

# The 1948 Soviet-Yugoslav Conflict in the Public Discourse of Montenegro

MILENA MRDAK  
MIĆOVIĆ  
ADNAN PREKIĆ

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*Public discourse in Montenegro in the first years after the Second World War was predominantly shaped by the Communist Party.*

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## **Milena Mrdak Mićović**

Teaching assistant at the Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Philology, University of Montenegro.

## **Adnan Prekić**

Assistant professor at the Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Montenegro.

## **Introduction**

**P**UBLIC DISCOURSE in Montenegro in the period 1945–1950 was predominantly shaped by political processes. The Communist Party, as the leading social force in Montenegrin society, had a dominant influence on these processes. This was also clearly indicated by the attitude towards the USSR, the state that in the early years of communist rule was a model for building a socialist society.

This article focuses on the language strategies used in the public space, which relate to the speaker-addressee/target group communication, intended to influence them at different levels of the social processes in the specific historical moment. The analysis of public discourse was conducted through a survey of official statements of the Communist Party and the media in the period 1945–1950, with a particular focus on 1948, when the political conflict between Yugoslavia and the USSR occurred. The paper highlights

the various controversies in domestic and foreign policy and outlines a wide range of compelling linguistic strategies that reveal how the public discourse experienced a turn over that period. The hypothesis of the research is related to the expectation that the historical-linguistic analysis of newspaper articles will show that after 1948 there was a change in the public discourse on the Montenegro–USSR relationship.

Methods used in the research involve analyzing the content of written documents, processing the researched material, as well as working with documentation that has been collected in the State Archives of Montenegro. To avoid any subjectivity in our attitude towards certain facts when drawing certain historical conclusions, we combined the historical method with a semantic-pragmatic analysis of newspaper articles, and we rounded off the research with an analysis of lexical cohesion and taxonomy. In this way, we came to an objective historical-linguistic method that features four basic phases: collection of the sources (archival material); critique of sources (critical analysis of the articles); synthesis (generalization and merging of historical and semantic-pragmatic analysis of articles); discussion of the results.

Using the methodology of semantic-pragmatic analysis, lexical cohesion, and taxonomy, and relying on models established by Fairclough (1992, 1995a, b, 1996, 2000, 2003, 2005), Ives (2004), van Dijk (1980, 1990, 1993, 1994, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2006a, b), Wodak (1989, 2002, 2007) and, when it comes to the spoken language of Montenegro, Lakić (2011), we will point to the structure of public discourse and to the types of changes that occurred when selecting characteristic language formulations (Gradinaru 2018), as well as the consequences, that is, the results obtained through the changes in public political discourse. The analysis highlighted the rhetorical significance of public discourse and subsequently the consequences that specific linguistic formulations had on the very process of shaping the public political discourse, indicating a shift in the experience of the Soviet Union's historical, economic and political role.

Although the issues pertaining to the former Yugoslav republics and the Soviet-Yugoslav relations have been researched by numerous authors (Arbeiter 2019; Cvetkovic 2012; Dimić 1998; Papović 2015; Petranović 1981, 1998; Prekić 2016; Životić 2015, 2016), there is a significant gap in the literature regarding the turning point and the cooling of relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia and the change in public discourse. As we considered that the most objective analysis of the change of attitude is the one that includes the analysis of newspaper articles, i.e., public discourse until and from the turning point, we included a more detailed linguistic analysis in the research. To objectively view the results of the research, we divided the corpus into two approximate parts, covering the periods 1945–1948 and 1948–1950, and in addition to the

semantic-pragmatic analysis of articles, to achieve objectivity in the research, we included an analysis of lexical cohesion and taxonomy in the framework of which we focused on the linguistic formulations describing the Soviet Union before and after the said moment, which implies the frequency of use of certain adjectives by which journalists qualified the USSR.

## The Public Discourse of Montenegro 1945–1948

**T**HROUGH THE electoral process conducted shortly after World War II, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia formalized and legitimized the power it had gained during the liberation war. Following an identical model, the process of seizing power was organized in the six republics that made up the Yugoslav federation, after which the political monopoly of the Communist Party was established in all segments of public life.

