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**Analiza
medijskog narativa
o superiornom
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U svijetlu globalnih i balkanskih dešavanja, informacije o aktivnostima Ruske Federacije i njenog predsjednika Vladimira Putina sve češće se objavljuju u domaćim i regionalnim medijima. Interesovanje novinara i čitalaca za Rusijom ne jenjava, pa putem tradicionalnih medija, a posebno putem društvenih mreža, do crnogorskih građana svakodnevno stižu izvještaji ruskih zvaničnika, njihovi stavovi, komentari i protokolarne informacije. No, primjetno je da pored informacija o ovoj temi mediji javnosti serviraju i propagandne pamflete maskirane u novinarske izvještaje.

Na Balkanu su posljednjih godina pokrenuti brojni internet portali, udruženja građana, političke stranke koji nas ubjeđuju da su Rusija i Putin jedini spas od „zlog“ Zapada - njegovih demokratskih i liberalnih vrijednosti i imperijalističke politike NATO.

Prema nekim procjenama¹, čak je preko 100 takvih medija i organizacija u Srbiji, ali i u Crnoj Gori, koji su potpuno nekritički okrenuti ka Moskvi. Tiražni tabloidi, pogotovo u Srbiji - Informer, Srpski telegraf, Alo,

Kurir - nadmeću se u veličanju ruske vojne i političke moći, glorifikovanju i širenju kulta ličnosti Vladimira Putina. Ne zaostaju ni mediji sa dugom tradicijom poput Politike, Večernjih novosti itd.

Rusiji, prije svega njenoj vojnoj moći i veličanju Vladimira Putina, skloni su i mediji u Crnoj Gori. Gotovo svakodnevno se, u desetinama tekstova na portalima i u novinama, promoviraju (pro)ruski stavovi o glavnim političkim pitanjima, najviše u vezi s Kosovom, Sirijom i Ukrajinom. Redaju se hvalospjevi ruskom naoružanju i ruskoj vojsci, najavljuje se “konačni obračun Rusije sa zlim Zapadom (EU, SAD, NATO)”.

Uz to, istraživanja javnog mnjenja pokazuju da popularnost Rusije među crnogorskim građanima raste. Ova zemlja je u Crnoj Gori popularnija od SAD i EU, rusko oružje je neprikosnoveno, a Vladimir Putin je jedan od najpopularnijih lidera...²

Intrigantno je da 47 odsto građana Crne Gore smatra da je Rusija vojno superiorna sila, a samo 37 odsto misli da je NATO vojno superioran.

Većina birača najvećih opozicionih partija vjeruje u rusku vojnu nadmoć nad NATO-om.³

Zbog toga smo odlučili da uradimo analizu tekstova koji se bave ruskim oružjem i ruskom vojnom moći vidimo koji nam se to narativ plasira odnosno kakvu nam priču o ruskom oružju pričaju mediji.

Pojam „narativ” u kolokvijalnom smislu, označava „priču” („naracija” koja se prevodi kao „priča, pričanje, pripovijedanje). U aktuelnom (sadašnjem) korišćenju, u novinarstvu, narativ znači i sadržaj i opis toka priče, odnosno izvještaja o događaju koji se prati.

Narativ je, dakle, način na koji neki medij prenosi informacije o nekom događaju, određenoj situaciji, temi ili ličnosti. Stoga, često informacije koje dominiraju u narativu ne moraju biti netačne ili lažne.

Prilikom kreiranja narativa, medij može koristiti različite manipulacije ili ne poštovati osnovne principe profesionalnog izvještavanja – od senzacionali-

stičkog i tabloidnog izvještavanja, preko prenošenja neprovjerenih informacija, izostavljanja bitnih informacija, nekritičkog prenošenja mnogobrojnih izvještavanja, pristrasnog i jednostranog izvještavanja, pa do namjernog usmjeravanja zaključaka čitalaca u smjeru koji mediju odgovara.

Da bi analizirali narativ o svemoćnom ruskom oružju koji plasiraju mediji, tim CDT-a analizirao je oko 200 tekstova o ovom pitanju iz crnogorskih medija čija sadržaj objavljuje arhiva medija Arhimed o(TVCG, TV Vijesti, TV Prva, TV Nova, ND Vijesti, Pobjeda, Dan, Dnevne novine, list Informer, Portal Analitika, Vijesti online, Antena M, CDM...). Dodatno smo analizirali i tekstove na portalu IN4S koji ima posebnu rubriku „Ruski pogled” u kojoj objavljuje ovu vrstu informacija.

Analizirali smo tekstove objavljene u periodu od decembra 2015. do decembra 2018.

¹ • Autor: Glas Amerike, “SAD da izdvoje više novca i budu prisutnije u Srbiji - da bi se smanjio ruski uticaj”, *Glas Amerike*, 10. januar 2018. Dostupno na: <https://bit.ly/36u0XHl>

² • Međunarodni republikanski institut, Istraživanje javnog mnjenja, decembar 2017., Vašington. Dostupno na: <https://bit.ly/38oYesl>

³ • Isto

Ključna zapažanja

O ruskom oružju se priča mahom u onlajn prostoru



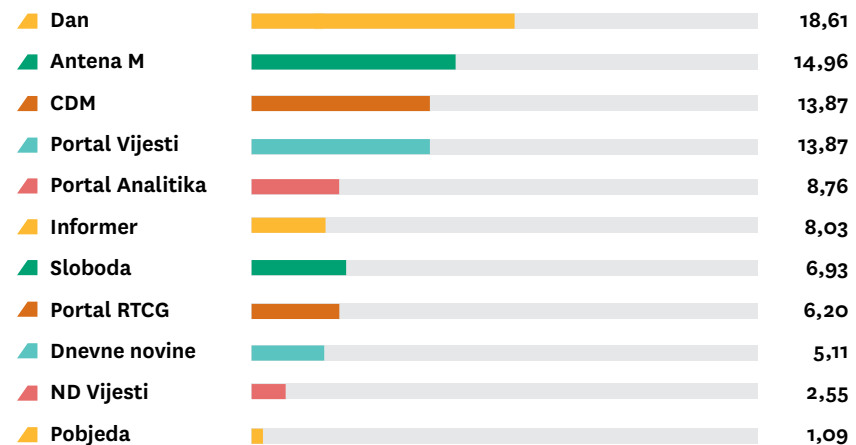
Prema podacima istraživanja javnog mnjenja, građani Crne Gore se najčešće informišu putem TV programa, internet portala i društvenih mreža. Najviše građana, skoro 35 odsto, zainteresovano je za zabavne sadržaje, a približno toliko je zainteresovanih za informativno-politički program. Prema istraživanju agencije „Damar” s kraja 2019. godine, skoro 2/3 anketiranih građana vjeruju da su mediji u Crnoj Gori spremni da, radi povećanja tiraža i rejtinga, objavljuju senzacionalističke informacije. Preko 50 odsto smatra i da političke partije imaju potpuni uticaj na uređivačku politiku medija⁴.

4 • Agencija Damar, Istraživanje javnog mnjenja, novembar 2018. Podgorica. Dostupno na: <http://www.damar.co.me/analyses/6>

Istraživanje Nacionalnog demokratskog instituta (NDI) iz Vašingtona, koje je obuhvatilo stavove građana i izvještavanje medija o stranim uticajima, pokazalo je da su građani Crne Gore najviše naklonjeni Rusiji, Kini i EU. 42 odsto građana Crne Gore naklonjeno Rusiji, dok je negativan stav o toj državi iskazalo 21 odsto anketiranih.⁵

5 • NDI, Istraživanje javnog mnjenja, novembar 2018., Vašington. Dostupno na: <https://bit.ly/2E2dzJA>

Naša analiza je pokazala da u periodu obuhvaćenom istraživanjem u TV programima, odnosno u glavnim TV informativnim emisijama, nije bilo ili je bilo veoma malo narativa o ruskom oružju. Bilo ga je u štampi, a najviše na portalima:



Kvantitativnom analizom nije obuhvaćen portal in4s koji svakodnevno u rubrici „Ruski pogled” objavljuje desetine članaka. Objavljeni članci su u glavnom istog sadržaja kao i članci ostalih analiziranih medija, te su obuhvaćeni kvalitativnom analizom.

