

REFERENCES:

Articles in Web Media (Retrieved at 17th July 2020)

- Blic* (23. 12. 2016). Ivan Jovanović, “NEKA NOVA ISTORIJA Kako je zbog TAČNOG ODGOVORA učenik u Podgorici dobio jedinicu.” URL: <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/drustvo/neka-nova-istorija-kako-je-zbog-tacnog-odgovora-ucenik-u-podgorici-dobio-jedinicu/o8r14yy>.
- Facebook* (10. 12. 2016). Marko Milačić, “Gledam odlomak iz ovog bukvara-priručnika...” URL: <https://www.facebook.com/marko.milacicnoviprofil/posts/1175362562551095>.
- The Independent* (17. 1. 2018). John Stone, “Russian Disinformation Campaign Has Been ‘Extremely Successful’ in Europe, Warns EU.” URL: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/russian-fake-news-disinformation-europe-putin-trump-eu-european-parliament-commission-a8164526.html>.
- Sputnik Srbija* (15. 10. 2015). Vladimir Sudar, “NATO Crnoj Gori duguje krv.” URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/regioni/201510151100315172-bulatovic-nato-crna-gora/>.
- Sputnik Srbija* (15. 12. 2015). Timur Blohin and Vladimir Sudar, “Đukanović vodi Crnu Goru u nove sukobe.” URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/analize/201512151101813064-crna-gora-djukanovic-nato-referendum/>.
- Sputnik Srbija* (16. 12. 2015). “Zaharova: Pitanje ulaska Crne Gore u NATO rešiti na referendumu.” URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/regioni/201512161101830162-Rusija-Podgorica-NATO/>.
- Sputnik Srbija* (10. 12. 2016). “Novi crnogorski bukvar – roditelji u šoku (foto).” URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/regioni/201612101109197419-crnagora-bukvar/>.
- Sputnik Srbija* (23. 12. 2016). “Đak: Crna Gora je srpska. Nastavnik: Sedi, jedan!” URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/regioni/201612231109367060-crna-gora-ucenik-skola-kaznjavanje/>.
- Sputnik Srbija* (30. 12. 2016). Marko Milačić, “Otvoreno pismo Njegoša Crnogorcima.” URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/autori/201612301109448922-milacic-crna-gora-njegos-marko-milacic/>.
- Sputnik Srbija* (5. 7. 2017). Nikola Joksimović, “Crna Goraje u jednoj stvari jedinstvena NATO ‘sila.’” URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/analize/201707051111805004-crna-gora-nato-istrazivanje-lojalnost-12/>.

Sputnik Srbija (2. 10. 2017). Marko Milačić, "Rusijo, izvini." URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/analize/201710021112876441-milacic-crna-gora-rusija/>.

Sputnik Srbija (25. 10. 2017). "Mladi da otvore novu eru odnosa Crne Gore i Rusije." URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/regioni/201710251113193508-marko-milacic-sergej-zeleznjak222/>.

Sputnik Srbija (14. 11. 2018). Nebojša Popović, "Montenegrinska vlast trajno raskinula sa Njegoševom Crnom Gorom." URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/regioni/201711141113444992-montenegro-njegos-crna-gora-praznik/>.

Sputnik Srbija (16. 2. 2018). Nebojša Popović, "PogledizBerana:Srbimajeovdeteženego na Kosovu." URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/regioni/201804151115271811-Berane-Crna-Gora-izbori-/>.

Sputnik Srbija (5. 5. 2018). Nebojša Popović, "Ekspanzija Turaka i Albanaca menjasliku Crne Gore." URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/analize/201805051115493377-Turci-Albanci-Crna-Gora-/>.

Sputnik Srbija (3. 7. 2018). Nikola Joksimović, "Podvala sa opasnim namerama: Zašto ne postoje srpski Bošnjaci, a postoje bosanski Srbi." URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/analize/201807031116377027-srbi-hrvatska-bosna-kosovo-dodik-/>.