By taking over all the mechanisms of power after the liberation, the Communist Party, in the process of building a new state, accepted the model of the Soviet Union, which they perceived as the ideal of a socialist state, on whose traditions they began to build the society they governed (Prekić 2016: 533). The influence of the Soviet Union on the social and economic conditions in Yugoslavia after the Second World War was quite similar to the experience of other Eastern bloc countries. In all these states, one can speak of the Sovietization of public space (Fătu-Tutoveanu 2012: 91). Uncritical acceptance of the Soviet experience meant establishing a direct process of decision-making, centralization, firm party discipline and clearly defined hierarchical competencies (*Pitanja* 1946: 9). In the Yugoslav experience, this model of leadership was called *democratic centralism*, and it envisaged leadership from the center, subordination of the minority by majority decisions, the personal responsibility of members towards party organizations and the election of governing bodies (Petranović 1981: 421). On the same model of organizing the Yugoslav postwar state, Montenegro, one of the republics of the Yugoslav federation, saw the beginning of the process of forming a socialist state. The model of the USSR, as the first socialist state, was used as a symbol of success also in Montenegro. To the Montenegrin communists, the Soviet socialist state presented itself as *the living embodiment of the great ideas of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin*, while the results achieved by this country were interpreted as “a proof of the unbreakable power, Soviet embodiment, and ideological principles upon which this society was founded” (*Pitanja* 1946: 199).

The Soviet experience and the interpretation of socialist ideology were taken up uncritically, mainly through form rather than content. Party ideologists argued that the Bolshevik Party’s entire work was based on scientific grounds, because

in their interpretation this party, apart from understanding the political processes of the present, “has the scientific capacity to predict things in the future” (*Pitanja* 1946: 205). A particular segment of indoctrination was focused on building a cult of personality for Stalin. Stalin, or Generalissimus Stalin, as he was often called in party reports, was the object of worship and his political views were seen as an important source of ideological discourse (Petranović 1998: 251).

With the ambition to control every segment of social life, Communist Party officials in Montenegro used the media to establish a politically correct public discourse, adapted to the Communist Party’s ideological underpinnings (Prekić 2019: 865). A key element in establishing a new ideological discourse in the public space envisaged the affirmation of the ideals of communism, that is, the socialist state as the best social community in the history of civilization.

All the successes achieved by the USSR during World War II, and later in the process of postwar reconstruction, were uncritically interpreted by the authorities, within new socio-economic relations whereby “the people with their party became the master of their destiny, the creator of a new life” (*Pobjeda*, 23 Feb. 1947). Through various examples that appeared in the media, the USSR presented itself as an example of a perfect state. The *Pobjeda* daily, the official gazette of the Communist Party of Montenegro, often featured topics that affirmed the historical, political and economic role of the USSR. In addition to the statements and views of Soviet leaders, many shorter texts featured patriotic messages and lyrical comments by the authors.

Thus, the front page of the newspaper’s issue of 20 December 1947 was dedicated to the birthday of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, presented as “the leader and teacher of advanced humanity.” The author of the article used the form of the speech act of congratulation in the title, which is an expression of blessing and giving compliments that are not aimed directly at the addressee but to the public at large. This speech act is mainly used in verbal communication and makes it lyrical and compelling. The text includes conceptual metaphors, calling Stalin’s life “a highway through the avantgarde of the Russian proletariat,” and then “the highway towards the victory and construction of Russian socialism, *as well as* the path of the unwavering struggle for freedom and happiness of people and nationalities” (ibid.).

Specific proof of the uncritical affirmation of the USSR can be found in the glorification of the Soviet army which, “because of the socialist approach to the organization of the army, has become the most powerful army in the world” (*Pobjeda*, 23 Feb. 1947). Thus, the readers of *Pobjeda* could read a text in which the Red Army was associated with nouns of power, a power explained by the fact that it served a powerful country, and that the Red Army was the result of “friendship and brotherhood among nations, an army educated in the spirit of

