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# PETROVAČKA CRVENA KOMUNA

JOVO U. ZENVIĆ



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Objavljeno prigodom obilježavanja 105. godišnjice  
petrovačke Crvene komune (1920–2025)  
*Published on the occasion of the 105th anniversary  
of the Petrovac Red Commune (1920–2025)*

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# PETROVAČKA CRVENA KOMUNA

JOVO U. ZENOVIĆ

Petrovac, 2025.



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## PETROVAČKA CRVENA KOMUNA: 105. GODIŠNJICA

Godine 2020. bila je „okrugla”, stota godišnjica petrovačke Crvene komune – prve komunističke opštine na Jadranu, formirane 1920, međutim, usljed opštepoznatih razloga uzrokovanih pandemijom koronavirusa COVID-19 i krizom u svijetu, javno obilježavanje ovog izuzetno važnog datuma – izostalo je. Stoga je JU Muzeji i galerije Budve, u čijem sastavu funkcionise i Spomen-dom „Crvena komuna”, 2021. skromno podsjetila na istorijat nastanka petrovačke Komune, dok je prigodni program organizovan tek na 102. obljetnicu, 3. septembra 2022. godine.

Aktuelne, 2025. godine, navršava se 105. godišnjica, a jedna od centralnih aktivnosti jeste upravo objavljivanje stručne publikacije *Petrovačka Crvena komuna* Jova Uroševog Zenovića. Nije potrebno naročito isticati da je riječ o uglednom arhitekti, urbanisti, društvenom i političkom djelatniku, poznatom crnogorskoj javnosti po svom višedecenijskom pregalaštvu za dobrobit rodnog mjesta, jednom od inicijatora i zagovornika ponovnog uspostavljanja petrovačke opštine kao zasebne lokalne samouprave.

Zenović već godinama, u kontinuitetu, svojim tekstovima doprinosi memorijalizaciji Crvene komune u javnom diskursu, podsjećajući na njene osobenosti, karakteristike i društveno-politički značaj, ne samo na nivou Petrovca i Paštrovića, već i mnogo šire. Na to uka-

zuje podatak da su djelovi teksta koji se objavljuju u ovoj knjizi, u nešto drugačijem obliku, ranije publikovani povodom godišnjica Komune. U feljtonima *Vijesti* (7–11. oktobar 2010) – prilikom obilježavanja 90 godina, u *Paštrovskom almanahu IV: za 2017–2021. godinu* (objavljenom 2021) – prilikom jednog vijeka, te u feljtonu *Pobjede* (31. avgust – 4. septembar 2022) – na 102. godišnjicu. O Crvenoj komuni autor je opsežno pisao i u *Studiji o opravdanosti osnivanja Opštine Petrovac* (2015), kao i u posebnoj publikaciji *Istorijsko i kulturno nasljeđe Petrovca: 1920–1941–2021.* (2021) – prvoj koja sveobuhvatno sagledava prošlost i baštinu ovog mjesta.

U najnovijem izdanju koje je pred čitaocima tekst je na više mjesta izmijenjen i dopunjen, dodati su određeni novi djelovi, dati potpisi ilustracija i dopisana srednja tj. imena očeva ranih petrovačkih komunara, a, što je najbitnije, tekst se prvi put objavljuje bilingvalno – na našem i engleskom jeziku. Odluka izdavača i uredništva da se knjiga publikuje i na jednom od najvećih svjetskih jezika proistekla je iz želje da se o povijesti i kulturi Petrovca čuje i čita internacionalno.

Činjenica da je sjećanje o petrovačkoj Crvenoj komuni, koja je trajala samo 403 dana, i danas izuzetno živo i važan dio identiteta ljudi ovog kraja, govori nam o značaju koji umnogome prevazilazi lokalni, nacionalni i regionalni kontekst. Priča o jedinstvu i viziji petrovačkih komunara priča je o snazi i potencijalu nevelike lokalne zajednice koja, i 105 godina kasnije, istinski inspiriše i nove generacije.

*Milica Stanić Radonjić  
Dušan Medin*

U Petrovcu,  
3. septembra 2025. godine

## PETROVAČKA CRVENA KOMUNA

„... u periodu kada pokušaji revolucionarnog mijenjanja svijeta naglo uzmiču (ili sasvim nestaju) pred reakcionarnim odgovorom stranih sila, politička kultura Crne Gore stvarana od vremena Duklje do 'Crvene komune' i dalje ostaje barem za jedan stepen iznad ne samo balkanske, nego i evropske”.

*Prof. dr Radovan Radonjić, 2024.*

Na osnovu raspoloživih podataka nije moguće tačno saznati kada su održani opštinski izbori u Petrovcu. Na osnovu posrednih podataka zaključuje se da je to bilo početkom septembra 1920. godine. Savo K. Vuković, kao novoizabrani predsjednik opštine, prvi dokument potpisuje 3. septembra, pa se taj datum može prihvatiti i kao datum kada su petrovački komunisti zvanično preuzeli vlast. Već 18. septembra Pokrajinska vlada za Dalmaciju bila je primorana da proglasi pobjedu komunista i novu opštinsku upravu. Tako je nastala poznata petrovačka Crvena komuna, prva komunistička opština na Jadranu, koja je trajala 403 dana (od 3. septembra 1920. do 10. oktobra 1921. godine).

U mjesecima pred izbore množile su se represije vlasti protiv rastućeg komunističkog pokreta. No, komunisti iz Petrovca nijesu se uplašili mnogobrojnih prijetnji žandarmerije i policije, pa su im

birači sa velikom većinom poklonili povjerenje. Na dan izbora u Petrovac je došao i upravitelj Kotarskog poglavarstva iz Kotora, Rašković, s odredom žandarmerije naoružane dugim cijevima, koji je zahtijevao da se glasa u njegovom prisustvu. Tada su se između birača izdvojili ratnici sa Solunskog fronta i povratnici iz pečalbe i javno glasali za odbornike sa liste Komunističke partije, što je ohrabrilo ostale birače koji su im se masovno pridružili. Na izborima je glasao 191 birač, a komunistička lista dobila je 121 glas.

Nakon pobjede na izborima formiran je uži opštinski odbor sa predsjednikom opštine Savom K. Vukovićem na čelu, u koji kao opštinski načelnici ulaze Krsto N. Vuković, Niko A. Gregović, Ivo Đ. Vuković, Mitar I. Todorica, Niko P. Đedović i Filip I. Gregović, dok se u širi opštinski odbor opštine Petrovac, koji je brojao ukupno 24 člana, biraju još: Marko V. Gregović, Krsto N. Medigović, Savo L. Medin, Stevo M. Andrović, Pero J. Perović, Rado L. Šolja-ga, Savo L. Davidović, Niko I. Medigović, Krsto R. Srzentić, Milo Z. Zenović, Krsto S. Goliš, Simo A. Perazić, Niko L. Perazić, Milo S. Gregović, Ilija J. Pavlović, Špiro L. Đedović i Mitar Đ. Radović.

Prvi dani komunističke opštine bili su veoma teški jer režim nije prihvatao novonastale odnose. I vojska i policija, kao i Političko izloženstvo u Budvi i Poglavarstvo u Kotoru pokušavali su da spriječe rastuću plimu naprednog pokreta i da upravu opštine onemoguću u obavljanju svojih poslova. Izvještaji sa terena su, međutim, dosta pesimistički, uključujući i onaj koji potpisuje komandant budvanskog vojnog odsjeka major Blažo Đukanović, kasnije poznati kvisling, četnički komandant i zločinac, kog su likvidirali partizani 1943. godine zajedno sa Bajom Stanišićem i drugima koji su se krili u Manastiru Ostrog, u kojem se, između ostalog, navodi: „... Taj komunizam iz dana u dan prelazi u krajnju samovolju... Žandarmerija, uplašena njihovim drskim postupanjem i samovoljnim postupcima, nemoćna je da obavlja svoju dužnost”.

Komanda vojnog odsjeka zalaže se za oružani direktni nasrtaj na opštinu, ali Političko izloženstvo u Budvi smatra da s akcijom treba pričekati „dok se situacija ne razbistri, da se ne bi učinilo gore”.

Opštinska uprava je hrabro odolijevala svim nasrtajima, tijesno saradujući sa komunističkim prvacima iz drugih krajeva. Već na samom početku svog rada donosi odluke usmjerene na rješavanje snabdijevanja stanovništva namirnicama, zatim odluku da zemlja pripada onima koji je obrađuju, savjetuju seljacima da gazdama ne plaćaju rentu, odnosno „napolicu”, iako su među samim članovima odbora neki od najimućnijih, smatrajući da i gazde treba da žive od svog rada. Planiraju, ali ne stižu da sprovedu oduzimanje crkvene zemlje u Buljarici i dodjelu seljacima, ukidaju se pazarina i porezi koji su plaćani opštini, sve funkcije u upravi obavljaju se volonterski, a članovi te uprave sami nabavljaju kancelarijski materijal i podmiruju druge troškove. Sve to je dalje podsticalo slogu naroda i popularisalo ideje za koje se zalažu komunisti.

Tako već na prvim poslijeratnim parlamentarnim izborima u ujedinjenoj državi, održanim 28. novembra 1920. godine, lista Komunističke partije Jugoslavije za Dalmaciju, na kojoj je pored dalmatinskih komunističkih prvaka bio i Marko N. Gregović, u Petrovcu odnosi ubjedljivu pobjedu sa 121 dobijenim glasom, naspram 52 glasa koliko su dobile sve druge partije zajedno.

Optužujući Komunističku partiju Jugoslavije da priprema promjenu društvenog poretka u državi, kraljevska vlada već 30. decembra iste godine objavljuje zloglasnu Obznanu, kojom se zabranjuje aktivnost komunističkih i naprednih sindikalnih organizacija. Odmah potom, Kotarskom poglavarstvu u Kotoru naređuje se da obustavi djelovanje svih komunističkih organizacija na njegovom području, zatvori sve njihove domove, preuzme njihova imanja i spise, te da preduzme najstrože mjere sigurnosti dogovorene sa vojnim vlastima, da energično, uključujući pretrage i hapšenja, istupi protiv „razvratnih elemenata”. I pored zabrane legalnog djelovanja komunističkog pokreta, opštinska vlast u Petrovcu nastavila je sa radom još više od devet mjeseci. Po donošenju Obznane, u izvještaju povjerenika Političkog izloženstva navedeno je sljedeće: „Ovdje živi narod izuzetno bujnog temperamenta. Ovi ljudi sačinjavaju jedan organizam. Ako udarite ili ubijete jednog, svi hoće da se svete. U tome je za vlast poteškoća”.

Krajem jula 1921. u opštinskoj upravi odbili su da pokažu znake žalosti zbog ubistva tvorca Obznane, morskog im ministra Milorada Draškovića, a nijesu se mnogo potresali niti zbog prethodno neuspjelog atentata na regenta Aleksandra; po prijavi policije partijski sekretar i odbornik Pavle L. Srzentić navodno je izjavio tim povodom: „Ako ovaj nije uspio, uspjeće drugi” (Milorad Marković, „Crveni svjetionik“, *Pobjeda*), što dovoljno govori o raspoloženju i odnosu prema vlastima nove države ne samo odborničke većine, već i svih onih koji su ih podržavali. Zato, nakon samo nekoliko dana u Petrovcu počinju pretresi kuća u traganju za komunističkim propagandnim materijalom, žandarmi hapse Marka N. Gregovića i Pavla L. Srzentića i sprovode u istražni zatvor u Kotor, gdje su nekoliko mjeseci svakodnevno bili podvrgnuti sistematskom mučenju. Zbog pojačanog terora petrovački komunisti su bili prinuđeni da sve više pasiviziraju svoj rad, a neki su, naročito intelektualci, bili primorani da napuste Petrovac.

Nakon donošenja Zakona o zaštiti javne bezbjednosti i poretka u državi 1. avgusta 1921. Pokrajinska vlada u Splitu hitno usvaja zaključak o raspuštanju komunističke opštine u Petrovcu, koji ipak nije mogao biti odmah sproveden. Nije u tome pomogao ni dolazak upravitelja Sreskog poglavarstva iz Kotora 11. septembra, koji na licu mjesta donosi dekret o raspuštanju opštine, koji takođe nije izvršen.