Ključni zaključak ove analize je da politička profilacija i uređivačka politika medija nijesu od presudnog značaja za prenošenje narativa o ruskom oružju. Takve sadržaje prenose i mediji koji su se poodavno deklarirali kao glasila koji podržavaju strateške vanjskopoliitičke prioritete zvanične Podgorice, odnosno, i oni koji su se zalagali da Crna Gora bude nezavisna država, da bude članica NATO i zalažu se da postane i punopravna članica EU.

Akteri ili izvori informacija koje sadrže narativ o svemoćnom ruskom oružju i koji nam prenose poruke, dominantno su ruski - 73,71 odsto, 12,5 odsto su neimenovan ili nepoznati. a 13,79 odsto – ostali.

Među ruskim izvorima – 19,83 odsto su niži ruski zvaničnici: portparolka Ministarstva inostranih poslova Marija Zaharova, portparol Kremlja Dmitrij Peskov, portparol Ministarstva odbrane Igor Konasenkov, šef odbrambenog odbora donjeg doma ruskog parlamenta Vladimir Samanov, zamjenik predsjednika ruskog Vijeća za odbranu i nacionalnu sigurnost Franc Klinčević, šef Odbora za međunarodne poslove Savjeta Ruske Federacije Konstantin Kosačev, zamjenik ruskog ministra inostranih poslova Mihail Bogdanov, predsjednik odbrambenog komiteta Savjeta Federacije Rusije Viktor Bondarev, predsjednica Savjeta Federacije Gornjeg doma parlamenta Rusije Valentina Matvijenko, ruski ambasador u UN Vasilij Nebencija, potom zamjenici ministara, vojni zapovjednici... Predsjednik Rusije Vladimir Putin, u različitim formama (saopštenja, izvještaji sa press konferencija, obraćanja naciji itd.) je izvor za 15,95 odsto objava, dok su 15 odsto izvori poput ruskih analitičara/eksperata/medija/kompanija (vojni analitičari Viktor Litovkin Dmitrij Kornjev, vojni analitičar „Izvestije” Dmitrij Safonov, vojni ekspert Dmitrij Kornjev, ruski vojni ekspert Vladimir Kozin... Agencija Sputnjik, radio Sputnjik, agencija RIA novosti, medijski centar „Ruski ekspres”, izvori lista „Izvestija” koji „slovi za list sa najboljim vezama u Kremlju”, kompanija „Roselectronics”, direktor Šatura instituta Aleksej Surpov, direktor Kalsnjikova Aleksej Krivorucko, direktor korporacije „Rostek” Sergej Cemezov, predstavnik kompanije koja proizvodi oklopna vozila „Tigar” Sergej Suvorov, direktor preduzeća Rosboroneksport, Aleksander Mihejev, zamjenik generalnog direktora ruskog državnog izvoznika naoružanja Rosoboronexport, Sergej Ladigin...). U slučaju 12,50 odsto objava izvori su ruski visoki zvaničnici - premijer Dmitrij Medvedev, vicepremijer Dmitrij Rogozin, ministar odbrane Sergej Sojgu, ministar vanjskih poslova Sergej Lavrov.

Pouzdani/obavještajni/diplomatski/neimenovani izvori ili objave bez izvora, „odlično obavještjeni krugovi”, „odlično obavještjeni diplomatski krugovi”, „ruski vojni izvori” i „vojnodiplomatski izvori”, „odlično obavještjeni diplomatski izvori bliski Kremlju”, „više odlično obavještenih diplomatskih izvora, ali i u vrhu Vlade Srbije” čine 12,50 odsto objava o ruskom oružju. Ruske institucije - Ministarstvo odbrane, Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova i Ministarstvo za vanredne situacije čine 10,34 odsto izvora za medijske objave.

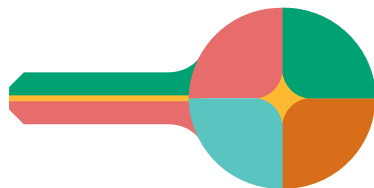


Zapadni eksperti i mediji (imenovani i neimenovani) su 7,33 odsto. Tri odsto izvora su strani zvaničnici poput predsjednika Srbije Aleksandar Vučića, predsjednika SAD Donalda Trampa, predsjednika Sirije Bašara el Asada, ministra spoljnih poslova Kine Vanga Jia.

Mediji nerijetko koriste i izvore iz naše zemlje ili regiona. Oni su 3,45 odsto objava u kojima se prenose stavovi uglavnom bivši političari ili urednici medija: nekadašnji generalni konzul SRJ u Bariju Dragan Mraović, bivši glavni i odgovorni urednik Politike Milan Mišić, urednik sajta „Vidovdan“ Željko Injac itd.

Zanimljivo je da se autori, u više objava u kojima se ističe ruska vojna nadmoć nad SAD i sluti kako bi Amerika u eventualnom sukobu sa Rusijom bez dileme bila poražena, pozivaju na izvore iz SAD ili NATO. Međutim, to su neimenovani i nepoznati izvori u objavama koje za naslov imaju:

„Generali NATO priznali: Nemamo šanse protiv Putina“, „SAD u panici: Putin će nam srušiti sve satelite - naveli su američki vojni zvaničnici“. Dešava se da izvor za ove objave bude i ruski Jutjuber s nadimkom „Cooxsals“.



Rusi imaju moćno oružje



Rusko oružje u analiziranim tekstovima predstavlja se kao: novo, tajno, moćno, zastrašujuće, oružje sudnjeg dana, nepobjedivo, super, superiorno, pakleno, najpouzdanije...

Ono je i intelektualno, minijaturno, nevidljivo, supersonično, hipersonično, termobarično, elektromagnetno, svemirsko, futurističko. To su sistemi kojima nema pandana bilo gdje u svijetu i prevazilaze sve postojeće, al i „buduće sisteme naoružanja koje koristi NATO“. Protiv njega niko nema šansi i zato ga žele i kupuju i članice NATO.

Ono predstavlja tehnologiju budućnosti, kvantni skok u tehnologiji, ima mogućnosti iz svijeta naučne fantastike. Rusija je tako uspješno testirala novi nadzvučni raketni sistem, rakete idu ka meti kao meteor u atmosferi brzinom većom od brzine zvuka. Poručuje se i kako je ruska super bomba moćnija od američke:

„Svi objekti u epicentru eksplozije raspadaju se u paraparčad, bilo da su to ljudi, tehnika, utvrđenja, ili neki drugi neprijateljski odbrambeni objekti“.

„Raketa ‘cirkon’ leti i do šest puta brže od zvuka“.

„Rusija je izradila novu super raketu koja je, iako još nije u upotrebi, u NATO krugovima i na Zapadu izazvala nervozu, strah i paniku“.

„Zastrašujuća raketa“, „oružje sudnjeg dana“, „maskirani đavo“, „nuklearni pakao“ - riječi su kojim se opisuje nova super raketa.

„BM-30 Smerč“, teški višecijevni bacač raketa, najsnažnije je rusko oružje poslije nuklearne bombe“ ali je, prije svega napravljen kao sredstvo za odbranu“.

Naglašava se bespomoćnost pred ruskim oružjem, „detonacija ovog „monstruma“ može da zbríše kompletnu populaciju jednog grada“.

Rusi su napravili i „najbolje oklopno borbeno sredstvo koje se dosad pojavilo u istoriji tenkovske industrije“, laserski leteći transporter, super lovac i neuhvatljivi tenk...