internationalism and that it is a reflection of the strength and solidity of social and state order” (ibid.). The reason for its successes lay in the relations that enabled the Soviet Army to be “an army of liberated workers and peasants, an army of friendship and brotherhood, an army educated in the spirit of internationalism” (ibid.). Such an army could only be created by a socialist society that “overthrew the yoke of exploiters and became a staunch defender of the people’s interests” (ibid.). The author of the article explains that the strength of each state depends on state stability and its political and ideological order. The Soviet army was, therefore, a reflection of the socialist society and showed “the strength and solidity of the social and state order” (ibid.). Nouns such as *fraternity*, *strength*, *firmness*, and *power* are repeated throughout the texts mentioning the Red Army, and these texts conclude, as our research shows, with the frequently used exhortation “Long live the Soviet Army, the army of peace, justice and retribution, the liberating army!” (ibid.) The author emphasized the great results achieved in the reconstruction of the country thanks to socialism in the USSR, highlighting the massive construction and electrification of the railways “the likes of which history has not seen before” (ibid.), where the noun history is personified in order to strongly influence the recipient of the article.

The authors also insisted that there was no exploitation of workers and smallholders in the USSR, people who used to be, allegedly, completely dependent on the capital that had *destroyed them*. However, a successful organization of socialist social relations resulted in a positive change. In the new economic and political environment, craft cooperatives “received help from the state, which ordered products from them, paid them in advance, granted loans and free production facilities” (*Pobjeda*, 5 Apr. 1947).

The extent of the uncritical acceptance of the Soviet experience is vividly illustrated by the example of the establishment of a Soviet agricultural institute. As explained, this institute was organized along a new model of socialist development in which “science is a consciously connected whole, unlike in the capitalist world where science grows into something for itself, without connection to reality” (*Stvaranje* 1947: 82). And in such a scientific, socialist institute, according to the author, anything is possible. In this institute cereals that grow on land that has no fertile soil were selected, it created an incredible 17,000 hybrid cereals, as well as new plants hitherto unknown to man. Instead of several dozen grains in one sheaf, cereals created in this institute would have up to 400 grains. All this, according to the interpreters, as a consequence of socialist construction in which

*science in the service of the people, the people in the service of science are free from the shackles that cause ignorance, and such free people have led the country to socialism—the most perfect form of state in the world.* (*Stvaranje* 1947: 80–84)

Through these and similar examples, the USSR was, until 1948, represented in the public discourse of Montenegro as the most advanced country in the world, which achieved these alleged successes solely through the application of socialist social relations.

The complete change of the public discourse in Montenegro towards the USSR is confirmed by the results of the analyses of lexical cohesion and taxonomy carried out on the corpus of texts published in *Pobjeda*. A linguistic analysis of the 18 articles (25,287 words in total) published before July 1948 clearly shows the impact of politics on the shaping of public discourse.

The research on the lexical cohesion and taxonomy of the words in the articles was based on monitoring the repetition of the keywords featured in the texts, by which the authors tried to shape readers' attitudes towards the USSR, in the manner dictated by the political circumstances. To have a more transparent view of the results, we have presented them in tables and figures.

TABLE 1. REPETITION OF LEXEMES DETERMINING  
THE USSR AND ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE PERIOD 1948–1950

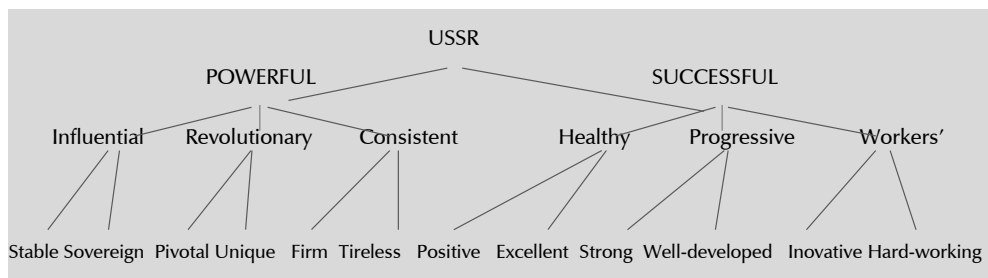
Repetition chain 1	slobodarska (freedom-loving)	slobodna (free)		
Repetition chain 2	snažna (strong)	snaga (strength)		
Repetition chain 3	moćna (powerful)	moćne (powerful)	moćnoj (to the powerful)	moć (power)
Repetition chain 4	čvrsta (firm)	čvrsto (firmly)	čvrstina (firmness)	
Repetition chain 5	Stabilna (steady)	Stabilne (steady)	stabilno (steadily)	
Repetition chain 6	velika (great)	velikoj (to the great)	velike (of the great)	
Repetition chain 7	glasna (loud)	glasno (loudly)		
Repetition chain 8	uticajna (influential)	uticajne (of the influential)	uticaj (influence)	
Repetition chain 9	zdrava (healthy)	zdravoj (to the healthy)	zdrave (of the healthy)	zdravom (by the healthy)
Repetition chain 10	aktivna (active)	aktivnom (by the active)	aktivno (actively)	
Repetition chain 11	hrabra (brave)	hrabre (of the brave)	hrabro (bravely)	
Repetition chain 12	dominantna (dominant)	dominantno (dominantly)		
Repetition chain 13	narodna (popular)	narodne (of the people)	narodnoj (to the people)	