Petrovačka Crvena komuna je, uz upotrebu sile, kada je vojska sa žandarmerijom i policijom zavela opsadno stanje, zvanično raspuštena tek 10. oktobra 1921. godine.

Opredjeljenja i zanos petrovačkih komunara i njihovih simpatizera nijesu mogli biti spriječeni terorom i represivnim mjerama države. Već 1923. nanovo se formira ilegalna partijska ćelija i počinje da stasava nova generacija komunista. Zbog svoje revolucionarne djelatnosti i oni, kao i njihovi stariji drugovi, bivaju proganjani i hapšeni, među ostalima, Dušan I., Andrija S. i Vlado N. Medin i Lazar D. Drašković. Zapažen prilog revolucionarnom talasu Petrovčana daju studenti Beogradskog univerziteta koji su u periodu između dva rata imali svoju ljetnju koloniju u Petrovcu, kao

dio svoje univerzitetske autonomije, i u kojoj je važnu ulogu imao tadašnji Revolucionarni studentski pokret.

Plamen koji su prije više od jednog vijeka zapalili petrovački komunisti neprestano je rasplamsavan između dva svjetska rata da bi se pretvorio u trinaestojulsku buktinju, nošen kroz dalji revolucionarni vihor od strane znanih i nezvanih revolucionara. Crveni barjak iz 1920. borci ovog kraja, učestvujući u legendarnim bitkama Narodnooslobodilačkog rata i revolucije pronijeli su širom nekadašnje države – od Pljevalja, preko Igmana, Neretve, Sutjeske i Zelengore, pa sve do Beograda i Istre. Poštujući tradiciju i ne zaboravljajući svoje pretke, 1942. godine, u jeku NOB-a i narodne revolucije, 430 zakletih partizana i 39 partizanki iz Paštrovića, Maina, Brajića, Pobora, Budve i dijela Boke, u spomen na nekadašnjeg paštrovskog kneza i posljednjeg srpskog despota, svojem bataljonu dali su ime „Stevan Štiljanović”.

Među stanovništvom okupator je sve vrijeme rata uzalud tražio oslonac, 90 odsto odraslih muškaraca petrovačke opštine nosilo je partizansku pušku. Na opšti zbor svih muškaraca od 16 do 60 godina, koji je, radi raspodjele okupatorskog oružja, sazvaio njemački komandant mjesta 1944. godine, nije se odazvao niti jedan Petrovčanin!

Na borilištima i gubilištima nekadašnje jugoslovenske domovine u Drugom svjetskom ratu živote su dali 253 borca sa teritorije sadašnje opštine Budva, od kojih 85 sa teritorije Petrovca.

## DRUŠTVENO-EKONOMSKI I POLITIČKI ODNOSI I SPECIFIČNOSTI KOJE SU POGODOVALE NASTANKU CRVENE KOMUNE

Širenje socijalističke misli u Crnoj Gori može se pratiti od sedamdesetih godina XIX vijeka. U početku su akteri bili rijetki pojedinci, ali je ubrzo njihov broj rastao. Već početkom prošlog vijeka dolazi do formiranja prvih radničkih udruženja i do prvih štrajkova, što govori o postepenoj afirmaciji radničkog pokreta. I

pored zabrane formiranja socijalističkih organizacija, socijalistička misao postajala je sve prisutnija. Nosioi te misli i organizatori radničkih udruženja bili su mladi ljudi koji su se školovali i pečalbarili u sredinama u kojima je socijalistički i socijaldemokratski pokret imao organizacionu i političku formu, kao i politički program rada. Broj pristalica ovog pokreta rastao je iz godine u godinu što je dovelo i do stvaranja prvih socijalističkih grupa.

Već 1890. godine Petrovčani osnivaju Srpsku čitaonicu, nesto kasnije i Srpsko sokolsko društvo, u cilju prosvjećivanja i podizanja nivoa svijesti o neophodnosti borbe za nacionalno, klasno i socijalno oslobođenje. Za prvog predsjednika biraju čuvenog pomorskog kapetana Stijepa M. Medina, koji je sa svojim brodovima snabdijevao oružjem crnogorsku vojsku, između ostalog i topovima, što je bilo veoma dragocjeno prilikom oslobođenja Ulcinja i Bara od Osmanlija 1878. godine. Mladi i jaki petrovački momci svojim mišicama dugo su vremena branili da u njihove prostorije slučajno ne kroči čizma žandarma.

Prije i u toku Prvog svjetskog rata jedan, ne tako mali, dio crnogorske ekonomske emigracije, kao i sve veći broj đaka i studenata, našao se u savezničkim zemljama. Kada je pobjeda Oktobarske socijalističke revolucije u ratnim uslovima u najvećoj državi svijeta postala stvarnost, to je izazvalo velike političke zaokrete u svijetu. Od tada pa tokom cijelog trajanja rata, a i kasnije, u svjetskom javnom mnjenju, kako među radničkom klasom tako i među inteligencijom, bila je prisutna misao o realnosti socijalističkog preobražaja društva. I među našom emigracijom, pored oslobođenja i ujedinjenja južnoslovenskih naroda, osnovno političko pitanje postaje i socijalna transformacija društva.

Okolnosti u kojima je revolucionarna socijalistička propaganda u Petrovcu uzimala maha bile su specifične. Prvih mjeseci poslije ujedinjenja u Paštrovićima su se naglo širile komunističke ideje, donošene sa raznih strana. Saznanja o Oktobarskoj revoluciji, revolucionarna vrenja u Evropi, pobune radnika i vojnika u pojedinim zemljama, pobuna mornara austougarske flote stacionirane u

Boki kotorskoj, ratna razaranja i stradanja, sve je to imalo odraza u svijesti i spoznajama Paštrovića, koji su, inače, odranije bili upoznati sa klasnim nepravdama i okupacijskim ugnjetavanjima.

U Prvom balkanskom ratu, u borbama sa osmanskom vojskom kod Skadra, učestvovalo je 80 boraca iz Paštrovića. Dušan J. Gregović iz Kastel Lastve, kako se ranije nazivao Petrovac, do tada konzul u Carigradu i Skadru, neposredno pred Prvi balkanski rat, ukazom kralja Nikole I Petrovića Njegoša imenovan je za ministra inostranih poslova. Nakon odluke velikih sila da Crna Gora mora napustiti Skadar podnio je neopozivu ostavku, nakon čega i kompletna Vlada. Kasnije je bio diplomata i u zajedničkoj državi Kraljevini SHS.

Početak Prvog svjetskog rata mnogi Paštrovići pokazuju bunt prema okupatoru i učestvuju u crnogorskoj vojsci u borbama za oslobođenje. Već u avgustu 1914. Budva je integrisana u Kraljevinu Crnu Goru i postaje administrativno sjedište Oblasne uprave sve do kraja 1915. i ponovne okupacije austrougarskih trupa. Za oblasnog upravitelja postavljen je paštrovski prvak Đuro Zenović, koji izvještava, kako kaže, „Kralja oslobodioca”, Nikolu I Petrovića Njegoša: „Na drevni grad Vaših predaka, uz svečanu manifestaciju i brujanje zvona obiju hrišćanskih crkava, podignuta je Vaša zastava”.

Nakon ponovne okupacije vlasti su tretirale paštrovske prvake i rodoljube kao izdajnike i kažnjavali ih strijeljanjem. Tako su na Španjoli kod Herceg Novog, pored Đura Zenovića, strijeljani i njegovi drugovi i saborci: predsjednik budvanske opštine Lazar Srzentić, zatim Savo Anđus, Krsto Vuković, Marko Kaloštro, Niko Pavlović i Milo Mitrović, da bi im pritom bila konfiskovana i sva imovina. Njihova imena, zajedno sa imenima strijeljanih Bokelja i Spičana, uklesana su u nadgrobni spomenik pred Manastirom Savina. Kada je 1963. došlo do postavljanja spomenika paštrovskim oslobodiocima na Kastelu u Petrovcu, u vidu svetioničkog stuba sa stilizovanom bakljom na njegovom vrhu, na spomen pločama u njegovom podnožju uklesana su imena palih boraca i civilnih

žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata (njih 143), kao i imena boraca palih u Balkanskim i Prvom svjetskom ratu (njih ukupno 52), uključujući i pomenute oslobodioce Budve, iznad kojih stoji natpis „PALI ZA ČEST, IME I SLOBODU”.

Na lokalitetu Džamanja do u Buljarici danas se nalaze ostaci austrougarskog koncentracionog logora i groblja iz Prvog svjetskog rata. „Spomen groblje umrlih rodoljuba-interniraca iz I svjetskog rata” u Buljarici posjeduje status kulturnog dobra, i nalazi se u Registru kulturnih dobara Crne Gore od 1962. godine. Kako na terenu obraslom u šipražje nema bilo kakvog obilježja, tako su, nažalost, i u crnogorskoj istoriografiji ova događanja ostala nedovoljno istražena.

Dnevni list *Pobjeda*, u rubrici „Sjećanja” (1974) objavljuje pismo Marka Vukovića, tada još živog svjedoka ovih stradanja, u kojem, između ostalog, kaže: „Bio sam dječak u to vrijeme, ali se sjećam nesrećnih žrtava – boraca, žena, djece i nemoćnih staraca – koje su ovdje dovedene i najtežim mukama podvrgnute. Pored muka, bolijesti i gladi od kojih su najčešće stradali, veliki broj je poginuo u pokušaju bjekstva. Imao sam tu nesrećnu i neprijatnu dužnost da, mobilisan od strane okupatorske vlasti, sa svojim drugovima u više navrata danonoćno sahranjujem stradale...”

U drugoj polovini sedamdesetih godina prošlog vijeka postojala je inicijativa tadašnjeg SUBNOR-a Budva za obilježavanje ovog stratišta, kao mjesta stradanja velikog broja crnogorskih vojnika i članova njihovih porodica u austrougarskom zarobljeničkom logoru, koju je prihvatilo Predsjedništvo SSRN RCG, pa su za tu namjenu bila izdvojena i određena sredstva. Tim povodom zajednička delegacija tada je pregovarala sa poznatim jugoslovenskim umjetnikom Dušanom Džamonjom o izradi projekta za budući memorijalni centar, ali je zemljotres 1979. prekinuo dalja dešavanja po ovom pitanju, koje je, nažalost, kasnije brzo zaboravljeno. Ove inicijative će se sada teško sprovesti kroz planske dokumente, jer je petnaestak godina unazad neko brzopleto i nepromišljeno donio odluku da se u neposrednoj okolini tog prostora, uz raz-

norazne centralne djelatnosti, izgradi postrojenje za prečišćavanje otpadnih voda!?

U sastavu crnogorske vojske u Prvom svjetskom ratu, na Lovčenskom sektoru, u Primorskoj brigadi, borilo se oko 250 Paštrovića. Poslije kapitulacije jedan broj njih odstupio je sa srpskom vojskom preko Albanije, neki samo do albanskih luka odakle su se prebacivali do zapadnoevropskih zemalja, a drugi do Solunskog fronta, gdje se zajedno sa dobrovoljcima iz prekomorskih zemalja, našlo njih 150. Još 35 Paštrovića ratovalo je u sastavu savezničkih armija, uglavnom u jedinicama Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Život je dalo 37 boraca, 22 su ranjena, a borcima je ukupno dodijeljeno 80 najviših vojnih i drugih odlikovanja i priznanja.

Nakon završetka Prvog svjetskog rata i konačnog oslobođenja od okupatora, u tada jako izraženom pobjedničkom zanosu, „seocki kmet” Niko I. Medigović već početkom 1919. saziva zbor koji donosi odluku da se naziv mjesta Kastel Lastva promijeni u Petrovac (među 25 prisutnih, prevagnuo je samo jedan glas u odnosu na Aleksandrovac), te da se Petrovac proglasi za varošicu, što ukazom ubrzo potvrđuje regent Aleksandar.