Rusija je spremna i za nuklearni rat

U brojnim analiziranim tekstovima piše se i o nuklearnom oružju. Mogući nuklearni rat je dio narativa i u člancima se često upozorava na tu opasnost, posebno nakon što je Kremlj suspendovao sporazum o uništenju nuklearnog arsenala sa SAD i poslije prošlogodišnjeg izlaska SAD iz nuklearnog sporazuma sa Rusijom.

Rizik od nuklearnog rata je sve veći, a „vojni kapaciteti NATO, uključujući i nuklearne, usmjereni su ka Rusiji”.

U nekoliko članaka prenosi se saopštenje Ruske državne televizije sa nadnaslovom:

„Uzemirujuća poruka Rusije svojim građanima: Spremite se za nuklearni rat” i naslovom:

„Nuklearni rat?! Amerika i Rusija nalaze se na ivici nuklearnog rata”.

Navodi se kako „šizofreničari iz Amerike ‘oštre’ nuklearno oružje za Moskvu”, da se zbog te prijetnje, 40 miliona Rusa sprema za vanredne situacije - atomske i hemijske napade i da se grade podzemna skloništa za 12 miliona ljudi.

Poručuje se da je nuklearno oružje Rusije godinama, a možda čak i decenijama ispred drugih i da su ruske nuklearne snage sposobne da izazovu „visok nivo razorne štete svakom agresoru, uključujući i onom koji posjeduje moderne PVO sisteme.

Rusija zbog nuklearne prijetnje testira i novo i moderno nuklearno oružje koje se opisuje kao „super-nuklearno oružje koje može udariti bilo gdje na planeti”. „Upravo je lansirano najstrašnije oružje u istoriji: U nekoliko sekundi može zbrisati Francusku”.



Tenk-roboti i vakum bombe kakve niko nema

Rusi raspolažu naoružanjem najšireg spektra. Imaju, ili ruska preduzeća razvijaju, proizvodnju raketnih sistema, termobarične bombe, lasersko, hipersonično i elektromagnetno oružje, borbeno oklopna vozila i transportere, avione, bespilotne letjelice, radarske sisteme...

„Rusija može da oduva sve rakete sa svog neba”, naslov je jednog od tekstova o novom moćnom ruskom oružju. Njegova moc opisuje se ovako: „Zamislite da je ljeto i da imate gomilu komaraca na plafonu. Vi uzimate usisivač, uključujete ga, i ta gomila komaraca nestaje u „utrobi” usisivača”... „Mi samo „dunemo” i cio roj bude oduvan. Nijedna raketa do Moskve neće moći da doleti “.

„Termobaričnu vakuum bombu, oca svih bombi” na svijetu ima jedino Moskva, poručuje se u jednom od tekstova.

U jednom od članaka piše i da je Rusija ima lasersko oružje koje mete uništava za manje od sekunde. Potom, kako novi ruski avion ima mogućnosti koje se graniče s naučnom fantastikom. „Avion će moći da leti u svemiru i da se kreće bez pilota.”

Novo rusko hipersonično oružje „poništava kompletnu protivraketnu odbranu SAD” i „može da proдре kroz bilo koji protivraketni sistem.”

Elektromagnetni top probija bilo koju vrstu oklopa: top ispaljuje municiju brzinom od tri km/sec a umjesto eksploziva ili municije oslanja se na elektromagnetnu silu.

„Mi stvaramo intelektualno oružje. „Armata” nije samo tenk. To je tenk kojim može daljninski da se upravlja, to je tenk-robot koji može biti čak i bez posade”.

Za narativ o ruskom oružju u ovdašnjim medijima zanimljivi su i nazivi koje ima različito naoružanje, na čemu se takođe insistira u medijskim sadržajima. Tako, teški višecijevni bacač raketa „BM-30 Smerč”, nazivaju „strašna smrt iz Debaljceva”, hipersoničnu interkontinentalnu raketu koja „udara poput meteora” nazivaju „Avangard”, kažu kako „zastrašujuću raketu „Sarmat” na Zapadu zovu „Satana”, sistem hipersoničnih raketa ima ime „Kinžal”...



Navodi se i kako se Rusi na Putinov poziv takmice da „krste” novo „oružje Sudnjeg dana”... Rusko Ministarstvo odbrane „konkursom” traži da građani daju naziv tom novom oružju... Reakcije građana uglavnom su sarkastične aluzije na Zapad. Predlažu i da se oružje nazove po ruskim ratnicima ili po samom Putinu. Neki od prijedloga su: „Melaniji-ne grudi”, „jer su lažne”, „Tramp” jer je „narandžasto i uništava sve što dođe u kontakt s njim”, „Kolumbo”, „Otkrio je Ameriku, on će je i ugasiti”, „Sankcije”, „Kraken”, „Balalajka”, „Palmira”, „Otopljenje”...

Rusija je najveća vojna sila



U analiziranom periodu veoma malo tekstova, u odnosu na one o superiornosti ruskog oružja, govori o moći i snazi ruske vojske.

U manjem broju članaka navodi se, ipak, kako je ruska vojska jedna od najmoćnijih, najbrojnijih i najobučenijih vojski na svijetu i da je Rusija jedna od rijetkih zemalja koja zadovoljava potrebe svoje vojske za opremom i naoružanjem.

Ruska vojska je „jaka, pokretna i efikasna vojska, sposobna da se suprotstavi svim prijetnjama” i „gotovo je nemoguće pobrojati sve rekorde i uspjehe”.

O njoj brine „ruska pamet koja je napravila uniformu otpornu na napade”.

„Na ruske vojnike obučene u tu uniformu može da se puca čak i iz tenkova, a odijelo, prsluk i kaciga, štite i od napada balističkih raketa”.

Ruski vojnik budućnosti ima opremu kao iz „Ratova zvijezda”.

Ističe se briga o bezbjednosti ruskog vojnika u različitim situacijama, pa se tako navodi i da su „ruski vojnici izašli bez ogrebotine iz borbenog vozila „Tigar”, koje su teroristi ISIS spalili u borbama”.

Prenose se i tekstovi o uspjesima u kompanijama za proizvodnju, ali i prodaju oružja i vojne opreme. Tako se ističe kako cvjeta izvoz za Bliski istok i Sjever Afrike i da rusko oružje žele kupovati i na Zapadu. Rusko naoružanje je poželjno, čak i u državama članicama NATO.

Proizvođač „Kalašnjikov” u 2016. godine udvostručio je proizvodnju i prodaju, a jedno od preduzeća koje trguje oružjem Rosoboronexport, dio korporacije Rostec, za sedam mjeseci 2017. godine „doživio je rast vrijednosti izvoza za tri milijarde dolara, sa 42 na 45 milijardi”.

Rusko oružje se koristi za pravedne svrhe



Rusko oružje se, prema narativu u analiziranim tekstovima, prije svega, koristi se kako bi Rusija odbranila sebe jer „Rusija nikad ne napada“ i „Rusija nikome ne prijeti“.

„Tako je npr. „teški višecijevni bacac raketa, BM-30 Smerc, najsnažnije rusko oružje poslije nuklearne bombe, prije svega napravljen kao sredstvo za odbranu“.

„NATO je strana koja prijeti bezbjednosti Rusiji, stalno provocira, a Rusija samo odgovara na provokacije. NATO, međutim, s obzirom na superiornost ruskog oružja nema nikakvih šansi“.

„Rusija je jača od bilo kog potencijalnog agresora“.

Moskva se, uprkos stalnom isticanju vojne superiornosti, predstavlja kao primjer mirnog pristupa rješavanju konflikta.

„Rusija razvija „novo oružje i kako bi se osigurao strateški balans, a interese globalne i regionalne stabilnosti uvijek stavlja iznad svega“

„Uradićemo sve što je potrebno da osiguramo stratešku stabilnost“.

To su poruke iz tekstova.

Moskva često ističe, prenosi se u najvećem broju analiziranih članaka, kako je beskompromisni borac protiv terorizma i čuvar mira.

„Rusija štiti Evropu od varvarstva, militarizma i agresije, tiranije i terorizma“.