*Continued on next page*

Table 1—*Continued*

Repetition chain 14	suverena (sovereign)	suverenitet (sovereignty)		
Repetition chain 15	demokratska (democratic)	demokratija (democracy)	demokratske (of the democratic)	
Repetition chain 16	uspjeh(success)	uspješna (successful)	uspješno (successfully)	uspješne (of the successful)
Repetition chain 17	ideja (idea, notion)	idejno (ideologically)	idejna (ideological)	
Repetition chain 18	herojska (heroic)	heroj (hero)	heroizam (heroism)	
Repetition chain 19	razvoj (development)	razvojna (developmental)	razvijena (developed)	
Repetition chain 20	izgrađena (fully built)	izgrađenoj (to the fully built)		
Repetition chain 21	napredak (progress)	napredna (progressive, ahead of times)	naprednoj (to the progressive)	
Repetition chain 22	socijalizam (socialism)	socijalistička (socialist)		
Repetition chain 23	bratstvo (fraternity)	bratski (fraternal)		
Repetition chain 23	dosljedna (consistent)	najdosljednija (the most consistent)		
Repetition chain 24	radnička (of the workers)	radnički (in a working man’s manner)	radničkog (of the workers)	
Repetition chain 25	revolucija (revolution)	revolucionarna (revolutionary)		
Repetition chain 26	prekretnica (crossroads)	prekretnička (pivotal)		

FIG. 1. TAXONOMY OF ADJECTIVES DESCRIBING THE USSR  
IN ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN THE PERIOD 1948–1950



The analysis of lexical cohesion indicates a significant number of chains of repetition of nouns, verbs, and adjectives about the Soviet Union with an affirmative connotation when it comes to public discourse, until a watershed historical moment in 1948, when readers were offered a completely different picture of this country. The image representing the taxonomy of adjectives describing the USSR points to the considerable number of formulations that the authors of the researched newspaper articles used in order to portray the USSR as a powerful, healthy, influential and successful country, whose ideas have a bright future, as well as the prospect of developing it, which was considered progressive and positive on the territory of Montenegro in that period.

## The Change in the Public Discourse of Montenegro After the 1948 Soviet-Yugoslav Conflict

THE STRATEGY of uncritically affirming the historical, political and economic role of the USSR in the public discourse of Montenegro would face serious shortcomings at the time of the open conflict<sup>1</sup> between Yugoslavia and the USSR, that is, the Informbiro countries, in mid-1948. Relying heavily on the Soviet tradition of *socialist construction*, the Yugoslav communists found themselves in a serious ideological impasse. From a state that was an ideological beacon for Yugoslavia came sharp criticisms and tones of reproach. The Yugoslav leadership responded in kind to this challenge: instead of defending themselves against the allegations of Moscow, they launched a counterattack. They accused Moscow and the Soviet leadership of deviating from the original teachings of socialism, which was the reason for the conflict between the two countries. In that moment, the independent Yugoslavian path of *socialist construction* began. Convinced that they were the authentic interpreters of socialist ideology, the Yugoslav communists began to gradually move away from Soviet practice and create a new, Yugoslav, ideological paradigm for socialism.