Međutim, taj zanos nije dugo trajao. Tadašnja privremena opštinska vlast nije bila jedinstvena i nije imala snage da se hvata u koštac sa problemima koji su narastali iz dana u dan, usljed čega je dolazilo do čestih ostavki i promjena u upravi.

Borci iz Paštrovića su na Solunskom frontu dosta saznali o Oktobarskoj revoluciji, a neki od njih koji su sa oduševljenjem prihvatili revolucionarne ideje, bili su šikanirani od tadašnjih savezničkih i srpskih vlasti, da bi njih petorica čak bili protjerani sa fronta. Već prvih dana po završetku rata oni su počeli da stižu u Petrovac, Sv. Stefan i u druga paštrovska sela, uz njih i povratnici iz austrougarskih logora, kao i pečalbari iz Amerike. Na njihovo iznenađenje, uz kmetove i popove, zatekli su u službi i iste one žandarme, policajce i špijune koji su ranije proganjali narod, služeći Austrougarskoj. Naime, vojne i civilne vlasti novoformirane države preuzimale su

dobar dio režimskog aparata iz vremena okupacije, pa čak i unapređivale policijske i druge činovnike.

Ogorčeni takvim ponašanjem, učesnici sa protesnog zбора održanog u Petrovcu poručuju: „... Narod je ovaj radan, miran i patriotičan, dakako siromašan, ali ponosan i srećan na izvojevanu pobjedu. Prećerano mrzi nevaljalce, špijune, zlotvore svog naroda, prema njima milosrđa nema; ... Kakve tu krivice ima ako naš narod hoće da legalnim putem uskrsne i podigne poštenje bez koga sreće ni napretka nema”.

Razočarani sveukupnom poratnom situacijom zahtijevaju od nadležnih organa da se pomogne invalidima i njihovim porodicama, ratnoj siročadi, porodicama poginulih, strijeljanih i umrlih u logorima. U zaključcima sa skupa predstavnika obje paštrovske opštine – Petrovca i Sv. Stefana – održanog krajem 1919. godine, pored ostalog, kaže se: „... Paštrovsko pleme podnijelo je pregoleme muke, pretrpjelo prevelike bolove, proplakalo mnoge suze... Pustoš kraljuje na svim linijama. Opština je prezadužena, kulturne i privredne ustanove opljačkane, škole dobrim dijelom zatvorene”.

Nezadovoljstvo i razočarenje novim poretkom bilo je utoliko veće što su Paštrovići bili pristalice ujedinjenja jugoslovenskih naroda i formiranja nove državne zajednice.

Te, 1919. godine naglo je rastao ugled Socijalističke radničke partije Jugoslavije (komunista), kojoj su se na Kongresu ujedinjenja u Beogradu priključile i socijal-demokratske organizacije iz Crne Gore. I u Petrovcu je ubrzo osnovana takva partijska organizacija koja je brojala 80 članova, sa sekretarom Pavlom L. Srzentićem na čelu. Iako je aktivnost komunista podržavala većina stanovništva, njihovi aktivisti brzo su došli u nemilost vojnih, policijskih i političkih vlasti, pod sumnjom da su nova „politička jeres”. Međutim, Petrovčane nije bilo teško okupiti na jednom programu koji je insistirao na radikalnim mjerama za promjenu, kako političkih tako i društveno-ekonomskih odnosa. Tako su se nezadovoljstvo stanovništva postojećim stanjem, rješenjem nacio-

nalnog i socijalnog pitanja i njegov opozicioni duh pretakali u socijalističke programske sadržaje i opredjeljenja. Tako je i većina članova dotadašnje privremene uprave na izborima javno podržala listu komunista.

Na ishod opštinskih izbora u Petrovcu nije mogao odlučujuće uticati samo jedan mogući faktor (politički, ekonomski ili neki treći). Ako se već u startu mogu eliminisati neki od bitnih preduslova koji su presudno uticali na izborne pobjede komunista u drugim jugoslovenskim krajevima, kao što su postojanje radničke klase ili gradskih naseobina i sl., u ovom slučaju se uzroci moraju potražiti u samoj suštini historijskog, narodnog bića Paštrovića, kao i u njihovoj vjekovima stvaranoj demokratskoj samosvijesti i etičkoj tradiciji.

Iako su više stotina godina bili pod tuđinskom, prije svega mletačkom i austrijskom, odnosno austrougarskom vlašću, uspjevali su da izbore i da održe autonomnost, te da stiču razne političke i ekonomske povlastice, naročito u pomorskom saobraćaju i trgovini. Sloga ih je u mnogim nedaćama održavala i u svom kraju i u tuđini. Teško su se odlučivali da krivce predaju tuđinskim vlastima, optužbe su provjeravali pa bi krivcima sudili sami. Sami su, takođe, obavljali svoje pomorce i gusare koji bi opljačkali strani brod da štetu nadoknade, a ako bi šteta bila veća, njihova imanja su prodavana. Sami su se obračunavali i sa špijunima u svojim redovima.

Održati se a ne klonuti duhom bio je vjekovni imperativ stanovnika ovog kraja. Zato je sudbina mnoge i odvela „trbuvom za krivom” ravno do Bosfora, u još dalju Rusiju ili Ameriku. Put naših predaka do carigradske luke Galata, gdje se tada najbrže moglo doći do „kore ljeba” vodio je bespućem u surovu neizvjesnost.

S komadom prijesne rumetinove pogače u zaprćenoj torbici, u opancima što su ih sami pravili od kozje čapre oputom šivene, ogrnuti strukom što su im supruge, sestre ili majke izatkale, decenijama se kretao razbijeni karavan iznemoglih pješaka punih 40 dana i noći do Carigrada i natrag. A svi skupa, bilo da su se nalazili u Galati, na Donu, u prerijama američkog Divljeg zapada,

pa sve do ledenih virova zlatonosne Aljaske – čekali su na zov Otadžbine da s puškom u ruci pohrle u boj protiv neprijatelja, za svoje otečestvo, slobodu i pravdu.

Kako bi se bolje razumjele specifičnosti paštrovskog kraja koje su pogodovale pojavi Crvene komune, neophodno je sagledati društveno-ekonomske odnose u kojima je nastala i razvijala se stara Lastva, kasnije Kastel Lastva, odnosno Kastio, kako ga je narod nazivao, a potom Petrovac (nakon ujedinjenja u zajedničku državu). Karakteristika za srednjovjekovnu Lastvu je bila tendencija nezavisnosti i autonomije čak i od Paštrovskog zbora, kao najvišeg samoupravnog organa Paštrovića. Kada su se, na primjer, Paštrovići pridružili Ivanu Crnojeviću 1465. godine, Lastva to nije uradila, a iz dokumenata o dobrovoljnom priključenju Paštrovića Veneciji iz 1423, vidi se da je Lastva, koja je u to vrijeme bila van plemenske organizacije (imala je sopstvene sudije, vojvode i pečat) to prihvatila 19 godina kasnije. Nakon što je Lastva i formalno postala integralni dio Paštrovića, uklopivši se u plemensku organizaciju vlasti i poštujući odluke Zbora i drugih organa, i nakon što, dolaskom austrougarske vlasti, Sv. Stefan postaje središte Paštrovića, po tom osnovu često se javlja rivalitet između ova dva mjesta – dvije „bande” Paštrovića. Na zborovima građana održanim januara 1919. godine „jednoglasno i bratski i slobodnom voljom u dobroj namjeri” postignut je dogovor o formiranju dvije opštine, jedne sa sjedištem u Sv. Stefanu i druge u Petrovcu (od Smokov vijenca do Kufina), čime je ostvarena dugogodišnja težnja za autonomijom, što je takođe bio jedan od preduslova za nastanak Crvene komune. U manjoj i kompaktnijoj sredini, naime, došli su do jačeg izražaja faktori koji su uticali na revolucionarnost naroda i njegovo opredjeljenje da vlast povjeri komunistima, sa željom za stvaranjem novog, boljeg društva. Dakle, osnivanje petrovačke Crvene komune treba prvenstveno sagledavati u kontinuitetu razvoja samouprave i težnji za autonomijom ovoga kraja od davnina.

Nosioci komunističkih ideja u Petrovcu nijesu bili samo siromašni zemljoradnici, većina je bila srednjeg imovnog stanja, a neki od njih čak i među najimućnijim. Uz slobodarsku tradiciju imali su i

svijest da su ljudske vrijednosti značajnije od materijalnih. Oni su, kao i drugi rodoljubi, uglavnom, bili dugogodišnji pečalbari po čitavom svijetu. Tako je skoro 90 odsto od više od 500 dobrovoljaca u ratovima 1912. do 1918. godine jednom ili više puta boravilo u inostranstvu na privremenom radu. Na ratišta su ih doveli patriotizam i visoka nacionalna svijest da se bore za slobodu svog naroda.

Među petrovačkim komunarima nije bilo nepismenih, svi su izvršili obavezno šestorazredno školovanje u rodnom kraju, gdje se nastava izvodila na srpsko-hrvatskom jeziku. Njih dvadesetak je govorilo jedan ili više svjetskih jezika. To su, za ondašnje prilike, bili emancipovani i politički zreli ljudi. Tradicija i ugled porodice imali su značajan uticaj na opredjeljivanje potomaka, pa su tako i petrovački komunari, nastavljajući tradiciju svojih predaka, nastojali da zadrže stečeni ugled i vodeću ulogu u svom bratstvu, plemenu i šire, što je uvijek nailazilo na poštovanje sredine. To su bili ljudi koji su se odlikovali primjernim ličnim poštenjem i velikim društvenim ugledom. To su bili ljudi kojima se moglo vjerovati i za kojima se pouzdano moglo ići, pa je taj njihov moralni kapital možda i snažnije uticao na narod, nego li njihova klasna svijest i socijalistička opredjeljenja!

Pobjeda petrovačkih komunista na opštinskim izborima 1920. godine i djelovanje Crvene komune po mnogo čemu predstavljaju svojevrsan fenomen. U idejno-političkom pogledu ovi događaji su bili od neprocjenjivog značaja za ostvarivanje generacijskog kontinuiteta u KPJ i predstavljaju jednu od najsvjetlijih stranica u istoriji revolucionarnog i radničkog pokreta.

## SAVO K. VUKOVIĆ

Savo Krstov Vuković rođen je novembra 1892. godine u dobrostojećoj porodici, koja se uspješno bavila zemljoradnjom, stičući prihode za širenje imanja i od pečalbarenja u Americi. Budući antiaustrijski orijentisan, u ranoj mladosti zagovarao je slobodarske ideje, bio član Čitaonice koja je utemeljena prilozima pečalbara još 1890,

kao i Sokolskog društva. Kao dobrovoljac javlja se u crnogorsku vojsku i ratuje u borbama za Skadar. To isto radi i odmah po otpočinjanju Prvog svjetskog rata, a nakon kapitulacije, pridružuje se srpskoj vojsci u odstupanju do albanske obale. Potom, nakon kraćeg boravka u Francuskoj odlazi u Ameriku, gdje, radeći u rudnicima, stiče prva iskustva o klasnim sukobima i sindikalnom organizovanju.

Nakon završetka rata vraća se u zavičaj i postaje jedan od glavnih propagatora naprednog revolucionarnog pokreta. Ubrzo sa svojim rođacima i prijateljima, uglavnom pečalbarima kao i borcima sa Solunskog fronta, osniva mjesnu organizaciju Socijalističke radničke partije Jugoslavije (komunista), koja već tada ima snažan uticaj na rad opštinske uprave i zapaženu ulogu u cjelokupnom društveno-političkom životu svoga kraja. Po preuzimanju vlasti na opštinskim izborima od strane komunista, o čemu je, kao i o događajima koji su potom uslijedili, više riječi bilo u naprijed navedenom tekstu, izabran je za predsjednika petrovačke komunističke opštine – Crvene komune. Po prestanku njenog rada, u uslovima zabrane rada komunističkih organizacija i terora koji je uslijedio nad njihovim članovima i simpatizerima, kao i nad ukupnim stanovništvom, trpeći torture i hapšenja, Savo Vuković je opet jedan od članova novoformirane ilegalne partijske ćelije u Petrovcu 1923. godine.