„Rusija uspijeva u Siriji i Avganistanu, tamo gdje su NATO i EU doživjeli neuspjehe“.

„Moskva želi da Avganistan bude jaka, nezavisna i neutralna država, a spasiteljka je Sirije“.



„NATO bi, da naš predsjednik nije uspio da ih ubije, ispalio 624 krstareće rakete i uništio infrastrukturu Sirije“.

Ruska vojska u Siriji “impresivno obavlja svoj posao” i „pobijeđena je najefikasnija grupa međunarodnih terorista“.

Ruski predsjednik primjećuje i kako je „rat u Siriji bio je najbolja reklama za rusko oružje pred međunarodnim mušterijama“, da su „narudžbe vrijedne 50 miliona dolara“, te da se moraju graditi nove fabrike za proizvodnju oružja.

Rusko moćno oružje je dobro za Srbiju



Veliki broj medija i portal iz Srbije - Informer, Kurir, Blic, Politika, Večernje novosti, B92 itd. svakodnevno promoviraju proruse stavove o glavnim vojnopolitičkim pitanjima i ekonomskim alternativama Zapadu. Ponajviše u vezi s temom Kosova u čemu je Moskva saveznik i partner Beograda. Rusija se po pravilu glorifikuje i istovremeno se demonizuje NATO i Zapad.

U tom kontekstu veoma je prisutan i dominantno pozitivan narativ o superiornom i sve-moćnom ruskom oružju. Najveći broj tih tekstova prenose i portali i mediji u Crnoj Gori. Uz ostale, veoma često i sadržaje novinske agencije Sputnjik, u Srbiji osnovane 2015. godine, koja emituje i radio program, a koji radio stanice u Srbiji prenose besplatno. Taj radio program posredstvom (kablovske) Srpske TV, moguće je gledati i u Crnoj Gori.

Poruka je da Srbija može računati i na vojnu pomoć Rusije u slučaju novih sukoba na Balkanu i koja će svojom snagom i oružjem bez zadržke stati uz Srbiju. Uz to, objavljuju se i navodi poput:

„Rusi će sigurno zaštititi Srbiju, svog jedinog istorijskog saveznika na ovim prostorima”.

Ističe se kako je opremanje i obuka vojske Srbije, jedan od prioriteta ruske spoljne politike.

„Srbija je uz Rusiju: dobiće oružje uz pomoć koga će postati najjača vojna sila u regionu”.

„Srbija će postati apsolutno najjača vojna sila u regionu!... i uskoro će postati jedina zemlja u ovom dijelu Evrope koja će imati „moćni” ruski PVO raketni sistem „pancir S1”.

Vučić: Od Rusije šest „migova”, 30 tenkova, 30 borbenih oklopnih vozila...

„Dramatično poboljšanje za vojsku Srbije”

„Srpski migovi imaju VVR rakete, koje ruše sve redom”

„Moćno i nepobedivo”

Rusija u Srbiji i testira novo super oružje što je „potvrda rusko-srpskog prijateljstva”. Navodi se „Putin u Srbiji testira novi špijunski dron” - tajno oružje bespilotnu minijaturnu letjelicu „vilin konjic”. Opisuje se i kako je ta letjelica „vrh nanotehnologije i pokazatelj kvaliteta ruske vojske”.

Rusija će oružje Srbiji pokloniti ili prodati po povoljnim cijenama:

„Rusija je prijatelj i zaštitnik Srbije, poručuje u jednom od članaka predsjednik Srbije A. Vučić i dodaje kako će samo manji dio oružja biti plaćen i to po cijeni znatno nižoj od tržišne

„Da takve avione kupujemo, s tim raketama, koštali bi nas 600 miliona eura. Eto koliko su povoljne cene i koliko smo dobili poklonjenog”

„Stižu helikopteri Mil 7 i najsavremeniji višecijevni raketni sistemi tipa RSZO: Za Srbiju ne važe tržišne cijene i uslovi”.

Kako se Rusija protivi ulasku Srbije u NATO, ukazuje se i da članstvo u Alijansi ne omogućava dodatnu bezbjednost, već da je Rusija garant bezbjednosti.

„Rusija Srbiji šalje S 300”... „da je Srbija 1999. Godine imala sistem odbrane S300, ne bi bilo razrušenih zgrada po Beogradu i Srbiji”.

To je „najmoćniji raketni sistem koji je „noćna mora generala NATO”.

Ruski narativ u slučaju Srbije, jasno je, već je doprinio formiranju proruskog javnog mnjenja. 87 odsto građana Srbije Rusiju vidi kao prijatelja Srbije⁶.

6 • Institut za evropske poslove, Istraživanje javnog mnjenja, septembar 2019., Beograd. Dostupno na: <https://bit.ly/2RyuFqG>

Putin je genije



Mediji glorifikuju ličnost, moć i autoritativni režim Vladimira Putina. Fotografija ruskog predsjednika je, prema jednom istraživanju iz 2017. godine, čak 90 puta objavljena na naslovnica tiražnih tabloida u Srbiji.

Postoji i članak s naslovom „Putin je genije“. Objavio ga je tabloid Informer decembra 2015. pozivajući se na zapadne medije - njemačke i britanske listove koji su navodno ocijenili da je on genije. Najčešće se apsolutno nekritički veliča ruska vojna moć i shodno tome svemoćni Putin. Zaključuje se kako, zbog te Putinove moći, „EU gleda drugim očima na sankcije Rusiji uvedene zbog krize u Ukrajini“. Putinovi vojni i politički potezi ocjenjuju se „genijalnim manevrima“ zbog kojih se u svijetu mjenja politička slika o njemu. Konstatuje se da je „Putin novim krstarećim nuklearnim raketama od kojih nema odbrane zapanjio svijet“.

Piše se i o tajni Putinove moći i o „četiri zastrašujuća ruska oružja koja nikad nijesu korišćena, a koliko su zastrašujuća, bolje je da se nikad i ne iskoriste“. Neki su od mnogobrojnih naslova u kojima se veličaju sposobnosti i moć predsjednika Rusije.

„Putin će robotima razbiti džihadiste“

„Putin za samo tri mjeseca razbio ISIS“

„Istrebiću te đavole iz ISIS!“

„Putin: Uništiću sve koji prijete Rusiji“

„SAD u panici: Putin će nam srušiti sve satelite“

„Putin jednim udarcem ubio nekoliko muva“

Narativ o neprikosnovenom ruskom oružju i Vladimiru Putinu kao moćnom ideru i pravdom borcu za mir, doprinosi i da veoma povoljno mišljenje o njemu ima veliki broj građana Crne Gore. Anketa Međunarodnog republikanskog instituta (IRI) s kraja 2017. god. utvrdila je da tako smatra 42 odsto Crnogoraca. Da je Putin branitelj tradicionalnih evropskih vrijednosti vjeruje 42 odsto građana Crne Gore.⁷

⁷ • Međunarodni republikanski institut, Istraživanje javnog mnjenja, decembar 2017., Vašington. Dostupno na: <https://bit.ly/38oYgsI>



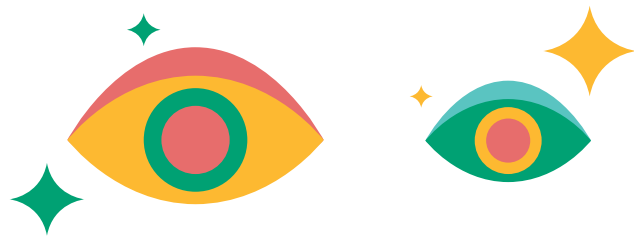
Rusija i njen predsjednik Vladimir Putin uživaju ogromnu popularnost u Srbiji. O tome, između ostalog, svjedoče i mnogobrojni štandovi po Beogradu na kojima se prodaju majice, bedževi, šolje, kačketi s njegovim likom.