In the new circumstances, it was necessary to shape a completely different public discourse towards the USSR and what that state represented. Already at the end of 1948, it was quite clear to the party structures that the new circumstances would influence the change of public discourse towards the USSR. In the same way, as it was done before 1948, by the same methods and mechanisms, there began the process of shaping public discourse, which this time was in line with the basic political and ideological principles of the Communist Party. Again, the key role was played by the media, that is, the *Pobjeda* newspaper, which returned to the function of ideological propaganda work. In the new circumstances, *Pob-*



*jeda*, which once hailed anything that came from the USSR, was now tasked with exposing the defamation campaign of the IB countries against Yugoslavia.

Instructed directly by the Communist Party organs, the journalists of this newspaper were tasked to participate, through their texts, in the fight against all hostile, anti-Marxist defamation coming from the countries of the people's democracy. The Communist Party, through the Montenegrin Journalists' Association, suggested that the press, through its columns, should "firmly defend the cause of economic peace and international security, dismantle the forces of international reaction and imperialist war politics" (NAMN: 47/49). The political leadership in Montenegro expected the press to "assist the party membership in clarifying the real substance of the dispute and develop a greater understanding of the historical and international significance of our Party's struggle" (*ibid.*).

Working closely with various party bodies, Montenegrin journalists openly accepted that they were fighting the IB resolution on the Communist Party's side. They formulated this through the thesis of "unanimity and unwavering faith in the correctness of the path our Party takes us" (*Pobjeda*, 7 May 1950). In particular, Montenegrin journalists, through their association, "unanimously and resentfully condemn libelous and counter-revolutionary information policy against our Party and our country" (*ibid.*). However, they were trying to create the image that "the USSR and other Eastern bloc countries did not sufficiently appreciate the revolutionary successes of the Yugoslav communists and the results of the liberation war" (*Pobjeda*, 20 April 1949). *Pobjeda* conveyed the views of the leader of the Communist Party in Montenegro, Blažo Jovanović, who explained that the fight against IB had been imposed and that our country did not want that conflict. Jovanović explained that the Tito-led Yugoslav Party had a strong foothold in the teachings of Marxism and Leninism and that it had in no way deviated from socialist teaching. He attributed this guilt to the Bolshevik Party, which, as he claimed, "belittled the struggle of our Party and our people" (*Pobjeda*, 23 July 1949).

The new position of the Communist Party and the media they directly controlled influenced the change in public discourse towards the USSR. Unlike previous messages in which the USSR was an example of a prosperous country, a new public discourse in Montenegro began to take shape through the thesis of a distancing of the USSR from the original practice of Marxism and Leninism. Public discourse did not deviate from the values of the socialist state; on the contrary, the socialist state remained the primary objective of their action. In new circumstances, public discourse was shaped by the slogan that "Soviet practice has distorted the idea of a socialist state and the question of economic relations" (NAMN: 71/1/50).

Instead of rejecting the socialist experience, they advocated new forms of the socialist way of managing the economy. The basic forms of the new way of

managing the economy were the decentralization of the economy, the formation of workers' councils, and boards of directors of businessmen in enterprises. The turn was justified by the need to "involve the masses in the management of the economy" and interpret the whole process as "a major revolutionary step in further building up socialist rule" (NAMN: 71/1/50). In this spirit, an article about Blažo Jovanović's speech in the pre-election conference in Titograd was entitled "Towards Strengthening Our Socialist State." Using a possessive adjective, *our*, Jovanović emphasized that "in socialist Yugoslavia, workers took over the management of enterprises. Today, they are deciding whether to make a better life," implying that Yugoslavia was "fighting to consolidate national rule and strengthen democracy." Jovanović, moreover, resorted to the metaphor of calling these dissenters *political cowards* and then concluded that "there can be no difference between the member of Informbiro and a traitor, now and then" (*Pobjeda*, 27 Sep. 1950).

To point out in the public sphere the justification for deviating from the Soviet experience, the media affirmed the thesis that "the USSR gave up the construction of socialism" (NAMN: 14/48), and that the original path of socialist construction was being followed. That is why party officials in Montenegro were in favor of publishing in the media "the successes in our socialist construction, as the successes so far signify strong denials of the slander spreading to our country" (*Pobjeda*, 20 Apr. 1949). The piece insists that "our country must rely on its strengths in the process of building socialism" (*Partijski rad*, 1 Oct. 1952). The need to fulfill and exceed the annual production quotas in all areas was emphasized, because, according to party officials, this would be a clear indicator of the success and applicability of domestic socialist relations.