Kasnije se povukao iz partijskog života, baveći se ugostiteljstvom i trgovinom, ali je ostao u kontaktu sa rukovodstvom obavljajući povjerljive poslove. Sve vrijeme bio je jedan od najvećih finansijera komunističkih partijskih organizacija u Crnoj Gori. Na opštinskim izborima 1936, koji su nanovo potvrdili opredijeljenost Paštrovića za ideje Komunističke partije Jugoslavije, nalazi se na listi opozicionih partija, nakon čega je ponovo izabran za predsjednika opštine. Dužnost je, naravno, opet obavljao volonterski. Nakon okupacije italijanskih trupa 1941. namjeravao je da podnese ostavku, ali je po nalogu Partije, iako tada nije bio njen član, ostao na tom mjestu do Trinaestojulskog ustanka. Aktivno je učestvovao u pripremama, a sa puškom u ruci i u samom ustanku. Tamo gdje je bio on, išli su i drugi Paštrovići.

I nakon splašnjavanja Trinaestojulskog ustanka pod pritiskom italijanskih divizija, kao gerilac, vjerujući u pobjedu, ostao je po brdima i planinama Paštrovića i Crmnice, hrabrio je svoj narod da izdrži patnje i uvjeravao ih da će dočekati slobodu. „Neka gori, gradićemo nove hotele i nove kuće!” – govorio je sa smiješkom, gledajući sa planine kako mu gori hotel u Lučicama kojeg su zapalili fašistički okupatori.

Zajedno sa svojim prijateljem Ivom K. Sudićem, uhvaćen je u zasjedi italijanskih fašista, sprovedeni su na Cetinje, gdje su strijeljani 8. avgusta 1941. godine. Dugo se pričavalo kako su se njih dvojica hrabro držali na strijeljanju. Nijesu dozvolili italijanskim vojnicima da im vežu oči, prsimice su se okrenuli prema cijevima pušaka. „Pucajte!” – uzviknuo je Savo egzekutorima.

Savo Vuković je tada imao 49 godina. Pošteno i ponosno je proživio svoj život – bio je slobodar, patriota, komunista. Pripadao je Komunističkoj partiji i kada nije bio njen član.

## MARKO N. GREGOVIĆ

Marko Nikov Gregović rođen je 14. aprila 1887. godine. Sa jedva navršениh 16 godina otišao je na rad u Ameriku, gdje ostaje do 1910, upoznavajući osobenosti njenog kapitalističkog razvitka, snažno izražene klasne suprotnosti i klasno organizovanje proletarijata. Zapošljava se u trgovačkoj porodici svojih zemljaka, Vasa Đ. Medigovića i supruge Eve, rođene Sudić, ostavši uzdržan iz „klasnih” razloga, kako je kasnije pričao, na želje svojih domaćina, koji su ga rado htjeli vidjeti za zeta.

Vrativši se u domovinu, Marko N. Gregović prenosio je stečena saznanja na svoje sugrađane i podsticao njihovo inače tradicionalno opredjeljenje na strani pravde i progressa, čime je sticao ugled i popularnost. Vrstan gimnastičar i atletičar, uz bokserske rukavice, donio je u to vrijeme u Petrovac i prvu fudbalsku loptu, kao i loptu za američki fudbal.

Kao dobrovoljac u Paštrovskoj četi u crnogorskoj vojsci u Prvom balkanskom ratu, hrabro se borio na Tarabošu, a nakon rata, zbog antidržavne propagande, biva progonjen od austrougarskih vlasti, pa se pridružuje srpskoj vojsci u borbama u Drugom balkanskom ratu, pričajući kasnije o tome ne sa naročitim oduševljenjem. U rodnom kraju austrijska vlast ga je u odsustvu osudila na pet godina zatvora.

U Prvom svjetskom ratu kao dobrovoljac ponovo ratuje u crnogorskoj vojsci u sastavu Lovćenskog odreda sve do proboja austrougarskih trupa 1916. godine, nakon čega se sa većinom svojih drugova-boraca pridružuje djelovima srpske vojske u odstupanju preko Albanije, a potom ga put preko Francuske ponovo vodi u Ameriku. Odmah se uključuje u sindikalni pokret, gdje je naročito bio zapažen u organizovanju štrajkova. Poklanja u to vrijeme značajnu pažnju svom idejnom obrazovanju i političkom uzdizanju, a aktivno se uključuje i u društveni i kulturni život, drugujući sa mnogim znamenitim ljudima toga doba, među kojima su bili čuveni književnici i novinari – Džek London, Džon Rid i drugi.

Kao osvjedočeni borac za radnička prava, u julu 1917. primljen je u Socijaldemokratsku partiju, a poslije izbijanja Oktobarske socijalističke revolucije u Rusiji postaje član Komunističke partije Amerike. Početkom 1919. godine, pokoleban nestankom jednog njegovog druga u Rusiji, inače, istaknutog američkog komunista, umjesto u Rusiju, gdje je bio planirao, vratio se u svoj rodni kraj. U saradnji sa grupom aktivista okupljenih oko Adolfa Muka uključuje se u organizovanje borbenog radništva u Boki, ubrzo postaje šire afirmisani komunistički vođa, a među osnivačima je i prvog Partijskog povjereništva u Petrovcu u jesen 1919. godine. Neposredno po konstituisanju Crvene komune postao je jedan od glavnih njenih ideologa i pobornika komunističkog preobražaja društva. Zato je najčešće i bio izložen progonu, hapšenjima i robijanju.

Uz obrazovanje koje je sticao kroz revolucionarnu životnu školu i socijalističku literaturu, kao i druženjem sa mnogim umnim ljudima njegovog vremena, imao je i urođeni dar govornika blis-

kog običnom puku, koji je plijenio slušaoce sugestivnošću, optimizmom i vjerom u pobjedu revolucionarnih ideja. Ne mireći se sa vremenom teških progona u uslovima duboke ilegalnosti KPJ, 1925. odlazi za Australiju, gdje postaje član Komunističke partije Australije i njen istaknuti aktivista. Početkom 1931. delegiran je i preko Pariza upućen na proučavanje kolhoza u Sovjetski Savez, ali je taj plan otkriven pa se ponovo vraća u svoj rodni kraj i nastavlja ilegalnu komunističku aktivnost. Ponovo u više navrata biva hapšen i podvrgnut svakojakim torturama u zatvorima u Baru, Kotoru, Dubrovniku i Splitu.

Aktivno sudjeluje u pripremi oružanog ustanka 1941. godine, kao i u samom ustanku – iz tog vremena ga veže i prijateljstvo sa Mošom Pijade, kojeg čuva jedno vrijeme u svojoj kući i bezbjedno sprovodi na slobodnu teritoriju. Nakon splašnjavanja ustanka određuje se za pozadinski rad na terenu koji zbog bolesti mora napustiti i krajem 1941. vraća se u Petrovac, čime je, pod strogim nadzorom okupacionih italijanskih vlasti, okončan njegov revolucionarni put.

U poslijeratnom periodu povukao se u miran život baveći se zemljoradnjom. Ni tada, međutim, nije propuštao da se uključi u javne rasprave po pitanju razvojnih programa i projekata. I danas se stariji sjećaju kako je, recimo, u periodu izrade prvih urbanističkih dokumenata za petrovački kraj znao oštro upozoriti tada ugledne univerzitetske profesore, da u planiranju moraju primjenjivati pozitivna iskustva naprednog svijeta i strogo se pridržavati njihovih standarda.

U septembru 1976. godine, u dubokoj starosti, ugasio se život velikog revolucionara i vizionara, sigurno jednog od znamenitijih Petrovčana.

## PETOKRAKA NA MALOM BRDU

Godine 1975, povodom 55. godišnjice Crvene komune, grupa uglednih ljudi i intelektuaca iz Petrovca, uz podršku Opštine Budva

i nadležnih organa SR Crne Gore, organizovala je svečano obilježavanje ovog događaja, prilikom čega je na Malom brdu postavljena crvena petokraka kao simbol antifašističke prošlosti. Sijala je svake noći više decenija, a onda su opštinske vlasti posljednjih petnaestak godina, zanemarujući njen značaj i simboličku ulogu, praktično odustale od njenog redovnog održavanja, što je dovelo do višemjesečnih kvarova i popravki po potrebi. Petokraka je krajem prošle, 2024. godine renovirana i postavljena, uz mogućnost da se može spuštati radi otklanjanja eventualnih kvarova i ponovo podizati. Navodno se samo čeka njeno priključenje na javnu rasvjetu od strane službi nadležnog Komunalnog preduzeća kako bi i u buduće nastavila da sija.

## SPOMEN-DOM „CRVENA KOMUNA”

Spomen-dom „Crvena komuna” je kulturni i društveni centar Petrovca. Na ovom mjestu je od 1890. godine postojala i radila Čitaonica, a kasnije i nekadašnja Opština Petrovac. Septembra 1920, nakon prvih poslijeratnih izbora, kako je već rečeno, ovdje je formirana prva komunistička opština na Jadranu – petrovačka „Crvena komuna”, po kojoj je ovaj dom kulture kasnije i dobio ime.

Današnja zgrada Spomen-doma „Crvena komuna” podignuta je 1987. prema projektu arh. Slobodana – Boba Slovinića na mjestu nekadašnje zgrade koja je teško oštećena u zemljotresu 1979. godine. Ustanova je prvobitno funkcionisala u sastavu ondašnjeg Kulturnog centra Budve, da bi samostalnu ustanovu, JU Spomen-dom „Crvena komuna”, formirala Skupština opštine Budva 1992., a 2014. postaje jedna od organizacionih jedinica JU Muzeji i galerije Budve.

Objekat ima dvije, odnosno tri etaže, sadrži prostore za muzej, galeriju, biblioteku i kino-salu, odnosno pozorišnu djelatnost, a pored depoa, kancelarijskih i pomoćnih prostorija, još i ugostiteljski prostor orijentisan prema šetalištu, kao i pet manjih poslovnih prostora sa istočne strane. Pored toga, za organizovanje kulturnih manifestacija koristi se i vanjski amfiteatar u nivou šetališta.

Cilj svih programa koji se organizuju i realizuju tokom cijele godine je njegovanje i afirmacija umjetnosti, kulture i istorije, zatim edukacija i prezentacija bogatog kulturnog nasljeđa i umjetničkog stvaralaštva. Na repertoaru Spomen-doma „Crvena komuna” dominiraju: likovne izložbe, koncerti klasične i popularne muzike, promocije knjiga, književne i autorske večeri, okrugli stolovi, naučni skupovi, filmske projekcije, pozorišne predstave... Kino-sala je nedavno preuređena i tehnički osavremenjena, čime se, nakon više godina, ponovo ukazuje mogućnost da funkcioniše punim kapacitetom.

U okviru Spomen-doma postoji zaseban muzejski prostor, tzv. spomen-soba, u kojem su izložene kopije arhivske građe (fotografije, dokumenti, prepiske i periodična štampa) koja potiče uglavnom iz doba formiranja prve komunističke opštine, međuratnog perioda i nešto kasnijih epoha. Ova zbirka je nastala osamdesetih godina prošloga vijeka i trebalo bi je reorganizovati i unaprijediti. Ovaj prostor ima oko 50 mjesta i uglavnom služi za održavanje koncerata klasične muzike, a u njemu se priređuju i promocije knjiga, književne večeri, simpozijumi, sastanci, javne tribine, prezentacije i ostali srodni programi.

