the self-government system in 1991 (Fočo, 2019).

Table 1: Number of people employed in agriculture (in thousands) in certain countries of Eastern and Central Europe in 1990-1992 (Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia, 1994).<sup>2</sup>

Country	Year	Total number of people employed in the economy	People employed in agriculture
Czechoslovakia	1990.	8.249	943
Yugoslavia <sup>2</sup>	1992.	2.328	130
Hungary	1990.	4.978	907
Poland	1990.	17.552	4.597
Romania	1990.	11.639	3.097

The economic development of socialist Yugoslavia is characterized by diminishing agriculture in favor of industry and reducing the percentage of the population who worked and lived off agriculture. One of the first measures taken by the authorities to better the position of farmers and agriculture in the state was the decision on agrarian reform and colonization which was to be implemented in 1945-1946. This reform envisaged the handover of a large number of agricultural assets to the state: large estates, farmlands and forests whose total area exceeded 45 ha or 25-35 ha of arable land, etc.

The Agrarian Reform in the Municipality of Nikšić pertained to the assets of four monasteries and 20 private estates. The total area this reform pertained to was 2,054 ha of land (under forest, arable land, meadows, pastures, orchards, vineyards, bushes, etc.), which made up about 9% of the total land affected by the reform in Montenegro (Petranović, B., Zečević, M., 1988; Marović, 1983). Subsequently, aiming at applying the socialist mode of production in agriculture, the state resorted to the establishment of Peasant Working Cooperatives (PWC). A way was sought to further the agricultural sector by exerting collective ownership over the means of production with the definitive liquidation of the "capitalist elements" in agriculture. In the time period from 1947 to 1953, the highest number of PWC in Montenegro was in 1949 and it amounted to 482. After that, the number of PWC declined until their abolition and reorganization in 1953. The undertaken reorganization of the PWC meant that instead of the three property sectors (state, cooperative and individual), two types of households were created - state and individual. An experiment with PWC failed to attain the projected agriculture development. PWC were, by and large, economically unsustainable, while animal husbandry went through a marked period of stagnation (Marović, 2002). In the Municipality of Nikšić, the first Peasant Working Cooperative was established in 1948 and as early as 1949, due to a vigorous and enforced campaign by the state, the number of PWC was 63 with 3,282 households (State Archive of Montenegro, VII). However, after an

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) made up of Serbia and Montenegro.

apparent economic failure, as early as 1952, the number of PWC plummeted to only nine (State Archive of Montenegro, box XXVII).

A steady decrease in the rural population and, hence, a decrease in population engaged in agriculture indubitably contributed to the decline of agriculture in the Municipality of Nikšić and in Montenegro. The agricultural population in Montenegro saw a steady and constant drop from 1948 to 1991, as indicated by the data in Table 2.

Table 2: Population and percentage of the agricultural population in Montenegro (Radojičić, 2010; Radojičić, 2015)

Year	Population in Montenegro	Percentage of agricultural population in Montenegro
1948.	377.189	75,8 %
1961.	471.891	48,0 %
1971.	529.604	42,6 %
1981.	584.310	13,0 %
1991.	616.553	7,1 %

This trend affected the Municipality of Nikšić as well, which had a particularly strong industrialization in the period from 1947 to 1971 when the largest industrial enterprises were built and came into operation. In 1948, the agricultural population accounted for 73.7% of the total population in the Municipality of Nikšić (38,359), in 1953 – out of 46,589 people the agricultural population comprised 48.4%, in 1991 – the agricultural population made up only 4,1% of the then population of 74,706.

Several factors contributed to a dramatic decline in the agricultural population, the most important of which are as follows: with the opening of new factories, workforce moved from villages to Nikšić, leaving the villages demographically empty; fertile arable fields were seized in Nikšić field for the purpose of building new industrial facilities, which further curtailed the room for agricultural development. For the purpose of construction of industrial facilities in Nikšić field and in Gračanica Valley (Nikšićka župa), large agricultural areas were seized from agriculture: for the needs of Hydro Power Plant Perućica, 4,028 ha were taken away, 2,936 ha of which were agricultural reservoirs: Slano Lake - 1,597 ha, 978 ha<sup>3</sup>, Vrtac Lake 1,492 ha - 1,416 ha, Krupac Lake 950 ha - 531 ha, channels and retention of Slivlje 11 ha - 11 ha, reservoir Liverovići 100 ha - 100 ha; Bauxite Mines 92 ha - 92 ha; industrial facilities 150 ha - 150 ha<sup>4</sup>. Significant agricultural areas were also seized due to the construction of sports stadiums in Nikšić, Glava Zete etc. (Radojičić, 2010; Radojičić, 2002).

A particular problem in the development of agriculture in the Municipality of Nikšić was the insufficient number of agricultural machinery and implements

<sup>3</sup> The first figure refers to total area, whereas the latter figure refers to arable land.