The turning point in the practice of the USSR was interpreted as "the battle to preserve Marxist theory, its consistent and creative application in practice and life through the construction of socialism" (*Partijski rad*, 1 Oct. 1952). The basic elements of this new, socialist path are:

*the abolition of bureaucracy and the democratization of socio-political life; a new economic system; handover of factories to the management of direct manufacturers; developing a cooperative movement; reorganization and decentralization of the state administration; developing socialist democracy and worker initiative; building a worthy communist character through the ideological struggle against the influences of bourgeois and the Informbiro members; the Party as leader and educator of the masses.* (ibid.)

The author of the article published in the 7 November 1950 issue emphasized that "the Soviet state was fetishized, and as such, it represented a power above

society” (*Pobjeda*, 7 Nov. 1950). The use of the word *fetish*<sup>2</sup> emphasizes the irrational connection between the USSR and the states that continue to lived under its principles, relying on a cumbersome state apparatus, pointing to the fact that this kind of connection was neither healthy nor useful. Two years later, *Pobjeda* published an article on the front page of the 2 October issue entitled “In the Fight Against Various Subjugation Attempts Our Party Has Emerged Victorious,” which was taken from the speech delivered by Filip Bajković at the Cetinje conference, defined by a sharp rhetoric in which lexemes such as *liberty*, *liberation*, *libertarianism*, are related to Montenegro, while those describing the relationship with the USSR include *endangered*, *discouraged* or *disturbed*.

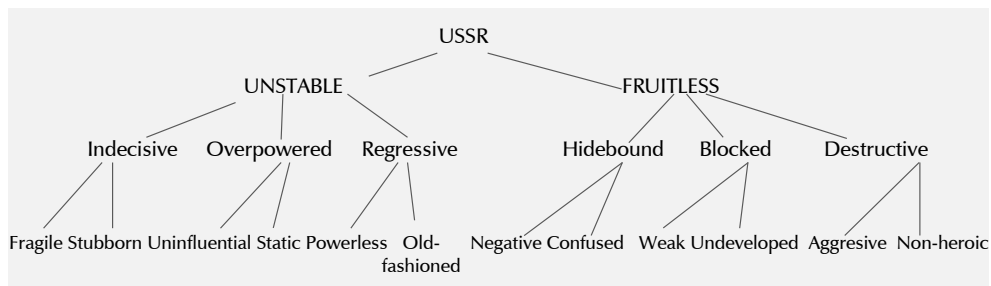
Public discourse culminated in the second Tito report at the 6<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, partly published in *Pobjeda* in November 1952, in issue no. 136, when the editorial staff chose the famous sentence of Tito “Today, small nations do not allow their freedom and independence to satisfy the appetite of an imperialist shark” as the title of the article. The title itself hints at the content of the paper, in which the speaker frequently resorted to metaphors, calling the USSR a shark, qualifying it with the commonly used adjective imperialist, accusing her of arming to subdue the subjugated country. The very adjective *subjugated* (overpowered, subdued) indicates a high degree of negativity in the attitude of Josip Broz towards the USSR, whose insatiability is reflected in the metaphor which is used for depicting the former ally. Seeing that a watershed moment had brought about a major change in public discourse, we analyzed the newspaper texts published between 1948 and 1950 on the assumption that this would indicate a change in public discourse. The analysis was based on 17 articles (22,728 words in total) and results showed a significant change in editorial policy towards what the USSR symbolized.