U sklopu ove ustanove djeluje i galerija „Marko K. Gregović”, koja nosi naziv po poznatom akademskom slikaru iz Petrovca (1867–1941), koji je ujedno i prvi crnogorski slikar koji se školovao na likovnoj akademiji, i to u Beču. Zanimljivo je da je upravo on imao prvu likovnu izložbu u Crnoj Gori, u salonu Vuletićeve gostione na Cetinju (kasnije Hotel „Grand”), prezentujući svoje dvije slike. Ova galerija sadrži tri galerijska prostora – dva u prizemlju i jedan na prvom spratu, gdje su do sada umjetničke radove izlagali mnogi eminentni umjetnici iz zemlje i inostranstva. Svake godine u ovom prostoru otvori se oko 20 izložbi slika, skulptura, instalacija i ostalih umjetničkih radova. Galerije su savremeno opremljene i omogućavaju predstavljanje izložbi različitog umjetničkog karaktera. U fundusu galerije trenutno se nalazi 430 umjetničkih djela poznatih i renomiranih zavičajnih, crnogorskih i inostranih autora, grupisanih u tri muzejske zbirke.

Dio prostora ove ustanove koristi biblioteka „Stefan M. Ljubiša”, koja egzistira u okviru JU Narodna biblioteka Budva, a na drugom spratu se nalaze četiri kancelarijska prostora koje koriste zaposleni u ustanovi i Opština Budva (Mjesna kancelarija i služba matičara).

Spomen-dom „Crvena komuna” se, kao dio javne ustanove kulture, finansira iz budžeta Opštine Budva, a u ranijem periodu dijelom i iz sopstvenih prihoda od zakupa poslovnih prostora. U skladu sa opštinskim Programom razvoja kulture kao prioritet nameće se objedinjavanje Spomen-doma „Crvena komuna” i Spomen-doma „Reževići” u jednu zasebnu javnu kulturnu ustanovu. Zato treba ukinuti svojevremeno donesenu neadekvatnu odluku da sredstva od zakupa poslovnih prostora u ovom objektu, umjesto da se koriste za redovno održavanje, ubira Mjesna zajednica Petrovac. Novostvorenoj ustanovi, u saradnji sa nadležnim državnim institucijama, treba povjeriti poslove na uređenju, zaštiti i prezentaciji arheološkog lokaliteta Mirišta, kao i na uređenju i redovnom održavanju spomen-obilježja iz NOR-a.

## BIBLIOGRAFSKA NAPOMENA

Pored izvora navedenih u tekstu, korišćen je zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa „Petrovačka komuna 1920. godine – prva komunistička opština na Jadranu”, održanog 23, 24. i 25. novembra 1984. u Petrovcu, koji je uredio prof. dr Jovan R. Bojović, a objavili Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore, Marksistički centar Budva i Istorijski arhiv Budva u Titogradu 1986. godine. Posebno su konsultovani radovi koje potpisuju sljedeći autori: prof. dr Jovan R. Bojović, dr Radoje Pajović, dr Miroslav Luketić, Uroš J. Zenović, prof. dr Dragoje Živković, dr Božidar Šekularac, prof. dr Aleksandar Drašković, prof. dr Dragutin Leković, prof. dr Zoran Lakić i Milorad Marković.



Jovo U. Zenović

## O AUTORU

Jovo U. Zenović (1954) je arhitekta iz Petrovca. Izradio je veći broj planskih dokumenata za opštine Bar i Budva, kao i programa za njihovu izradu (UP Centar Petrovca, Prostorni plan Opštine Budva i za još oko pedeset planova višeg i nižeg reda), dok je za pojedine bio i na čelu ocjenjivačkog tima. Posebno je značajan period 2005–2006. kada je kao potpredsjednik Opštine Budva postigao saglasnost tadašnje pozicije i opozicije, kao i civilnog sektora i nadležnih državnih organa, za programe izrade urbanističke i prostorne dokumentacije koje je pripremio. Međutim, ubrzo po početku njihove realizacije, naišao je na opstrukcije saradnika iz vlasti, pa je, nakon uzaludnih protesta i pokušaja ubjeđivanja, podnio neopozivu ostavku. Na desetine planskih dokumenata je zatim u samo nekoliko godina urađeno i jednoglasno usvojeno od strane SO Budva, iako su bili u potpunoj suprotnosti sa prethodno usvojenim programima. Rezultat toga je svima vidljivo katastrofalno stanje u prostoru, da je čak i jedan tada nadležni ministar izjavio da je „Budva izgubljena”.

Jovo Zenović je napisao više od dvadeset kritičkih tekstova u sredstvima javnog informisanja tim povodom, ali je izostao svaki odgovor nadležnih institucija. Nije bio jedini koji je u to vrijeme vidio u kojem pravcu se kreće planiranje prostora i kakve će to posljedice izazvati, za tako nešto jednostavno nije trebalo biti dalekovid. Vidjeli su to i drugi, ali su ćutali.

Za istoriju se počeo zanimati još u ranoj mladosti uz njegovog pok. oca Uroša J. Zenovića, koji je, uz pomoć prijatelja i saradnika koji su ga podržavali i pomagali mu na poslovima istraživanja i prikupljanja, kao i sistematizovanja i objavljivanja istorijske građe o našem kraju, pogotovo kada je u pitanju Crvena komuna, ostavio neizbrisiv trag u svojoj sredini.

Priču o Crvenoj komuni Jovo Zenović je sačinio još 2010. godine, kada su je kao feljton objavile dnevne novine *Vijesti*. Kasnije je ona nadograđivana i postala sastavni dio knjige *Istorijsko i kulturno nasljeđe Petrovca* koja je izdata 2021. godine.

Često razočaran diletantizmom i krivotvorenjem istorijskih činjenica koja se može pročitati na raznoraznim veb-sajtovima, ali i na adresama naših institucija, turističkih organizacija i agencija, ne samo kada je Petrovac u pitanju, nego, nažalost, i čitava Crna Gora, Zenović je na istraživanju istorijata Crvene komune i Petrovca intenzivno radio više godina, s ciljem da bude prezentovana i dostupna građanima ovog mjesta, prije svega mladima, kao i ukupnoj crnogorskoj javnosti.

„Pozicionirajući Petrovac kao centar svog istraživanja, autor nije zapao u lokalni determinizam već je heuristički potkovano, bez proizvoljnih konstrukcija i neprovjerenih podataka pružio čitaocima izuzetan panoramski pregled istorijsko-kulturne vertikale ovoga grada stavljajući ga u kontekst njegove crnogorske i mediteranske orbite. Stilski galantno, u knjizi su mapirani najznačajniji artefakti, ličnosti i događaji te će u svim budućim studijama o Petrovcu biti nezaobilazno štivo”. – samo su neke od ocjena recenzenta prof. dr Bobana Batrićevića, istoričara.

FOTOGRAFIJE  
\*  
*PHOTOGRAPHS*





Petrovac između dva svjetska rata  
*Petrovac Between the Two World Wars*



Petrovac između dva svjetska rata  
*Petrovac Between the Two World Wars*



Milenko Nikov Medigović



Miloš Lukin Franović

PETROVAČKI KOMUNARI I NJIHOVI SLJEDBENICI  
*COMMUNARDS OF PETROVAC AND THEIR FOLLOWERS*



Savo Krstov  
Vuković



Pavle Lukšin  
Srzentić



Ivo Đurov  
Vuković



Filip Ilijin  
Gregović



Marko Nikov  
Gregović



Krsto Nikov  
Medigović



Stevo Mitrov  
Andrović



Krsto Radov  
Srzentić



Milo Zaharijev  
Zenović



Mitar Ivov  
Todorica



Petar Jokov  
Perović



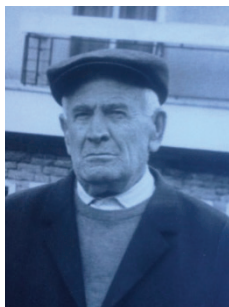
Ivo Krstov  
Sudić



Krsto Stijepov  
Goliš



Niko Lukin  
Perazić



Rado Krstov  
Vuković



Milo Stijepov  
Gregović



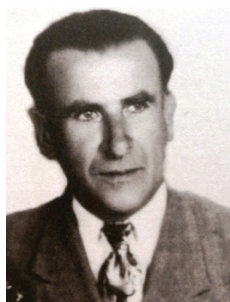
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Vuković



Špiro Lukin  
Đedović



Andrija Savov  
Medin



Dušan Ilijin  
Medin



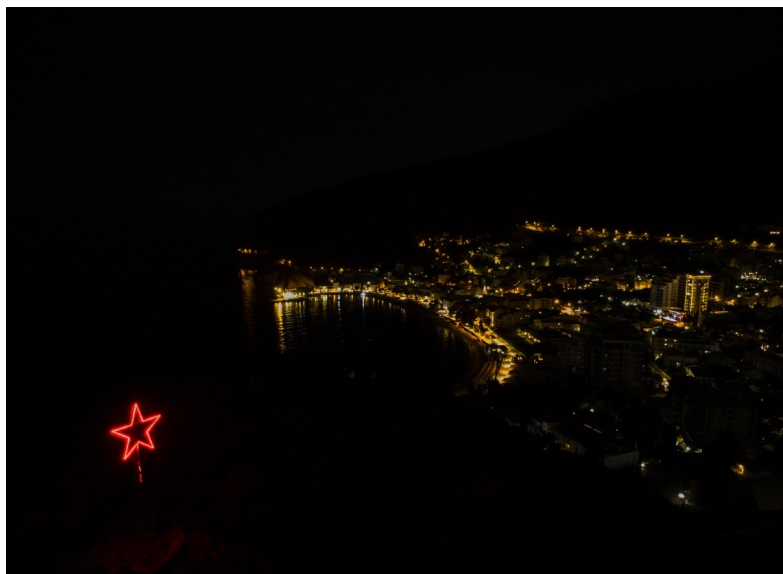
Lazar Darov  
Drašković



Vladimir Nikov  
Medin



Spomen-ploče na Kastelu  
*Memorial Plaques on Castello*



Svijetleća petokraka na Malom brdu  
*The Illuminated Red Star on Malo brdo*



Nekadašnja zgrada „Crvene komune“  
*The Former “Red Commune” Building*



Zgrada „Crvene komune“ danas  
*The “Red Commune” Building Today*



PETROVAC  
RED COMMUNE

JOVO U. ZENOVIĆ



## PETROVAC RED COMMUNE: 105th ANNIVERSARY

In 2020, the “round” centenary of the Petrovac Red Commune – the first communist municipality on the Adriatic, established in 1920 – was not publicly celebrated due to the well-known reasons caused by the COVID-19 coronavirus pandemic and the global crisis. Therefore, in 2021, the Public Institution Museums and Galleries of Budva, within which the Memorial House “Red Commune” operates, modestly recalled the history of the Commune’s formation, while a commemorative program was organized only on the 102nd anniversary, September 3, 2022.

In the current year, 2025, the 105th anniversary is being marked, and one of the central activities is precisely the publication of the scholarly book *Petrovac Red Commune* by Jovo Uroš’s Zenović. It hardly needs to be emphasized that Zenović is a distinguished architect, urban planner, social and political activist, known to the Montenegrin public for his decades-long dedication to the well-being of his hometown, as one of the initiators and advocates for the re-establishment of Petrovac as an independent municipality.

For years, Zenović has continuously contributed through his writings to the memorialization of the Red Commune in public discourse, reminding us of its specificities, characteristics, and socio-political significance, not only for Petrovac and Paštrovići but

also on a much broader scale. This is evidenced by the fact that parts of the texts published in this book, in somewhat modified form, had already appeared on earlier anniversaries of the Red Commune: in the *Vijesti* serial (October 7–11, 2010) – for the 90th anniversary, in the *Paštrovići Almanac IV: for the years 2017–2021* (published in 2021) – for the centenary, and in the *Pobjeda* serial (August 31 – September 4, 2022) – for the 102nd anniversary. The author also wrote extensively about the Red Commune in the *Study on the Justification of Establishing the Municipality of Petrovac* (2015), as well as in a special publication *Historical and Cultural Heritage of Petrovac: 1920–1941–2021* (2021) – the first work to comprehensively consider the past and heritage of this place.

In this newest edition, presented to readers, the text has been modified and supplemented in several places; certain new sections have been added, illustration captions provided, and the middle names (i.e., fathers' names) of the early Petrovac communards included. Most importantly, the text is being published bilingually – in our language and in English – for the first time. The decision of the publisher and editors to release the book also in one of the world's major languages stemmed from the desire for Petrovac's history and culture to be heard and read internationally.