Ruski pogled – posebna rubrika



Sve što je opisano kao dio ovog narativa, nalazimo i na portalu IN4S, koji u posebnoj rubrici s nazivom „Ruski pogled” svakodnevno objavljuje desetine tekstova o društvenim, političkim i ekonomskim temama iz današnje Rusije. Veličaju se i hvale potezi i odluke ruskog lidera Vladimira Putina. Dominantno se prenose i sadržaji koji promovišu zvaničnu politiku Moskve protiv NATO i Crne Gore. U velikom broju članaka piše se o superiornom i svemoćnom ruskom oružju i prijatnji NATO i SAD. I na ovom portalu se u velikom broju članaka ne dovodi u pitanje pobjeda Rusije u eventualnom oružanom sukobu sa SAD i NATO. Izvori takvih tvrdnji su neimenovani američki generali ili nepoznati i neimenovani funkcioneri NATO. Najčešći izvor u člancima o svemoćnom ruskom oružju je Sputnik. Članci tog ruskog medija se i najčešće prenose na portalu IN4S.



Zaključci ✨



Na temelju analiziranih članaka može se zaključiti kako ovakav narativ o ruskom oružju nije kreiran u Crnoj Gori već u tabloidima iz regiona i na mnogobrojnim proruskim i desničarskim portalima.

Izvori informacija koje sadrže narativ o svemoćnom ruskom oružju dominantno su ruski.

Mediji te informacije prenose i to čine bez obzira na uređivačku politiku, čak i oni koji su se poodavno deklarirali kao mediji koji podržavaju strateške vanjsko-političke prioritete zvanične Podgorice.

Mediji se nerijetko bore sa teškim finansijskim problemima, posluju na neuređenom i ekonomski nestabilnom tržištu, pa u trci za čitaocima, u što kraćem vremenu, *copy-paste* novinarstvom šire narativ - objavljuju mnogo informacija čiji sadržaj i narativ ne prepoznaju i ne provjeravaju njihovu tačnost. Provjera činjenica je težak posao. Za sve se mora naći primarni izvor i biti siguran da je sekundarni pogrešno objavio. Izvori u medijskim sadržajima koji veličaju moć ruskog oružja najčešće su takvi da je teško ili gotovo nemoguće bilo što provjeriti.

Priča o svemogućem ruskom oružju najviše ima u onlajn medijima, znatno ih je manje u štampi i u televizijskim emisijama. U štampi, novinari i urednici imaju više vremena za pripremu broja i upoznavanje sa sadržajima koje planiraju objaviti. Na televiziji gotovo da ih i nema, nesumnjivo i zbog specifičnog, znatno zahtjevnijeg i kompikovanijeg procesa izrade TV priče i emisija.

Narativ o ruskom oružju koji se gotovo svakodnevno širi ima za cilj da usmjeri stavove i zaključke čitalaca tih sadržaja u određenom smjeru koji odgovara političkom i ideološkom opredjeljenju onih koji takav sadržaj kreiraju ili naručuju.

Plasiranje narativa o svemoćnom ruskom oružju, koji nerijetko prati antizapadna propaganda, utiče na javno mnjenje i kreiranje mišljenja građana ovog regiona. Promociju proruskih vrijednosti i aktivnosti povećava se popularnost antidemokratskih režima i podstiče netrpeljivost prema Zapadu i demokratskim idejama.

Jedan od efekata ruskog narativa je taj što Rusija prikazuje kao politička, vojna i ekonomska alternativa Zapadu. Potom rastu tenzije, ohrabruju se nacionalistički pokreti, širi retorika protiv stabilnosti koju propagiraju prenosioci ruskog narativa. Sve to podriva nastojanja zemalja regiona za članstvom u EU i NATO-u. Takođe, nanosi se ne mala šteta novinarstvu.

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{ THE ALMIGHTY RUSSIAN WEAPONS }

**Analysis of
the media narrative
on the superior
weapons of the
Russian Federation**

december 2019

Information on activities of the Russian Federation and its President Vladimir Putin are getting an increased coverage in local and regional media reports that tackle global developments, as well as those in the Balkans. The journalists' and readers' interest in Russia is not winding down - the traditional media, and especially social networks, keep plying Montenegrin citizens with daily reports on statements issued by Russian officials, their views, comments, and protocol-related information. However, it is noticeable that in addition to information on this topic, the media also serve propaganda pamphlets masked as journalistic reports.

In recent years, the Balkans has seen the sprouting of web portals, citizen associations and political parties, which keep convincing us that Russia and Putin are the only salvation from the "evil" West, its democratic and liberal values and NATO's imperialist policy.

According to some estimates¹, there are even more than one hundred of media outlets and organizations in Serbia - and in Montenegro as well - which are overly indulgent towards Moscow. The mass-circula-

ting, especially Serbia-based tabloids - namely, the Informer, Srpski telegraf, Alo, Kurir - are competing in praising Russia's military and political power and glorifying and spreading Vladimir Putin's personality cult. In this respect, they are not falling much behind the long-standing tradition of Politika, Večernje Novosti, etc.

Some media in Montenegro are also prone to glorifying Russia, especially its military might and Vladimir Putin himself. It is on an almost daily basis that web portals and newspapers publish dozens of articles that promote the (pro)Russian views on major political issues, most notably in relation to Kosovo, Syria and Ukraine. Praises are being sung to Russian weapons and Russia's military, with announcements of "Russia's final showdown with the evil West (EU, US, NATO)".

In addition, opinion polls point to Russia's growing popularity among Montenegrin citizens. This country is more popular in Montenegro than the USA and the EU, Russian weapons are seen as unparalleled, and Vladimir Putin comes out as one of the most popular leaders...²

¹ • Author: Voice of America. "SAD da izdvoje više novca i budu prisutnije u Srbiji - da bi se smanjio ruski uticaj" (Engl: "USA to allocate more money and be more present in Serbia so as to reduce Russian influence"), *Voice of America*, January 10th 2018. Available at: <https://bit.ly/36u0xHl>

² • International Republican Institute. Public opinion poll, December 2017, Washington. Available at: <https://bit.ly/38oYegI>

It is intriguing that 47 percent of Montenegrin citizens view Russia as a superior military force, whereas only 37 percent think that NATO is superior military-wise. The majority of voters of the largest opposition parties believe in Russia's military supremacy over NATO.³

Hence, we have decided to perform an analysis into media reports on Russian weapons and Russian military power and see what kind of a narrative is being delivered to us i.e. what kind of a story are the media depicting about the Russian weaponry.

In a colloquial sense, the term "narrative" denotes "a story" ("narration" which translates as "story, recountal, storytelling"). In its current (present) use in journalism, a narrative also means the content and description of the flow of the story, i.e. of the event being reported.

A narrative, therefore, is the way a media conveys information about an event, situation, topic or personality. Consequently, it is often the case that the information prevailing in a narrative are not necessarily inaccurate or false.

³ • Ibid.

When building a narrative, the media may resort to different manipulations or disregard the basic principles of professional reporting - from sensationalism and tabloid journalism, publishing of unverified information, omission of relevant information, uncritical citing of numerous statements, a biased and one-sided reporting, to deliberately leading the reader to a conclusion that suits the medium.

In order to analyze the narrative surrounding the almighty Russian weapons as delivered by the media, the CDT team scrutinized around 200 relevant articles published in the Montenegrin media (TVCG, TV Vijesti, TV Prva, TV Nova, ND Vijesti, Pobjeda, Dan, Dnevne novine, Informer, Portal Analitika, Vijesti online, Antena M, CDM...), the contents of which were published by the Media Archives Arhimed. In addition, we have analyzed such reports published on the IN4s web portal, namely, in its special section entitled "The Russian View".

We have analyzed reports published between December 2015 and December 2018.