<sup>4</sup> 68 ha of these were seized for the biggest industrial facility in Montenegro, Nikšić Steel Mill, which commenced operations in 1956 (Steel Mill, 1996)

(tractors, threshers, plows, seed drills, reapers and mowers) and their negligible use in the agricultural production process. This problem was also plainly evident in the whole of Montenegro. How poor Montenegro was when it came to agricultural machinery is best illustrated by the fact that in 1948 it had only 59 tractors. With the rapid increase in the number of PWC in 1949 and the poor procurement of new tractors, only 35% of arable land in the socialist sector in Montenegro could be ploughed at the end of 1950. In Montenegro, one farm wagon was to cover an area of 15 ha of land, as opposed to area of 5.5 ha covered by one wagon in Slovenia, the most developed republic. The situation did not improve much in 1951 either: out of the total number of tractors in Yugoslavia (6,266), Montenegro had the least (69), while Slovenia had 259 tractors (Marović, 1987; Statistical Yearbook of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, 1954).

Table 3: Number of agricultural machines and implements in 1951 in the Municipality of Nikšić

Types of agricultural machines and implements	Municipality of Nikšić	Montenegro	Slovenia	Yugoslavia
All kinds of ploughs	621	7.250	30.367	1.178.931
Grain seed drills	29	209	2.276	53.527
Reapers and mowers	9	40	3.616	28.115
All kinds of threshers	8	82	6.876	17.616
Chaff cutters	8	91	61.228	125.323
Tractors	69	7	259	6.266

(Source: Statistical Yearbook of the People's Republic of Montenegro, 1955; Statistical Yearbook of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, 1954).

Even though the number of agricultural machinery and implements increased over the coming decades, it was still not enough to meet the demands of the contemporary agricultural development, neither in the Municipality of Nikšić nor in Montenegro.

Table 4: Number of the most important agricultural implements and machinery in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro in agricultural enterprises and agricultural cooperatives

Year	Pedestrian-controlled (single axle) two wheel tractors and rotavators	Biaxial tractors	Combine harvester	Trucks
1981.	7	184	8	39
1991.	31	228	24	36

(Source: Statistical Yearbook of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, 1983; Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Montenegro, 1993).

### a) Animal Husbandry

In an attempt to modernize agricultural production in the first post-war years, the state founded the Institute for Animal Husbandry in Nikšić in 1946, as well as the Institute for Scientific Research and Development of Agricultural Production, established in Titograd in 1950. This Institute was dissolved in 1952 only to be founded again the very same year, also in Titograd, now under the name the Institute for Agricultural Research (Perošević and Barović, 2015; Tomašević, 1955).

As soon as the state systematically initiated the process of development of industrialization and urbanization, agriculture as a branch of economy gradually waned. In addition to the aforementioned factors, which contributed to the decline of agriculture as a branch of economy, the decline of animal husbandry and the poor treatment of livestock, especially goats, was caused by certain administrative measures. Namely, in order to prevent the destruction of forests, to protect fruit growing and to enable afforestation of karst areas and barren lands, The Decree on Prohibition of Goat Breeding in the People's Republic of Montenegro was passed in January 1948, The Decree did not pertain to those places determined by the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry (Official Gazette, 3/1948).

This Decree particularly affected the hilly and mountainous region, where the goat was considered to be the main substitute for large cattle. The largest number of livestock in Montenegro was recorded in 1948 - 1,146,827, and in the Municipality of Nikšić in 1950 - 98,687. After these years the number of livestock decreased steadily both in Montenegro and in the Municipality of Nikšić. The total number of livestock in Montenegro decreased by 58.6% between 1948 and 1991.

Animal husbandry, once a leading industry in the Municipality of Nikšić, lost its former significance and saw a sustained decline in both quantitative and qualitative terms. Sheep and large cattle husbandry in the municipality of Nikšić depended mainly upon the use of mountain pastures, on the plains northeast of Nikšić (Vučje, Konjsko, Bare Bojovića, Krnovo, Lukavica) but also upon the possibility of livestock grazing in the area of Donja Zeta, Nikšić field, and partly in Rudine, Banjani and Grahovo in winter months.

Animal husbandry in *katuns* was characteristic of the Municipality of Nikšić in the observed period, and is still carried out in a similar way even today. The only difference nowadays is that there are far fewer livestock farmers, a much smaller number of livestock and *katuns*, as well as huts and cots in them. Animal husbandry in the Municipality of Nikšić, and in Montenegro, has always had a semi-nomadic character.

It has retained the same feature in the 21st century as well (Radojičić, 2002; Radojičić, 2010; Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Montenegro, 1993).