The fact that the memory of the Petrovac Red Commune, which lasted only 403 days, is still alive today and remains an important part of the identity of the people of this region, speaks to a significance that far transcends the local, national, and regional context. The story of unity and the vision of the Petrovac communards is a story of the strength and potential of a small local community that, even 105 years later, truly inspires new generations.

*Milica Stanić Radonjić*  
*Dušan Medin*

Petrovac,  
September 3, 2025

## PETROVAC RED COMMUNE

“... in the period when attempts at revolutionary change in the world rapidly retreat (or entirely disappear) before the reactionary response of foreign powers, the political culture of Montenegro, created from the time of Duklja to the ‘Red Commune’, still remains at least one step above not only the Balkan, but also the European level”.

*Prof. Dr. Radovan Radonjić, 2024*

Based on the available data, it is not possible to determine the exact date of the municipal elections in Petrovac. From indirect evidence it is concluded that they were held at the beginning of September 1920. Savo K. Vuković, as the newly elected president of the municipality, signed his first document on September 3, and that date may be accepted as the day when the communists of Petrovac officially took power. On September 18, the Provincial Government for Dalmatia was forced to proclaim the victory of the communists and the new municipal administration. Thus emerged the well-known Petrovac Red Commune, the first communist municipality on the Adriatic, which lasted 403 days (from September 3, 1920, to October 10, 1921).

In the months before the elections, repression by the authorities against the growing communist movement multiplied. However,

the communists of Petrovac were not intimidated by the many threats of the gendarmerie and police, and the voters gave them their trust by an overwhelming majority. On election day, the head of the District Administration from Kotor, Rašković, came to Petrovac with a detachment of gendarmes armed with long rifles, demanding that the voting take place in his presence. Then, among the voters, veterans from the Salonika front and emigrant workers returning home stood out and voted openly for the candidates of the Communist Party list, which encouraged the other voters to join them en masse. A total of 191 citizens voted, and the communist list received 121 votes.

After the victory, a municipal board was formed with president of the municipality Savo Vuković at its head, and as municipal officers were elected: Krsto N. Vuković, Niko A. Gregović, Ivo Đ. Vuković, Mitar I. Todorica, Niko P. Đedović, and Filip I. Gregović. The broader municipal board of Petrovac, numbering 24 members in total, included: Marko V. Gregović, Krsto N. Medigović, Savo L. Medin, Stevo M. Andrović, Pero J. Perović, Rado L. Šoljaga, Savo L. Davidović, Niko I. Medigović, Krsto R. Srzentić, Milo Z. Zenović, Krsto S. Goliš, Simo A. Perazić, Niko L. Perazić, Milo S. Gregović, Ilija J. Pavlović, Špiro L. Đedović, and Mitar Đ. Radović.

The first days of the communist municipality were very difficult because the regime did not accept the new circumstances. The army and police, as well as the Political Department in Budva and the Administration in Kotor, attempted to stop the rising tide of the progressive movement and to disable the work of the municipal government. Field reports were quite pessimistic, including the one signed by the commander of the Budva military sector, Major Blažo Đukanović, later a notorious quisling, Chetnik commander and war criminal, executed by the partisans in 1943 along with Bajo Stanišić and others hiding in the Ostrog Monastery. Among other things, he wrote: "... That communism turns into sheer arbitrariness day by day... The gendarmerie, frightened by their insolent conduct and arbitrary actions, is powerless to perform its duty".

The military command advocated an armed and direct attack on the communist municipality, but the Political Department in Budva believed that action should wait “until the situation clarifies, so as not to make matters worse”.

The municipal administration bravely resisted all assaults, working closely with communist leaders from other regions. From the very beginning the decisions they made focused on securing the supply of food for the population, declared that the land belonged to those who worked it, advised peasants not to pay rent to landlords (sharecropping), even though among the members of the board were some of the wealthiest locals, believing that landlords too should live from their own labor. They planned, though never managed to carry out, the confiscation of church land in Buljarica for distribution to peasants. Market taxes and municipal levies were abolished, all functions in the administration were performed voluntarily, and the members themselves procured office supplies and covered other expenses. All of this further encouraged popular unity and popularized the ideas championed by the communists.

Thus, already in the first postwar parliamentary elections in the unified state, held on November 28, 1920, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia’s list for Dalmatia, which included along with Dalmatian communist leaders also Marko N. Gregović, won a decisive victory in Petrovac with 121 votes, compared to 52 votes received by all other parties combined.

Accusing the Communist Party of Yugoslavia of preparing to change the social order of the state, the royal government on December 30 of the same year proclaimed the infamous *Obznana*, which banned the activity of communist and progressive trade union organizations. Immediately afterwards, the District Administration in Kotor was ordered to suspend the work of all communist organizations in its territory, close their homes, seize their property and documents, and take the strictest security measures agreed with the military authorities, proceeding vigorously, including searches and arrests, against the “subversive elements”. Despite the ban on legal activity,

the municipal authority in Petrovac continued to function for more than nine months. Following the proclamation of the *Obznana*, the commissioner of the Political Department reported: “The people here are of an exceptionally spirited temperament. These men form one body. If you strike or kill one, all want to take revenge. In that lies the difficulty for the authorities”.

At the end of July 1921, the municipal administration refused to show mourning for the assassination of Milorad Drašković, the hated minister who had authored the *Obznana*, nor were they greatly shaken by the earlier failed attempt on Regent Aleksandar’s life. According to police reports, party secretary and municipal councilor Pavle L. Srzentić allegedly declared on that occasion: “If this one did not succeed, another will” (Milorad Marković, “Red Beacon”, *Pobjeda*), which clearly illustrates the mood and the attitude toward the authorities of the new state not only of the majority of the councilors but also of all those who supported them. Therefore, only a few days later, house searches began in Petrovac in pursuit of communist propaganda materials. The gendarmes arrested Marko N. Gregović and Pavle L. Srzentić and brought them to investigative prison in Kotor, where for several months they were systematically tortured daily. Due to the intensified terror, the communists of Petrovac were forced to increasingly reduce their activity, while some, especially intellectuals, were compelled to leave Petrovac.

After the adoption of the Law on the Protection of Public Security and Order in the State on August 1, 1921, the Provincial Government in Split urgently adopted the resolution to dissolve the communist municipality in Petrovac. However, this could not be immediately implemented. Not even the arrival of the head of the County Administration from Kotor on September 11, who on the spot issued a decree on the dissolution of the municipality, managed to bring it about.

Petrovac Red Commune was officially dissolved on October 10, 1921, through the use of force, when the army, along with the gendarmerie and police, imposed a state of siege.

The convictions and enthusiasm of the Petrovac communards and their sympathizers could not be suppressed by state terror and repressive measures. By 1923, an illegal party cell was re-established, and a new generation of communists began to emerge. Due to their revolutionary activities, they, like their older comrades, were persecuted and arrested, including Dušan I., Andrija S., and Vlado N. Medin, as well as Lazar D. Drašković.

A notable contribution to the revolutionary wave in Petrovac came from students of the University of Belgrade, who, between the two world wars, maintained a summer colony in Petrovac as part of their university autonomy, where the Revolutionary Student Movement played an important role.

The flame ignited more than a century ago by the communists from Petrovac continued to burn between the two world wars and eventually turned into the blaze on July 13, carried forward through further revolutionary storms by known and unknown revolutionaries. The red banner from 1920 was carried by the fighters of this region across legendary battles of the National Liberation War and revolution throughout the former state—from Pljevlja, through Igman, Neretva, Sutjeska, and Zelengora, all the way to Belgrade and Istria. Respecting tradition and honoring their ancestors, in 1942, during the height of the People's Liberation War and the national revolution, 430 committed partisans and 39 female partisans from Paštrovići, Maina, Brajići, Pobori, Budva, and parts of Boka named their battalion “Stevan Štiljanović” in memory of the former knez of Paštrovići and the last Serbian despot.

Among the population, the occupiers sought support in vain throughout the war; 90 percent of adult men from the Petrovac municipality carried a partisan rifle. At the general assembly of all men aged 16 to 60, convened in 1944 by the German commander of the area to distribute the occupiers' weapons, not a single man from responded!

On the battlefields and concentration camps in the former Yugoslav homeland during World War II, 253 fighters from the territory of

today's Budva municipality lost their lives, including 85 from the territory of Petrovac.

## SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS AND SPECIFIC CONDITIONS FAVORING THE EMERGENCE OF THE RED COMMUNE

The spread of socialist thought in Montenegro can be traced back to the 1870s. Initially, the actors were few individuals, but their numbers quickly grew. By the beginning of the last century, the first workers' associations and strikes were forming, signalling the gradual affirmation of the labour movement. Despite the ban on forming socialist organizations, socialist ideas became increasingly widespread. The carriers of these ideas and the organizers of workers' associations were young people who had studied and worked abroad in environments where the socialist and social-democratic movement had organizational and political structures, as well as political work programs. The number of supporters of this movement grew year by year, leading to the formation of the first socialist groups.

By 1890, the people of Petrovac founded the Serbian Reading Room and, a little later, the Serbian Sokol Society, with the aim of educating the population and raising awareness of the necessity of the struggle for national, class, and social liberation. Their first president was the renowned naval captain Stijepo M. Medin, who supplied the Montenegrin army with weapons on his ships, including cannons, which proved extremely valuable during the liberation of Ulcinj and Bar from the Ottomans in 1878. Young and strong men from Petrovac often physically prevented gendarmes from entering their premises.

Before and during World War I, a significant portion of the Montenegrin economic diaspora, as well as a growing number of pupils and students, were in allied countries. The victory of the October Socialist Revolution under wartime conditions in the world's

largest state created major political shifts globally. From that time throughout the war and beyond, the idea of the possibility of socialist transformation of society was present in public opinion, both among the working class and the intelligentsia. Among our diaspora, alongside the liberation and unification of the South Slavic peoples, the key political question became social transformation.

The circumstances in which revolutionary socialist propaganda gained momentum in Petrovac were specific. In the first months after the unification, communist ideas spread rapidly among the Paštrovići, brought from various sources. Knowledge of the October Revolution, revolutionary upheavals in Europe, worker and soldier uprisings in several countries, mutinies of Austro-Hungarian naval forces stationed in the Bay of Kotor, war destruction, and suffering—all influenced the consciousness and awareness of the Paštrovići, who were already familiar with class injustices and occupational oppression.

During the First Balkan War, 80 fighters from Paštrovići participated in battles against the Ottoman army near Shkodër. Dušan J. Gregović from Kastel Lastva (the former name of Petrovac), who had served as consul in Constantinople and Shkodër, was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs by King Nikola I Petrović Njegoš just before the First Balkan War. Following the decision of the great powers that Montenegro must withdraw from Shkodër, he submitted his irrevocable resignation, followed by the resignation of the entire government. Later, he served as a diplomat in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

At the beginning of World War I, many Paštrovići demonstrated resistance to the occupier and participated in the Montenegrin army in the struggle for liberation. By August 1914, Budva was integrated into the Kingdom of Montenegro and became the administrative seat of the Regional Administration until the end of 1915 and the renewed occupation by Austro-Hungarian forces. The regional administrator appointed was the leader from Paštrovići Đuro Zenović, who reported to the “liberating king”, Nikola I Petrović

Njegoš: “On the ancient town of your ancestors, with a ceremonial manifestation and the ringing of the bells of both Christian churches, your flag was raised”.

After the re-occupation of power, the leaders and patriots of Paštrovići were treated as traitors and punished by execution. Thus, at Španjola near Herceg Novi, alongside Đuro Zenović, his comrades and fellow fighters were executed: the president of the Budva municipality Lazar Srzentić, as well as Savo Andus, Krsto Vuković, Marko Kaloštro, Niko Pavlović, and Milo Mitrović, with all their property confiscated. Their names, along with those of the executed citizens of Kotor and Spič, are engraved on a tombstone in front of the Savina Monastery.