Key findings

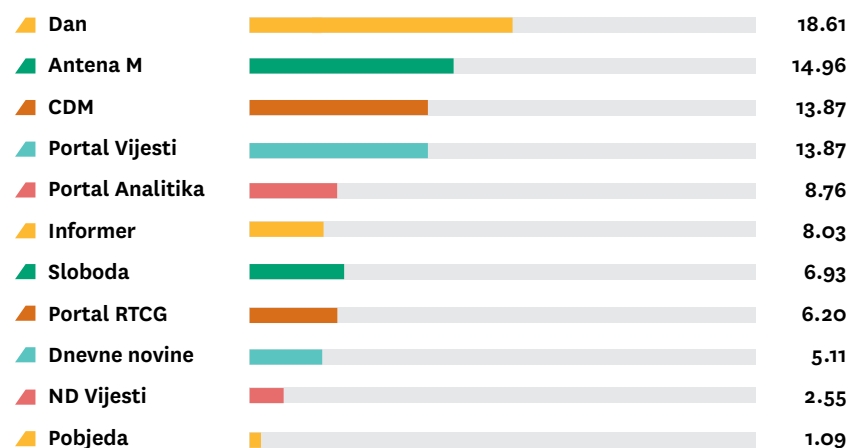
The topic of Russian weapons gets most coverage in online media



According to the opinion poll, television, internet portals and social networks are most widely used news platforms for citizens of Montenegro. The majority i.e. almost 35 percent of respondents are interested in entertainment, and roughly the same percentage of viewers opt for political and news programs. According to a survey carried out by the Damar agency in late 2019, almost 2/3 of the citizens surveyed believe that the media in Montenegro are ready to publish sensationalist information in order to boost circulation and ratings. Over 50 percent also believe that political parties fully influence editorial policies of the media⁴.

A survey carried out by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) from Washington DC, which probed citizens' views and media coverage of foreign influences, has shown that Russia, China and the EU are seen most favourably in Montenegro. As many as 42% of Montenegrin citizens favour Russia, while 21% respondents harbour a negative attitude towards this country.⁵

Our analysis has shown that TV programs and prime-time TV news programs contained no or very few narratives about Russian weapons during the reference period. This kind of narrative was present in the print media, and mostly on web portals.



The quantitative analysis does not cover the in4s portal, which publishes dozens of reports in “The Russian View” section on a daily basis. The contents of articles published therein are almost identical to that of the other analyzed media, and are therefore encompassed by the qualitative analysis.

The main conclusion of this analysis is that the conveying of narratives about Russian weapons does not solely depend on a certain political profiling and editorial policy of a media outlet. This content is also reported by the media that had long ago pegged themselves as supporters of the strategic foreign policy priorities of the official Podgorica, i.e. those who had advocated Montenegro's independence, its NATO accession and full-fledged membership in the EU.

The actors or sources of information that contain the narrative of the all-powerful Russian weapon and convey such messages to us are predominantly Russian - 73.71 percent, 12.5 percent are unnamed or unknown sources, whereas the rest make up 13.79 percent.

Among Russian sources - 19.83 percent are the lower-ranked Russian officials: Foreign Ministry Spokeswoman Maria Zakharova, Kremlin Spokesman Dmitry Peskov, Defense Ministry Spokesman Igor Konasenkov, State Duma Defense Committee Chairman Vladimir Shamanov, deputy chairman of the Russian Defense and National Security Council, Franz Klintsevich, Chairman of the Committee on International Affairs of the Russian Federation Konstantin Kosachev, Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Bogdanov, Chair of the Federation Council Committee on Defense and Security. Viktor Bondarev, Speaker of the upper house of Russian Parliament Valentina Matvienko, Russian Ambassador to the UN Vasily Nebenzya, deputy ministers, military commanders... Russian President Vladimir Putin is the source accounting for 15.95 percent of reports, through different forms (press releases, press conferences, addresses to the nation etc.), while 15 percent of reports are based on sources such as Russian analysts/ experts/ media/ companies (military analyst Viktor Litovkin, the Izvestia newspaper military analyst Dmitry Safonov, military expert Dmitry Kornev, Russian military expert Vladimir Kozin... Sputnik News Agency, Sputnik Radio, RIA Novosti Agency, Russian Express Media Center, sources of the Izvestia newspaper, “known for having best ties to the Kremlin”, the “Roselectronics” company, Shatura Institute's director Alexei Shurpov, director of Kalashnikov, Alexei Krivoruchko, General Manager of ROSTEK Sergey CEMEZOV, representative of the company producing armored vehicles “Tiger” Sergey Suvorov, Director General of Rosoboronexport Alexander Mikheev, Sergei Ladigin, the deputy general manager of the state-owned arms exporter, Rosoboronexport...). As many as 12.50% reports stem from sources such as Russian high-ranked officials - Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev, Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Rogozin, Defense Minister Sergey Shoigu, Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov. The reliable/intelligence/diplomatic/unnamed sources or non-attributable reports, “well-informed circles”, “well-informed diplomatic circles”, “Russian military sources”, “military and diplomatic sources”, the “well-informed diplomatic sources with close ties to the

⁴ • Damar Agency, Public opinion research, November 2018, Podgorica. Available at: <http://www.damar.co.me/analyses/6>

⁵ • NDI, Public opinion research, November 2018, Washington. Available at: <https://bit.ly/2E2dzJA>



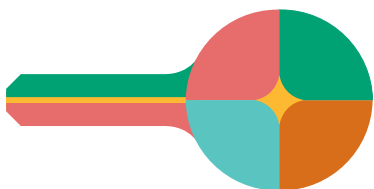
Kremlin”, “several well-informed diplomatic sources as well as Serbia’s top government officials” make up 12.50 percent of the Russian weapons-related reports. Russian institutions - the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Emergency Situations account for 10.34 percent of media sources.

Western experts and media (both named and anonymous) make up for 7.33 percent of sources. Three percent of sources goes for foreign officials such as Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić, US President Donald Trump, Syrian President Bashar el Assad, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi.

The media often cite sources from our country or the region, with 3.45 percent of reports predominantly conveying views of former politicians or media editors: former Consul General of the FRY in Bari, Dragan Mraovic, former editor-in-chief of Politika, Milan Mistic, editor of the “Vidovdan” website, Zeljko Injac, etc.

Interestingly enough, authors of a series of publications highlighting Russia’s military supremacy over the US and foreboding America’s unquestionable defeat in a conceivable conflict with Russia, tend to refer to US or NATO sources. However, these are unnamed and unattributable sources that devise headlines such as:

“NATO Generals Admit: We Stand No Chance Against Putin”, “US in a State of Panic: Putin Will Crash All of Our Satellites - US Military Officials Have Cited.” Sometimes, the source of these announcements is the Russian You tuber nicknamed “Cooxsals”.



The Russians have mighty weapons



The analyzed texts depict the Russian weapons as: state-of-the-art, secret, powerful, terrifying, a doomsday device, unbeatable, super, superior, diabolical, most reliable...

It is also described as being intellectual, miniature, invisible, supersonic, hypersonic, thermobaric, electromagnetic, space-tech, futuristic. These are unparalleled systems that outshine all the existing, but also “the future weapons systems to be used by NATO.” Nobody stands a chance against such weaponry and that is why NATO members want it and buy it.

It is the technology of the future, a quantum leap forward in technology, with sci-fi features. Russia has successfully tested its new hypersonic missile system that strikes like a meteorite at a speed greater than the speed of sound. It is also reported that the Russian super bomb is more powerful than the American one:

“All objects in the epicenter of the explosion fall to pieces, whether it is humans, technology, fortifications or some other enemy defense facilities”.

“The Zircon missile travels at up to six times the speed of sound”.

“Russia has devised a new super missile which, though still not in use, causes anxiety, fear and panic in NATO circles and in the West”.

“A terrifying missile”, “doomsday weapons”, “a devil in disguise”, “nuclear hell” - are the words used to describe the new super missile.

“The BM-30 Smerch, ‘a heavy multiple rocket launcher is Russia’s most powerful weapon after the nuclear bomb’ but primarily intended as a means of defense”.

It is highlighted that there is no defending against Russian weapons as “the detonation of this ‘monster’ can wipe out the entire population of a city.”