Table 5. Livestock numbers in the Municipality of Nikšić 1939-1991

Year	Cattle	Horses	Sheep and goats	Pigs	Total
1939.	19.743	3.441	119.835	2.354	145.373
1945.	6.386	1.370	20.043	520	28.319
1950.	21.424	2.673	70.363	4.227	98.687
1960.	15.041	3.720	66.222	1.550	86.553
1981.	17.786	2.250	54.897	1.397	76.330
1991. <sup>5</sup>	19.649	2.114	54.803	-	76.566

(Source: Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia, 1992)

#### b) Crop and Fruit Growing

The industrialization of the Municipality of Nikšić, set in motion by the 1947 Five-Year Economic Development Plan, had a particularly adverse effect on the development of this branch of agriculture, just like it did on animal husbandry. The construction of reservoirs in Nikšić field and spacious halls of Nikšić Steel Mill, Bauxite Mine, companies Javorak, Metalac, Trebjesa Brewery and other factories, as well as the expansion of the town of Nikšić in the process of accelerated urbanization, deprived agriculture of the highest quality plots of land, which led to a decrease in agricultural land, as indicated by the data in Table 6.

Table 6: Agricultural areas in the Municipality of Nikšić in 1954

Total area/ha	Agricultural area	Total	Plougs and gardens	Orchards	Vineyards	Meadows
214.720	40.835	10.946	4.769	191	14	5.972

(Source: Radojičić, 2010; Statistical Yearbook of the People's Republic of Montenegro, 1955).

In addition, in 1954, there were 29,864 ha of pasture lands and 25 ha of land under reed and moorlands in the Municipality of Nikšić. The following crops were sown and cultivated on the agricultural areas: on 4,769 ha of arable land and gardens - grain was sown on 2,903 ha, industrial plants were sown on 14 ha, vegetables on 874 ha, fodder on 175 ha. Nurseries were not sown and there was 803 ha of uncultivated arable land and fallows. Most common fruit tree was plum with 67,554 trees, then apple with 12,931 trees, pear - 3,778, cherry - 3,150, fig - 2,810, quince - 628 and apricot - 59 (Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Montenegro, 1955).

The agricultural arable land continued to wane in the following years, and an analysis from 1976 showed that only 2.4% of the total area of the Municipality

<sup>5</sup> There are no data on the number of pigs and goats in 1991 in the Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia from 1992. The column "Sheep and goats" refers solely to the number of goats.



of Nikšić (206,500 ha) was covered in arable land and orchards, 0.2% was covered by orchards, vineyards covered 0.1%, meadows 4.6%, pastures 20.1%, forests 44.5% and barren land covered 28.1%. Thus, the total arable land made up only 7.3% (Radojičić, 2010). The decline of arable land inevitably influenced the quantities of crops sown as well as the number of fruit trees in the years to come. For example, in 1982, out of a total of 5,071 ha of arable land and gardens, only an area of 4,650 ha was sown with the following crops: cereals - 1,520 ha, vegetable plants - 1,693 ha and livestock fodder - 1,437 ha. Industrial plants, flowers and nurseries were not sown at all. Fallows and uncultivated arable land accounted for the remaining 421 ha. Of the total number of fruit trees in Montenegro (1,555,300), the most abundant were plum trees - 1,143,050, then apple trees - 275,094 and pear trees - 137,156. Of the total number of fruit trees in the Municipality of Nikšić (99,400), in 1982, there were 74,245 plum trees, 17,445 apple trees, and 7,710 pear trees (Statistical Yearbook, 1983). Towards the end of the observed period, in 1990, the number of agricultural areas in the Municipality of Nikšić dwindled further. The total agricultural area of the Municipality of Nikšić was 54,579 ha; and arable land and gardens covered 4,830 ha, orchards - 380 ha, vineyards - 26 ha, adding up to a total of 5,236 ha. Meadows and pastures covered an area of 49,343 ha. An analysis carried out in 1989 showed that the Municipality of Nikšić did not have agricultural land of satisfactory quality. Most of the quality land was to be found in the following towns: in Podgorica - 17.0%, Pljevlja - 14.5%, Berane - 9.5%, Bar - 7.4%, Nikšić - 7.3%, Ulcinj - 5.7% while in other municipalities the percentage ranged from 0.8% to 3.9% (Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia, 1991; Radojičić, 2015).

The comparison of arable agricultural land of Montenegro to that of Slovenia in Yugoslavia in 1990 reveals that Montenegro had a smaller agricultural area but it also had a much lower yield per hectare, used significantly less mineral fertilizers and had far less meat production. Of the total arable agricultural area in Yugoslavia in 1990, there were 14,170 ha of arable land; of which 866 ha in Slovenia and 517 ha in Montenegro. However, Slovenia was the leader in crop yields per hectare, expressed in tons: in Yugoslavia - 115, 68 t/ha; in Slovenia - 142, 19 t/ha; in Montenegro - 44.19 t/ha. The consumption of mineral fertilizers in thousands of tons in Yugoslavia in 1990 was 1,866; in Slovenia - 80 tones; in Montenegro - 1 ton. Meat production (in thousands of tons) in 1990 in Yugoslavia was 1,315 tons; in Slovenia 189 tones; in Montenegro - 17 tones (Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia, 1991).