In 1963, when a monument to the Paštrovići liberators was erected at Kastelo in Petrovac, in the form of a lighthouse column with a stylized torch at its top, the names of fallen fighters and civilian victims of World War II (143 in total) were engraved on the plaques at its base, as well as the names of fighters who fell in the Balkan and World War I (52 in total), including the aforementioned liberators of Budva, above which stands the inscription: “FALLEN FOR HONOR, NAME, AND FREEDOM”.

At the site of Džamanja do in Buljarica, the remains of an Austro-Hungarian concentration camp and cemetery from World War I still exist today. “The Memorial Cemetery of Fallen Patriotic Internees from World War I” in Buljarica holds the status of cultural heritage and has been registered in the Register of Cultural Monuments of Montenegro since 1962. Since the area is overgrown with shrubs and lacks any marking, these events have unfortunately remained insufficiently researched in Montenegrin historiography.

The daily newspaper *Pobjeda*, in the “Memories” section (1974), published a letter from Marko Vuković, then still a living witness of these atrocities, in which he stated: “I was a child at that time, but I remember the unfortunate victims – fighters, women, children, and helpless elderly – who were brought here and subjected

to the most severe torments. Besides suffering, disease, and hunger, from which they most often perished, many died attempting to escape. I had the unfortunate and unpleasant duty, mobilized by the occupying authorities, with my comrades on several occasions, to bury the dead day and night...”

In the second half of the 1970s, there was an initiative by the then SUBNOR Budva to mark this site of mass suffering, where many Montenegrin soldiers and their family members had perished in the Austro-Hungarian prisoner-of-war camp. This initiative was accepted by the Presidency of the SSRN RCG, and funds were allocated for the purpose. A joint delegation even negotiated with the famous Yugoslav artist Dušan Džamonja on a project for a future memorial center, but the 1979 earthquake interrupted further developments, which were unfortunately soon forgotten. These initiatives are now difficult to implement in planning documents, as, about fifteen years ago, a hasty and ill-considered decision was made to build a wastewater treatment plant in the immediate vicinity of the area.

During World War I, around 250 Paštrovići men fought in the Montenegrin army on the Lovćen sector in the Coastal Brigade. After the capitulation, some retreated with the Serbian army through Albania, some only to Albanian ports from where they were transported to Western European countries, and others to the Salonika front, where 150 of them fought alongside volunteers from overseas. Another 35 men from Paštrovići served in the allied armies, mostly in units of the United States. Thirty-seven fighters lost their lives, 22 were wounded, and a total of 80 received the highest military and other awards and honors.

After the end of World War I and the final liberation from the occupiers, in the highly enthusiastic post-war mood, the “village serf” Niko I. Medigović convened a gathering at the beginning of 1919, which decided that the name of Kastel Lastva be changed to Petrovac (among 25 present, only one vote prevailed over Aleksandrovac) and that Petrovac be declared a small town, which was soon

confirmed by Regent Aleksandar I Karađorđević.

However, that enthusiasm did not last long. The temporary municipal authority was not united and lacked the strength to tackle problems that worsened daily, resulting in frequent resignations and changes in administration.

The Paštrovići who fought on the Thessaloniki front learned a lot about the October Revolution, and some who enthusiastically embraced revolutionary ideas were harassed by the then-allied and Serbian authorities, with five even expelled from the front. Within days of the war's end, they began returning to Petrovac, Sveti Stefan, and other Paštrovići villages, alongside returnees from Austro-Hungarian camps and seasonal workers from America. To their surprise, the same serfs and priests, along with gendarmes, policemen, and spies who had previously persecuted the people in service of Austria-Hungary, were still in office. The military and civil authorities of the newly formed state took over much of the previous regime's apparatus, even promoting police and other officials.

Outraged by such behavior, participants in a protest gathering in Petrovac declared: "...This people is hardworking, peaceful, and patriotic, though poor, but proud and happy with their hard-won victory. They strongly hate villains, spies, and oppressors of their people; there is no mercy for them... What fault do they have if our people want, legally, to rise and establish honesty without which there is neither happiness nor progress".

Disappointed by the post-war situation, they demanded that authorities assist war invalids and their families, war orphans, and families of the fallen, executed, and deceased in camps. In the conclusions of a meeting of representatives of both Paštrovići municipalities – Petrovac and Sveti Stefan – held at the end of 1919, it was noted: "...The Paštrovići tribe has endured immense suffering, suffered great pain, and shed many tears... Desolation reigns everywhere. The municipality is over-indebted, cultural and economic institutions plundered, schools largely closed".

Discontent and disappointment with the new order were greater because the Paštrovići were supporters of the unification of the Yugoslav peoples and the formation of the new state.

In 1919, the influence of the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia (Communists) grew rapidly, which absorbed social-democratic organizations from Montenegro at its unification congress in Belgrade. In Petrovac, a party organization was soon established, counting 80 members, led by secretary Pavle L. Srzentić. Although communist activities were supported by the majority of the population, activists quickly fell into disfavor with military, police, and political authorities, suspected of representing a new "political heresy". However, the people of Petrovac easily rallied around a program demanding radical measures to change political and socio-economic conditions. Thus, discontent with the existing situation and opposition to national and social issues gradually merged into socialist programs and commitments. The majority of the temporary administration publicly supported the communist list in elections.

The outcome of municipal elections in Petrovac could not be influenced by a single factor (political, economic, or otherwise). While in other regions the presence of a working class or urban settlements significantly influenced communist victories, here the causes must be sought in the historical and national character of the Paštrovići, as well as their long-standing democratic consciousness and ethical tradition.

Although they had been under foreign, primarily Venetian and Austrian, later Austro-Hungarian rule for centuries, they managed to win and maintain autonomy and acquire various political and economic privileges, especially in maritime transport and trade. Unity sustained them in hardships both locally and abroad. They were slow to hand over wrongdoers to foreign authorities, often judging offenders themselves. They also obligated their sailors and pirates to compensate damages caused to foreign ships, selling their property if the damages were significant. They dealt with spies within their ranks themselves.

Survival and resilience were the long-standing imperatives of this region. Many ancestors travelled abroad to earn a living“ and their path led them to the Bosphorus, Russia, or America. With a piece of corn bread in a bag, wearing handmade *opanci*, and cloaked with homespun belts, caravans of exhausted walkers travelled 40 days and nights to Galata and back. All awaited the call of the Fatherland to rush into battle with a rifle in hand for their homeland, freedom, and justice.

To better understand the specificities of the Paštrovići region that favored the emergence of the Red Commune, one must consider the socio-economic relations in which the old Lastva (later Kastel Lastva, or Kastio, as the locals called it, and then Petrovac after unification) developed. A characteristic of medieval Lastva was its tendency toward independence and autonomy even from the Paštrovići assembly. For example, when the Paštrovići joined Ivan Crnojević in 1465, Lastva did not; documents show that Lastva, initially outside the tribal organization, accepted voluntary inclusion under Venice in 1423 only 19 years later. After Lastva formally became an integral part of Paštrovići, integrating into the tribal system of governance and respecting the decisions of the Assembly and other authorities, and after, with the arrival of Austro-Hungarian rule, Sveti Stefan became the center of Paštrovići, a rivalry often emerged between these two settlements – two “factions” of Paštrovići. At the citizens’ assemblies held in January 1919, a unanimous, fraternal, and freely willed agreement in good faith was reached to establish two municipalities: one headquartered in Sveti Stefan and the other in Petrovac (from Smokov vijenac to Kufin), thus fulfilling a long-standing aspiration for autonomy, which was also one of the prerequisites for the creation of the Red Commune. In a smaller and more compact environment, factors influencing the revolutionary spirit of the people and their decision to entrust power to the communists, with the desire to create a new and better society, became more pronounced. Therefore, the establishment of the Petrovac Red Commune should primarily be seen in the continuity of self-governance development and the long-standing aspiration for autonomy in this region.

The bearers of communist ideas in Petrovac were not only poor farmers; most were of middle economic standing, and some were even among the wealthiest. Alongside a tradition of liberty, they also possessed the awareness that human values were more significant than material ones. Like other patriots, most had spent many years working abroad. Nearly 90 percent of over 500 volunteers in the wars from 1912 to 1918 had lived abroad temporarily for work at least once. Patriotism and a strong national consciousness brought them to the battlefields to fight for the freedom of their people.

Among the Petrovac communards, there were no illiterate individuals; all had completed the mandatory six-year schooling in their homeland, where classes were conducted in Serbo-Croatian. Around twenty of them spoke one or more foreign languages. For the time, these were emancipated and politically mature individuals. Family tradition and reputation significantly influenced the choices of the descendants. Accordingly, the Petrovac communards, continuing the traditions of their ancestors, sought to maintain the acquired prestige and leading role within their brotherhood, tribe, and beyond, which was always respected by the community. These were people distinguished by exemplary personal integrity and significant social respect. They were individuals who could be trusted and reliably followed, so their moral capital may have had an even stronger influence on the people than their class consciousness and socialist convictions.

The victory of the Petrovac communists in the 1920 municipal elections and the actions of the Red Commune represent, in many respects, a unique phenomenon. From an ideological and political perspective, these events were of immeasurable importance for achieving generational continuity within the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ) and represent one of the brightest chapters in the history of the revolutionary and workers' movement.

## SAVO K. VUKOVIĆ

Savo Krsto's Vuković was born in November 1892 into a wealthy family that successfully engaged in agriculture, earning income to expand their estate as well as from seasonal work in America. Being anti-Austrian in orientation, in his early youth he advocated libertarian ideas and was a member of the Reading Room, established in 1890 with contributions from seasonal workers, as well as the Sokol Society. As a volunteer, he joined the Montenegrin army and fought in the battles for Shkodër. He did the same at the outset of the First World War, and after the capitulation, he joined the Serbian army during the retreat to the Albanian coast. Later, after a short stay in France, he went to America, where, working in the mines, he gained his first experiences with class conflicts and union organization.

After the war ended, he returned to his homeland and became one of the main propagators of the progressive revolutionary movement. Soon, together with his relatives and friends—mostly seasonal workers and fighters from the Salonika Front—he founded a local organization of the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia (Communists), which already at that time had a strong influence on the work of the municipal administration and played a noticeable role in the entire socio-political life of his region. After the communists took power in the municipal elections, about which, as well as the subsequent events, more has been mentioned in the previously cited text, he was elected president of the Petrovac Communist Municipality—the Red Commune.

After the commune ceased to operate, under conditions of a ban on communist organizations and the ensuing terror against their members and sympathizers, as well as the general population, enduring torture and arrests, Savo Vuković became one of the members of the newly formed illegal party cell in Petrovac in 1923.

Later, he withdrew from active party life, engaging in hospitality and trade, but remained in contact with the leadership, carrying

out confidential tasks. Throughout, he was one of the greatest financiers of communist party organizations in Montenegro. In the municipal elections of 1936, which once again confirmed commitment of the Paštrovići to the ideas of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, he appeared on the list of opposition parties, after which he was once more elected president of the municipality. Naturally, he performed this duty voluntarily again.

After the occupation by Italian troops in 1941, he intended to resign, but by Party orders—although he was not a member at that time—he remained in the position until the July 13 Uprising. He actively participated in the preparations and, with a rifle in hand, in the uprising itself. Wherever he went, people of Paštrovići followed.

Even after the uprising subsided under pressure from Italian divisions, as a guerrilla fighter believing in victory, he remained in the hills and mountains of Paštrovići and Crmnica, encouraging his people to endure suffering and assuring them they would see freedom. “Let it burn, we will build new hotels and new houses!” he would say with a smile, watching from the mountain as his hotel in Lučice, set on fire by the occupiers, burned down.

Together with his friend Ivo K. Sudić, he was caught in an ambush by Italian fascists. They were taken to Cetinje, where they were executed by firing squad on August 8, 1941. It was long recounted how bravely the two of them faced execution. They did not allow the Italian soldiers to blindfold them, turning their chests toward the rifle barrels. “Shoot!” Savo shouted to the executioners.