The Russians also manufactured the “best armored combat vehicle to date in the history of tank industry”, a laser transport aircraft, the super “Hunter” and a low-profile tank...

Russia is also prepared for a nuclear war

Many texts covered by this analysis bear reference to nuclear weapons. The conceivable nuclear war is a part of the narrative, and articles often warn of this danger, especially after the Kremlin suspended the Russia-US treaty on destruction of the nuclear arsenal and after last year's US pulling out of the nuclear treaty with Russia.

The risk of nuclear war is increasing, and "NATO's military capabilities, including nuclear ones, are directed at Russia".

Several articles cite a statement by the Russian national broadcaster with the caption:

"Russia's disturbing message to its citizens: Get ready for the nuclear war" with the ensuing headline:

"Nuclear war?! America and Russia are on the verge of nuclear war".

The reports say that "schizophrenics from America are 'sharpening' nuclear weapons for Moscow," that 40 million Russians are preparing for emergencies – such as atomic and chemical weapons attacks and building underground shelters for 12 million people.

It is reported that Russia's nuclear weapons are years, and perhaps even decades, ahead of that of others, and that Russian nuclear forces are capable of inflicting a devastating degree of damage on any aggressor, including those who have modern air defense systems.

It is on account of nuclear threat that Russia is testing the latest, state-of-the-art nuclear weapons, described as "nuclear super weapons that can strike anywhere on the planet". "The deadliest weapons in history have just been launched: they can wipe out France in a matter of seconds".



Robot tanks and vacuum bombs unlike any other

The Russians have the widest range of weapons available. They either already have -or are in the process of building - missile systems, thermobaric bombs, laser, hypersonic and electromagnetic weapons, combat armored vehicles and transporters, planes, drones, radar systems...

"Russia can blow away all missiles out of its sky," reads one of the headlines on Russia's new powerful weapons. Its power is described as follows: "Imagine it's summertime and you have a bunch of mosquitoes on the ceiling. You take the vacuum cleaner, plug it in, and this swarm of mosquitoes gets completely sucked in" ...We just 'blow' and the whole swarm gets blown away. No missile will be able to reach Moscow".

Only Moscow has the "thermobaric vacuum bomb, the father of all bombs," reads one of the articles.

One of the articles also claims that Russia has laser weapons that destroy their targets in less than a second; also, a new Russian airplane has features that border on science fiction - "The jet will be capable of space travel and could be operated without a pilot".

The new Russian hypersonic weapon "renders the complete US missile defense useless" and "can penetrate any missile system".

An electromagnetic railgun pierces through any type of armor: it fires shells at three kilometers per second and relies on electromagnetic forces rather than explosives or propellant.

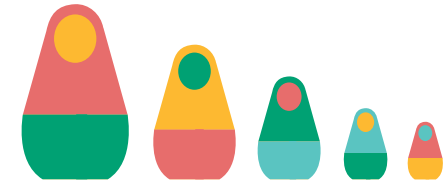
"We make intellectual weapons. 'Armata' is not just a tank. It's a tank that can be controlled remotely, a robotic tank that can even operate without a crew. "

Furthermore, it is noteworthy considering the names that are constantly being attributed to different weapons, in order to grasp the narrative surrounding the Russian weapons in the local media. Thus, the heavy multiple rocket launcher "BM-30 Smerch" is dubbed "the terrible death from Debaljcev", a hypersonic intercontinental missile that "strikes like a meteor" is called "Avangard", the "terrifying missile 'Sarmat' is dubbed 'the Satan' in the West", and the hypersonic missile system goes under the name of "Kinzhal"...



It is also alleged that the Russians, encouraged by Putin, compete in “christening” the new “doomsday weapons”... Russia’s Ministry of Defense asked the public to name the new weapons systems by means of a competition... The reactions of citizens were mostly sarcastic allusions to the West. They also suggested that the weapons be named after Russian warriors or Putin himself. Some of the suggestions were: “Melania’s breasts” - “because they are fake”, “Trump” - because it is “orange and destroys everything that comes in contact with it”, “Columbus” - “he discovered America, and he will wipe it out”. “Sanctions”, “Kraken”, “Balalaika”, “Palmyra”, “Meltdown”...

Russia is the largest military force



There were far fewer articles on the power and strength of the Russian military within the reference period, as compared to those on the superiority of Russian weapons.

Few articles, however, depict the Russian military as one of the most powerful, most trained and largest armies in the world, and as one of the few properly armed and equipped militaries.

The Russian military is “a strong, mobile and efficient army, capable of countering all threats” and “it is almost impossible to list all of its record-breaking achievements and successes.”

It is catered for by “the Russian savvy that created a uniform that is resistant to attacks”.

“Russian soldiers clad in this uniform can even be shot at from tanks, as their fight suits, vests and helmets also protect against ballistic missile attacks.”

The Russian soldier of the future will be wearing a gear resembling Star Wars outfits.

These reports make a point of mentioning the security of the Russian soldier in different situations, citing that “the Russian soldiers came out without a scratch from the Tigar combat vehicle, which ISIS terrorists set on fire during battles”.

There are also articles about successes reaped by weapons manufacturers and companies selling weapons and military equipment. It is said that exports to the Middle East and North Africa are booming and that Russian weapons are also sought in the West. Russian weapons are in demand, even in NATO member states.

In 2016, the “Kalashnikov” manufacturer doubled its production and sales, and one of the arms dealers, Rosoboronexport, a part of the Rostec Corporation, “upped its export by \$3 billion, from \$42 billion to \$45 billion” in the first seven months of 2017.

Russian weapons are used for righteous purposes



According to the narrative in the analyzed texts, Russian weapons are primarily used to help Russia defend itself because “Russia never attacks” and “Russia threatens no one”.

A report then goes to say that e.g. “the heavy multiple rocket launcher, the BM-30 Smerch, the most powerful Russian weapon after the nuclear bomb, was primarily intended as a means of defense”.

“It is NATO that threatens Russia’s security with its constant provocations, and so Russia is merely responding to those. However, given the superiority of the Russian weapons, NATO stands no chance”.

“Russia is stronger than any potential aggressor”.

Although constantly boasting military superiority, Moscow presents itself as an example of a peaceful approach to conflict resolution.

Russia is developing “new weapons so as to ensure a strategic balance, always putting global and regional stability above all else”.

“We will do whatever is necessary to ensure strategic stability”.

Those are the messages contained in the articles.

According to the majority of articles analyzed herein, Moscow often makes a point of presenting itself as an uncompromising fighter against terrorism and a guardian of peace.



“Russia is shielding Europe from barbarism, militarism and aggression, tyranny and terrorism”.

“Russia is successful in Syria and Afghanistan, where NATO and the EU have failed”.

“Moscow wants Afghanistan to be a strong, independent and neutral state, and is the savior of Syria”.

“NATO would have launched 624 cruise missiles and destroyed Syria’s infrastructure if our president hadn’t talked them out of it”.

The Russian army is “performing impressively” in Syria and “defeated the most battle-hardened group of international terrorists”.

The Russian president also noted that “the war in Syria was the perfect commercial for Russian arms producers in front of international clients”, as “there are \$50 million in orders coming in”, adding that new weapons factories must be built.

Russia's mighty weapons are good for Serbia



There are many media and web portals from Serbia - Informer, Kurir, Blic, Politika, Večernje Novosti, B92 etc. that promote pro-Russian views on major military and political issues and economic alternatives to the West on a daily basis. This is mostly the case with the topic of Kosovo, where Moscow emerges as an ally and partner of Belgrade. As a rule, Russia is glorified and NATO and the West are being demonized.

In this context, there is a very dominant and an overwhelmingly positive narrative about the superior and all-powerful Russian weapons. Most of these articles are also cited by portals and media in Montenegro. Among others, the contents often cited are those of the Sputnik news agency, which was established in Serbia in 2015, alongside the Sputnik radio program that is broadcast free of charge by other radio stations in Serbia. This radio program is also broadcast on Srpska TV in Montenegro, available via cable network.