TABLE 2. REPETITION OF LEXEMES DETERMINING THE USSR AND ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE PERIOD 1948–1950

Repetition chain 1	sputana (inhibited)	sputano (inhibitedly)	
Repetition chain 2	uspavana (sleepy, lethargic)	uspavano (lethargically)	uspavanoj (to the lethargic)
Repetition chain 3	nestabilna (in- consistent)	nestabilne (of the inconsistent)	nestabilno (inconsistently)
Repetition chain 4	slaba (week)	slabašno (weekly)	
Repetition chain 5	razaračka (destructive)	razaračko (destructively)	

Repetition chain 6	nesmotrena (reckless)	nesmotreno (recklessly)			
Repetition chain 7	utišana (silenced)	utišano (silently)			
Repetition chain 8	usamljena (alone, isolated)	usamljeno (lonely)			
Repetition chain 9	neprogresivna (unprogressive)	neprogresivno (unprogressively)			
Repetition chain 10	neaktivna (inactive, passive)	neaktivno (inactively, passively)	neaktivne (of the inactive, passive)		
Repetition chain 11	neuticajna (uniflential)	neuticajno (uniflentially)			
Repetition chain 12	sputana (overpowered, subdued)	sputanom (with an overpowered)	sputano (subdued)		
Repetition chain 13	neodlučna (indecisive)	neodlučno (indecisively)			
Repetition chain 14	zaglavljena (wedged, blocked)				
Repetition chain 15	nenapredna (regressive)	nenaprednoj (to the regressive)	nenapredno (regressively)		
Repetition chain 16	nedemokratski (undemocratic)	nedemokratski (undemocratically)	nedemokratske (of the undemocratic)		
Repetition chain 17	neuspjeh (failure)	neuspješna (fruitless)	neuspješnoj (to the fruitless)	bez uspjeha (without any results)	Nespješne (of the fruitless)
Repetition chain 18	bezidejno (non-ideologically, idealess)	sa nedostatkom ideja (with an evident lack of ideas)			
Repetition chain 19	neherojski (non-heroic)	neherojske (of the non-heroic)	nimalo herojski (absolutely non-heroic)		
Repetition chain 20	narušena (disrupted)	narušivost (disruptibility)			
Repetition chain 22	destruktivna (destructive)	destruktivno (destructively)	destruktivne (of the destructive)		
Repetition chain 23	učmala (hidebound, lazy)	učmalo (in a hidebound manner, lazily)	učmale (of the hidebound)		

FIG. 2. TAXONOMY OF ADJECTIVES DESCRIBING THE USSR  
IN ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN THE PERIOD 1948–1950



The results of the linguistic analysis indicate a significant change in the public discourse relative to the USSR in the period after the watershed of 1948. The analysis of lexical cohesion indicates a significant number of repetition chains of nouns, verbs, and adjectives related to the Soviet Union after a watershed historical moment, while fig. 2, which represents the taxonomy of adjectives now describing the USSR, indicates a considerable number of formulations that depict the USSR as an unstable and fruitless country, whose ideas at that moment didn't seem to have a future or appear to develop into what was considered progressive and positive on the territory of Montenegro.

## Conclusions

**P**UBLIC DISCOURSE in Montenegro in the first years after the Second World War was predominantly shaped by the Communist Party. The process of establishing control mechanisms by which public discourse was shaped and directed can be traced quite accurately through its relationship to the Soviet Union. This example clearly indicates that public discourse was shaped solely by the influence of political processes, that is, the Communist Party's attitude towards this issue. Thus, immediately after the war, through the established mechanisms of public discourse control, the Communist Party uncritically affirmed and exalted the role of the Soviet Union and the alleged military and economic success of this country. However, after the political conflict between Yugoslavia and the USSR in 1948, the Communist Party, in the same way, began to sharply criticize the USSR and the model of socialist state advocated by this country. The change in the public discourse towards the USSR is also indicated by the semantic-pragmatic and lexical analysis of texts appearing in the *Pobjeda* daily, from 1945 to 1950. In this paper, one can identify the change in editorial

policy towards the USSR, which was a direct consequence of the political and ideological turn in regard to the USSR. It should be remembered that the Communist Party, through its mechanisms, had absolute control over the editorial policy of this newspaper, which is why we can conclude that, through the views expressed in this paper, apart from the model of shaping public discourse, political processes had a dominant influence in shaping the postwar public discourse in Montenegro. This was especially significant after the opening of the conflict in 1948, when *Pobjeda* was placed in the service of ideological propaganda with the aim of “exposing the defamation campaign of IB countries against Yugoslavia.” The journalists were tasked, through their articles, with participating in the fight against all “hostile, anti-Marxist defamation coming from the lands of the people’s democracy” (NAMN: 47/49).