Savo Vuković was 49 years old at the time. He lived his life honestly and proudly—he was a libertarian, a patriot, a communist. He belonged to the Communist Party even when he was not formally a member.

## MARKO N. GREGOVIĆ

Marko Niko’s Gregović was born on April 14, 1887. At just 16 ye-

ars old, he went to work in America, where he stayed until 1910, gaining insight into the characteristics of its capitalist development, the strongly pronounced class divisions, and the class organization of the proletariat. He was employed by a trading family of his compatriots, Vaso Đ. Medigović and his wife Eva, formerly Sudić, but, as he later recounted, he remained reserved for “class” reasons, regarding the wishes of his hosts who were eager to see him as a son-in-law.

Upon returning to his homeland, Marko N. Gregović shared the knowledge he had acquired with his fellow townspeople and encouraged their traditionally strong commitment to justice and progress, which earned him respect and popularity. A skilled gymnast and athlete, he also introduced boxing gloves, and at that time brought to Petrovac the first soccer ball as well as an American football.

As a volunteer in the Paštrovići detachment of the Montenegrin army during the First Balkan War, he fought bravely at Taraboš. After the war, due to anti-state propaganda, he was persecuted by Austro-Hungarian authorities and joined the Serbian army during the Second Balkan War, although he later spoke of these experiences without much enthusiasm. In his homeland, the Austrian authorities sentenced him in absentia to five years in prison.

During the First World War, he again volunteered in the Montenegrin army as part of the Lovćen Detachment until the breakthrough of Austro-Hungarian forces in 1916, after which he, along with most of his fellow soldiers, joined parts of the Serbian army retreating through Albania. His journey then took him through France and back to America. There, he immediately became involved in the trade union movement and was particularly notable for organizing strikes. During this period, he devoted significant attention to his ideological education and political development, while actively participating in social and cultural life, associating with many prominent figures of the time, including the famous writers and journalists Jack London, John Reed, and others.

As a committed fighter for workers' rights, in July 1917 he was admitted to the Social Democratic Party, and following the outbreak of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, he became a member of the Communist Party of America. At the beginning of 1919, shaken by the disappearance of one of his friends in Russia—an otherwise prominent American communist—he decided, instead of going to Russia as planned, to return to his homeland.

In collaboration with a group of activists gathered around Adolf Muk, he became involved in organizing the militant working class in the Boka Kotorska Bay. He soon became a widely recognized communist leader and was among the founders of the first Party Committee in Petrovac in the autumn of 1919. Immediately after the establishment of the Red Commune, he became one of its main ideologists and a proponent of the communist transformation of society. Consequently, he was frequently subjected to persecution, arrests, and imprisonment.

Through education acquired in the revolutionary school of life, socialist literature, and association with many intellectuals of his time, he also possessed a natural gift as an orator close to ordinary people, captivating listeners with his persuasiveness, optimism, and faith in the victory of revolutionary ideas. Unwilling to reconcile with a time of severe persecution under the deep illegality of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), in 1925 he went to Australia, where he joined the Communist Party of Australia and became one of its prominent activists. At the beginning of 1931, he was delegated, via Paris, to study kolkhozes in the Soviet Union, but the plan was discovered, and he returned once again to his homeland to continue his underground communist activity. On multiple occasions, he was arrested and subjected to various tortures in prisons in Bar, Kotor, Dubrovnik, and Split.

He actively participated in the preparation of the armed uprising in 1941, as well as in the uprising itself. During this period, he developed a friendship with Moša Pijade, whom he sheltered in his home for a time and safely escorted to liberated territory. After

the suppression of the uprising, he was assigned to rear-area operations, which he had to abandon due to illness, returning to Petrovac at the end of 1941. Under strict supervision of the occupying Italian authorities, this marked the end of his revolutionary activities.

In the post-war period, he retired to a quiet life devoted to agriculture. Even in that time, he never missed opportunities to participate in public debates concerning development programs and projects. Older residents still recall how, during the preparation of the first urban planning documents for the Petrovac region, he would sharply advise respected university professors to apply the positive experiences of the advanced world and strictly adhere to professional standards.

In September 1976, at old age, the life of this great revolutionary and visionary—certainly one of the most notable citizens of Petrovac—came to an end.

## THE RED STAR ON MALO BRDO

In 1975, on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the Red Commune, a group of respected citizens and intellectuals from Petrovac, with the support of the Municipality of Budva and the authorities of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, organized a ceremonial commemoration of this event. On that occasion, a red five-pointed star was placed on Malo brdo as a symbol of the anti-fascist past.

It shone every night for several decades, until in the last fifteen years the municipal authorities, neglecting its significance and symbolic role, practically abandoned its regular maintenance. This led to long periods of malfunction, with occasional repairs carried out only when necessary.

At the end of last year, in 2024, the star was renovated and reinstalled, with a mechanism allowing it to be lowered for repairs and raised again afterward. Reportedly, all that remains is for the com-

petent Public Utility Company to connect it to the public lighting system so that it may continue to shine in the future.

## THE MEMORIAL HOME “RED COMMUNE”

The Memorial Home “Red Commune” is the cultural and social center of Petrovac. Since 1890, this location hosted a Reading Room, and later also the former Municipality of Petrovac. In September 1920, after the first post-war elections, as already mentioned, the first communist municipality on the Adriatic—the Petrovac “Red Commune”—was established here, after which this cultural center was later named.

The present-day building of the Memorial Home “Red Commune” was constructed in 1987 according to the design of architect Slobodan – Bobo Slovinčić, on the site of the old building that had been heavily damaged in the 1979 earthquake. Initially, the institution functioned within the then Cultural Center of Budva, until 1992, when the Municipal Assembly of Budva established it as an independent institution—the Public Institution Memorial Home “Red Commune”. In 2014, it became one of the organizational units of the Public Institution Museums and Galleries of Budva.

The building has two, or in some sections three, levels. It houses spaces for a museum, gallery, library, and cinema/theatre hall, in addition to storage rooms, offices, and auxiliary spaces. There is also a hospitality area facing the promenade, as well as five small commercial premises on the eastern side. Furthermore, an outdoor amphitheatre at promenade level is used for cultural events.

The aim of all programs organized throughout the year is to nurture and promote art, culture, and history, as well as to educate and present the rich cultural heritage and artistic creativity. The repertoire of the Memorial Home “Red Commune” includes: art exhibitions, concerts of classical and popular music, book promotions, literary and author evenings, round tables, scientific conferences,

film screenings, theatre performances, and more. The cinema hall was recently renovated and technically modernized, which, after many years, once again allows it to function at full capacity.

Within the Memorial Home there is a dedicated museum space, the so-called Memorial Room, where copies of archival materials (photographs, documents, correspondence, and periodical press) are exhibited, mostly dating from the formation of the first communist municipality, the interwar period, and slightly later epochs. This collection was created in the 1980s and is in need of reorganization and improvement. The space seats around 50 people and is mainly used for classical music concerts, but also for book promotions, literary evenings, symposia, meetings, public discussions, presentations, and related programs.

The institution also houses the Gallery “Marko K. Gregović”, named after the renowned academic painter from Petrovac (1867–1941), who was the first Montenegrin painter educated at the art academy—in Vienna. Interestingly, he also organized the very first art exhibition in Montenegro, held at the Vuletić inn salon in Cetinje (later the “Grand” Hotel), where he presented two of his paintings. The gallery contains three exhibition spaces—two on the ground floor and one on the first floor—where many prominent artists from Montenegro and abroad have presented their work. Each year, around 20 exhibitions of paintings, sculptures, installations, and other artistic works are held here. The galleries are equipped to contemporary standards, enabling exhibitions of diverse artistic character. The gallery’s collection currently includes 430 works of art by well-known and established local, Montenegrin, and international artists, grouped into three museum collections.

Part of the building is used by the Library “Stefan M. Ljubiša”, which functions within the Public Institution National Library of Budva. On the second floor, there are also four office spaces used by employees of the institution and the Municipality of Budva (the Local Office and Registrar’s Service).

The Memorial Home “Red Commune” is financed from the budget of the Municipality of Budva, and in earlier years partly from its own income through the rental of commercial premises. In line with the municipal Program for the Development of Culture, a priority has been set to merge the Memorial Home “Red Commune” and the Memorial Home “Reževići” into a single independent public cultural institution. Therefore, the previously questionable decision that revenues from rental of commercial premises in this building should be collected by the Local Community of Petrovac—rather than being used for the regular maintenance of the facility—should be revoked. The newly created institution, in cooperation with relevant state institutions, should also be entrusted with the management, protection, and presentation of the archaeological site of Mirišta, as well as with the maintenance and upkeep of World War II memorials.



## NOTE OF REFERENCES

In addition to the sources mentioned in the text, the collection of papers from the scientific conference “The Petrovac Commune of 1920 – The First Communist Municipality on the Adriatic”, held on November 23, 24, and 25, 1984 in Petrovac, was used. It was edited by Prof. Dr. Jovan R. Bojović and published by the Historical Institute of SR Montenegro, the Marxist Center of Budva, and the Historical Archives of Budva in Titograd in 1986. The works of the following authors were specifically consulted: Prof. Dr. Jovan R. Bojović, Dr. Radoje Pajović, Dr. Miroslav Luketić, Uroš J. Zenović, Prof. Dr. Dragoje Živković, Dr. Božidar Šekularac, Prof. Dr. Aleksandar Drašković, Prof. Dr. Dragutin Leković, Prof. Dr. Zoran Lakić, and Milorad Marković.



Jovo U. Zenović

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jovo U. Zenović (1954) is an architect from Petrovac. He prepared a large number of planning documents for the municipalities of Bar and Budva, as well as programs for their development (Urban Plan of Petrovac Center, Spatial Plan of the Municipality of Budva, and around fifty other higher- and lower-level plans), for some of which he also served as the head of the evaluation team. A particularly important period was 2005–2006 when, as Deputy Mayor of Budva, he achieved consensus between the then ruling and opposition parties, as well as the civil sector and relevant state authorities, for the programs of urban and spatial planning documentation that he had prepared. However, shortly after the start of their implementation, he encountered obstruction from colleagues in government, and after futile protests and attempts at persuasion, he submitted his irrevocable resignation. Dozens of planning documents were then completed in just a few years and unanimously adopted by the Budva Municipal Assembly, although they were in complete contradiction with the previously adopted programs. The result is the visibly catastrophic state of the area, to the point that even a then-competent minister declared that “Budva is lost”.

Jovo Zenović wrote more than twenty critical articles in the media on this matter, but no response came from the relevant institutions. He was not the only one at the time who saw in which direction spatial planning was headed and what consequences it would bring;

one simply did not need to be farsighted to realize that. Others saw it too, but remained silent.

He began to take an interest in history in his early youth, encouraged by his late father Uroš J. Zenović, who, with the help of friends and associates who supported him in his research, collection, systematization, and publication of historical material about our region—especially concerning the Red Commune—left an indelible mark in his community.

Jovo Zenović first composed the story of the Red Commune in 2010, when it was published in serial form in the daily newspaper *Vijesti*. Later, it was expanded and became an integral part of the book *Historical and Cultural Heritage of Petrovac*, published in 2021.

Often disappointed by the amount of dilettantism and falsification of historical facts found on various websites, as well as in the materials of our institutions, tourist organizations, and agencies—not only concerning Petrovac but unfortunately Montenegro as a whole—Zenović worked intensively for several years on researching the history of the Red Commune and Petrovac, with the aim of presenting it and making it accessible to the citizens of this town, especially the youth, as well as to the wider Montenegrin public.

Prof. Dr. Boban Batričević, historian and the reviewer, wrote: “By positioning Petrovac as the center of his research, the author did not fall into local determinism but, supported by a strong heuristic foundation, without arbitrary constructions or unverified data, offered readers an extraordinary panoramic overview of the historical-cultural vertical of this town, placing it in the context of its Montenegrin and Mediterranean orbit. Stylistically elegant, the book maps the most significant artifacts, personalities, and events, making it an indispensable reference in all future studies on Petrovac”.



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