The message is that Serbia can count on Russia's military assistance in the event of new conflicts in the Balkans, and that it would stand by Serbia with all of its might and weapons. In addition, there are quotes such as:

"The Russians will surely protect Serbia, their only historical ally in this region".

It is emphasized that equipping and training of the Serbian army is one of the priorities of Russia's foreign policy.

"Serbia stands alongside Russia: the weapons it is to receive will turn it into the strongest military force in the region".

"Serbia will be by far the strongest military power in the region!"... and will soon become the only country in this part of Europe to have the "mighty" Russian air defense missile system "Pantsir-S1".

Vučić: Six "MiGs", 30 tanks, 30 combat armored vehicles coming from Russia...

"Dramatic Improvement for the Serbian Army"

"Serbian MiGs Will Have AAM Missiles, Which Tear Down Everything"

"Mighty and invincible"

Russia is also testing a new super weapon in Serbia, which stands as a "confirmation of the Russian-Serbian friendship". The reports quote that "Putin is testing a new spy drone in Serbia" - a secret weapon, a robotic miniature aircraft "Dragonfly". It is described as "the top nanotechnology innovation and an indicator of the quality of the Russian army".

Russia will either donate or sell weapons to Serbia at reasonable prices:

"Russia is a friend and protector of Serbia" says President of Serbia A. Vučić in one of the articles, adding that only a small quantity of the weapons will be paid for, and well below the market price.

"If we were to buy such planes and missiles, they would set us back by 600 million euros. That's how affordable the prices are and how big of a gift we have received".

"The Mil 7 helicopters and state-of-the-art RSZO multiple rocket launching systems are on their way: Market prices and conditions do not apply to Serbia".

Given that Russia is opposed to Serbia's accession to NATO, there are also indications that membership in the Alliance would not provide additional security, but that Russia is, in fact, a guarantor of security.

"Russia sending S 300 to Serbia"... "If Serbia had a S300 defense system back in 1999, there would be no demolished buildings in Belgrade and Serbia".

It is "the most powerful missile system - 'a nightmare of NATO generals'".

The Russian narrative as presented in Serbia has clearly already contributed to the formation of the pro-Russian public opinion. As many as 87 percent of Serbian citizens see Russia as a friend of Serbia.⁶

6 • The Institute for European Affairs, Public opinion survey, September 2019, Belgrade. Available at: <https://bit.ly/2RyuFqG>

Putin is a genius



The media glorify Vladimir Putin's personality, power and authoritative regime. According to a 2017 survey, a photo of the Russian president was published as many as 90 times on the covers of mass-circulating tabloids in Serbia.

There is also an article entitled "Putin is a genius". It was published by the Informer tabloid in December 2015, citing Western media - German and UK newspapers which reportedly dubbed him a genius. Most often, the Russian military power and, accordingly, the almighty Putin, are praised in an absolutely uncritical fashion. It is concluded that it is because of Putin's power that "the EU is looking at the sanctions imposed on Russia over the Ukraine crisis with a fresh pair of eyes." Putin's military and political moves are tagged as "ingenious maneuvers" that have painted a different political image of him in the world. It is further noted that "Putin has stunned the world with new nuclear cruise missiles that render others defenseless".

There is also the coverage pertaining to the secret of Putin's power and "four intimidating Russian weapons that have never been used, and it's better off that way, given how intimidating they are". Some of the many titles extolling the prowess and power of the Russian president are as follows:

"Putin will use robots to dismantle jihadists"

"Putin takes down ISIS in just three months"

"I will wipe out those devils from ISIS!"

"Putin: I will destroy all those who threaten Russia"

"US in a panic: Putin will take down all of our satellites"

"Putin kills several birds with one stone".

A significant number of Montenegrin citizens have a favorable opinion of Vladimir Putin, which does contribute to the narrative of unmatched Russian weapons that depicts Putin as the mighty leader and a righteous fighter for peace.



A poll released in late 2017 by the International Republican Institute (IRI) has shown that 42 percent of Montenegrins believe that Putin is a defender of traditional European values.⁷

Russia and its president, Vladimir Putin, are hugely popular in Serbia. This can also be witnessed by the many merchandise booths scattered around Belgrade, selling T-shirts, badges, mugs and caps with his image.

⁷ • International Republican Institute, Public opinion poll, December 2017, Washington. Available at: <https://bit.ly/38oYgsI>

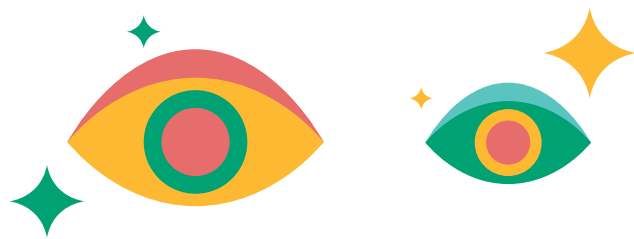


The Russian view – a special section



All of the facets of the narrative as described above can also be found on the IN4S web portal, whose special section entitled “The Russian View” publishes dozens of articles on Russia’s current social, political and economic topics on a daily basis. The moves and decisions of Russian leader Vladimir Putin are being praised and glorified. There is a prevalence of contents endorsing Moscow’s official policy against NATO and Montenegro. The superior and all-powerful Russian weapons posing a threat to NATO and the USA are largely reported on.

Numerous articles published on this portal harbor an unflinching belief in Russia’s victory over the US and NATO, should a possible armed conflict emerge. The sources of such claims are unnamed US generals or unknown and unattributed NATO officials. Sputnik is the most common source of articles about omnipotent Russian weapons. This Russian media outlet is the most often cited one on the IN4S portal.



Conclusions ✨



The articles analyzed herein indicate that the existing narrative about Russian weapons was, in fact, not created in Montenegro, but originated from regional tabloids and numerous pro-Russian and right-wing web portals.

The sources of information that convey the narrative of the almighty Russian weapons are predominantly Russia-based.

The media cite this information regardless of their editorial policy, even those media that have long ago declared themselves as supporters of the official Podgorica and its strategic foreign policy priorities.

Media often grapple with financial plights, operate in an unregulated and economically unstable market. The desire to be the first to publish the news, coupled with copy-paste journalism, is what helps the spreading of this narrative – the media publish a lot of information without grasping its content and narrative and without double-checking. Fact-checking is demanding. It means one must always pinpoint the primary source and make sure that the secondary source didn’t misreport the information. The sources of media contents that sing praises to the power of the Russian weapons are usually difficult or almost impossible to check into.

Stories of the omnipotent Russian weaponry are mostly reported by online media, and they are much fewer in the press and television shows, as journalists and editors working in print media have more

time to prepare an issue and get acquainted with the content they plan to publish. There are almost no such reports on broadcast television, which can certainly be attributed to the specific, much more demanding and complicated process of developing TV features and shows.

The almost daily dissemination of the narrative about the Russian weapons is aimed at swaying the views and conclusions of the readers in a specific direction that suits the political and ideological affiliation of those who create or commission such contents.

The narrative surrounding the omnipotent Russian weapons, often accompanied by an anti-Western propaganda, tend to both create and sway public opinion in the region. Promotion of the pro-Russian values and activities gives rise to the popularity of anti-democratic regimes and encourages intolerance towards the West and democratic ideas.

One of the effects of the Russian narrative is that Russia is portrayed as a political, military and economic alternative to the West. In turn, tensions rise, nationalist movements are encouraged, and those that spread the Russian narrative resort to rhetoric that undermines stability. All of this thwarts the region’s aspirations towards EU and NATO accession. It also causes significant damage to journalism...

SVEMOĆNO RUSKO ORUŽJE
THE ALMIGHTY RUSSIAN WEAPONS

Analiza medijskog narativa o superiornom
naoružanju Ruske federacije

Analysis of the media narrative on the superior
weapons of the Russian Federation

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