Changes in the public discourse towards the USSR are also indicated by linguistic analysis. It highlights 1948 as a turning point in which a radical change towards the first state of socialism takes place. The linguistic analysis indicates that the titles of articles, apart from predication, are most often taken from the statements of those to whom the articles are dedicated, and often represent the verbal comment of the author of the text where the attitude towards a given event or situation is openly expressed. In the initial position of the title, we most often find a noun such as power, power, struggle, resolution, while those articles that convey messages from great leaders feature an imperative form, inviting the target group to engage in an activity. In the use of verb tenses in the titles one reaches for the presentation and then the truncated perfect and future to move the utterance towards the zero points of the deixis and achieve actuality. Sub-titles are not a feature of all articles and in most cases their content can be found in the first paragraphs of the article.

When it comes to the micro-level, the results of the research show that there is a significant correlation in terms of the repetition of word phrases that, until the turn of 1948, express a very positive attitude towards the USSR, with authors using adjectives such as strong, strong, loud, consistent, advanced, built, developed, which visibly change in later editions of the same newspaper, and the Soviet Union would become a dormant, inactive, weak, restrained, unpromising and silent country with no ideas. Seen from the vantage point of taxonomy, the hyperonym for the period up to 1948 is success, while after 1948 it changes into progress.

The results of the historical and linguistic analysis unequivocally confirm the initial research hypothesis that public discourse in Montenegro in the first years after the Second World War was predominantly shaped by the Communist Party. The Communist Party used its monopolistic position in public life to influence, through its mechanisms of control and the media, the formation of public discourse, which is fully demonstrated by the analysis of the case of the USSR

and of the way this country was treated in the public discourse of Montenegro, before and after 1948.



## Notes

1. The conflict between Yugoslavia and the USSR arose as Moscow attempted to control Yugoslavia's internal and foreign policies, as they did with other Eastern bloc countries. As Yugoslavia, unlike other Eastern European countries, had had its authentic liberation movement and revolution during the Second World War, the Yugoslav leadership refused to agree to this kind of relationship with the USSR. The conflict formally began in March 1948 when the two sides openly disagreed for the first time. The climax occurred during June and July 1948 when Yugoslavia was expelled from the community (Informbiro) that brought together the communist parties of the Eastern bloc countries. During the conflict there was a real danger of Soviet military aggression, which is why Yugoslavia began to establish military and political ties with the West. According to some interpretations, the basis of the conflict may also be sought in the Yugoslav Initiative for the creation of the so-called Balkan Federation, which in addition to Yugoslavia would have included Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania, as a kind of counterbalance to the socialist states gathered in the Eastern Bloc around the USSR. The conflict was formally ended in 1953 after Stalin's death, and as early as 1955 relations between Yugoslavia and the USSR were normalized. Read more: Perović 2007.
2. When *fetish* first appeared in English in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, it referred to objects (often amulets) believed by certain West Africans to have supernatural powers. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the word took on a broader meaning: "an object of irrational devotion or reverence." The object need not be physical: a person may have a fetish for an idea, such as an unwarranted belief that a particular economic system will solve society's ills. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, fetish took on yet another meaning quite distinct from its antecedents: a sexualized desire for an object (such as a shoe) or for a body part that is not directly related to the reproductive act (such as an earlobe). <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/fetish>.

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## Abstract

The 1948 Soviet-Yugoslav Conflict in the Public Discourse of Montenegro

The article analyzes Montenegrin public discourse in the first years after the Second World War in the context of the political conflict between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in 1948. The research has been based on archival material, daily press, and texts in literary journals, and is focused on the change of public discourse towards the USSR, conditioned by the political and ideological conflict between Yugoslavia and the USSR. The historical and semantic-pragmatic analysis of the text, as well as the analysis of lexical cohesion and taxonomy, indicate all changes in public discourse that result from the political conflict between the two countries. The critical analysis of public discourse points to the justification of the initial research hypothesis that political processes had a dominant influence on the formation of postwar public discourse in Montenegro.

## Keywords

Montenegro, Yugoslavia, USSR, 1948, political conflict, public discourse