The original purpose of this agricultural land was drastically altered by turning these plots of land, mainly arable land and meadows, into reservoirs, or by using them for housing, construction of industrial enterprises and the activation of mining sites. A particular problem is that these changes were sometimes made without extensive scientific analysis of the feasibility of such ventures, hence the consequences on agriculture were all the more severe. The aspiration towards industrialization of the state, which also initiated the process of urbanization, led to the abandonment of even those rural areas that boasted

good conditions for the development of agricultural production. By moving families from villages to towns, such areas become neglected, and thus meadows were eventually converted into pastures and pastures into barren land.

The research B. Radojičić carried out shows that, as per the European Union criteria, ploughlands, orchards and vineyards are considered arable land. In 2010, there were only 0.054 ha of such areas in the Municipality of Nikšić and only 0.099 ha in Montenegro, which is far below the average in most of the developed Europe (Radojičić, 2010).

### c) Fisheries

The most favorable fishing areas in Montenegro are situated on the Montenegrin coast, although there has been a steady decline in fish catches in recent years. In the Municipality of Nikšić, before the construction of artificial lakes, the most favorable conditions for catching fish were in the catchment area of the Zeta River. After the construction of artificial lakes on the territory of the Municipality of Nikšić and in Nikšić field (Vrtac Lake, Krupac Lake, Slano Lake, Liverovići Lake, Grahovo Lake and Bileća Lake), certain preconditions for the development of sport or recreational fishing were created. However, even today, this branch of industry in the Municipality of Nikšić has not been developed, and the only place where something more has been done on artificial lakes in Montenegro regarding that matter is Lake Piva.

There are no precise data on catches of fish or fish stocks in artificial lakes in the Municipality of Nikšić for the observed period from 1945 to 1991. The catch of freshwater fish at the level of Montenegro was as follows: in 1988 - 338 tons, in 1989 - 303 tons, in 1990 - 304 tons and in 1991 - 264 tons. In winter months there are flocks of birds, mostly wild ducks, less frequently geese, cormorants, etc., which could also warrant this type of hunting. So far, this has been at a very low level in the Municipality of Nikšić, both in terms of financial investments and economic gain or profit (Radojičić, 2010; Radojičić, 2015; Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Montenegro, 1993).

## CONCLUSIONS

The industrialization process of Montenegro and the Municipality of Nikšić in the socialist socio-economic system was both indispensable and justified, with indisputable positive results. At the same time, agriculture, which until then was a leading economic activity, was gradually waning. Paradoxically, a farmer and a village that made an undeniable contribution to the industrialization of the state, eventually paid the heaviest price for that progress. The processes of violent collectivisation, unsuccessful experiments with the Peasant Working Cooperatives, material investments and public investments, which were mostly aimed at strengthening the industry, significantly weakened villages and farmers.

On the one hand, initiating the industrialization of the state was the right thing to do because it was a means by which Yugoslavia, and thus Montenegro as

part of it, was to be introduced into the order of the middle-developed countries of Europe. In many respects, the positive effects did arise out of it. Towns went through economic development, which enabled the population to reach better living and working conditions through the process of urbanization. Towns became centers of economic development, and a network of educational, cultural and health institutions expanded and thus appealed to the rural population who wanted to settle in them. The municipality of Nikšić is a quintessential example of such processes that took place in Yugoslavia and Montenegro. Once a municipality and a town, in which agriculture was a leading industry the majority of the population lived off, was gradually transformed into a highly industrial environment. Not only did the industrialization and urbanization of the municipality and the town alter the economic and social structure of the population, but it also changed the geographical features of the municipality. The construction of industrial facilities, the creation of artificial reservoirs and the expansion of the urban area have permanently taken away quality agricultural land, thus exerting a far-reaching effect on villages and agricultural production.

The process of industrialization was vital and indispensable in itself, but the speed it was carried out at, often with no quality expert analysis and assessment of its ultimate effects, brought about more adverse consequences for agriculture development. The full adverse effects of such an economic policy have become especially significant in Montenegro over the last three decades, when the industry has suffered a major decline and consequently led to the dismissal of more workers in this field. A village, which has been steadily declining in the socialist period, cannot appeal to the urban population to live in the countryside and develop agricultural production under present conditions. On the contrary, despite the slowdown of industrial production in towns, the process of turning villages moribund continues, and in the future, it is going to bring about even more severe effects on the economic development of Montenegro and the Municipality of Nikšić.

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