Sputnik Srbija (21. 7. 2018). Nebojša Popović, "Panika među rusofobima: Šta je Putin rekao Trampu o Crnoj Gori." URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/analize/201807211116636125-crna-gora-putin-tramp-/>.

Sputnik Srbija (21. 10. 2018). "Srpski manastiri na Kosovu kao Njegoš u Crnoj Gori – neki bi voleli da ih nema." URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/politika/201810211117571997-tanaskovic-cg-kosovo/>.

Večernje novosti (4. 4. 2018). "Kandidat za predsednika CG: Srbi i Crnogorci su isti narod." URL: <http://www.novosti.rs/вести/планета.480.html:720578-Kandidat-za-predsednika-CG-Srbi-i-Crnogorci-su-isti-narod>.

Vijesti (29. 1. 2018). "Milačić predstavio Pravu Crnu Goru: 'Za odbranu i novčanika i Njegoša.'" URL: <https://www.vijesti.me/vijesti/politika/milacic-predstavio-pravu-crnu-goru-za-odbranu-i-novcanika-i-njegosa>.

Secondary Sources

Aro, J. (2016). "The Cyberspace War: Propaganda and Trolling as Warfare Tools." *European View* 15(1): 121–132. DOI: 10.1007/s12290-016-0395-5.

Atlantic Council of Montenegro (2020). *Russia's Narratives toward the Western*

- Balkans: Analysis of Sputnik Srbija.* Riga: NATO StratCom COE.
- Audinet, M., & Limonier, K. (2017). "La stratégie d'influence informationnelle et numérique de la Russie en Europe." *Hérodote* 164: 123–144. DOI: 10.3917/her.164.0123.
- Banović, B. (2016). *The Montenegrin Warrior Tradition: Questions and Controversies over NATO Membership.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Baskar, B. (2019). "The Third Canonization of Njegoš, the National Poet of Montenegro." In M. Dović & Jón Karl H. (eds.), *Great Immortality: Studies on European Cultural Sainthood.* Leiden: Brill, 269–293. DOI: 10.1163/9789004395138_014.
- Bećirević, E., & Turčalo, S. (2020). "Russian Influence in Bosnia and Herzegovina: How Russia's Support for Anti-NATO Forces Could Re-Shape the Country and the Region." *Democracy and Security in Southeastern Europe* 7(1): 7–21.
- Bešić, M. Lj. (2019). "Ethnic Relations in Montenegro: Twelve Years After Gaining Independence." *Sociološki pregled* 53(3): 812–835. DOI: 10.5937/socpreg53-22481.
- Bešić, M. Lj., & Spasojević, D. (2018). "Montenegro, NATO and the Divided Society." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 51(2): 139–150. DOI: 10.1016/j.postcomstud.2018.04.006.
- Bieber, F. (2020). *The Rise of Authoritarianism in the Western Balkans.* Cham: Palgrave. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-030-22149-2.
- Biserko, S. (2016). "Russia and NATO: A Test of Strength over Montenegro." In *The Warp of the Serbian Identity: Anti-Westernism, Russophilia, Traditionalism...* Belgrade: Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 241–252.
- CEAS. (2016). *Širom zatvorenih očiju: Jačanje ruske meke moći u Srbiji – ciljevi, instrumenti i efekti.* Belgrade: Centar za evroatlantske studije.
- Chernetskyi, A. (2017). "News Discourse of Russian Information Warfare: The Case of 'Sputnik.'" M.A. Thesis, Vytautas Magnus University. URL: <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12259/35074>.
- Deverell, E., Wagnsson, Ch., & Olsson, E.-K. (2021). "Destruct, Direct and Suppress: Sputnik Narratives on the Nordic Countries." *The Journal of International Communication*, 27(1): 15–37. DOI: 10.1080/13216597.2020.1817122.
- Dolan, Ch. J. (2022). "Hybrid Warfare in the Western Balkans: How Structural Vulnerability Attracts Malign Powers and Hostile Influence." *SEEU Review*

- 17(1): 3–25. DOI: 10.2478/seeur-2022-0018.
- Doncheva, T. (2020). *Tracking Russia's Narratives in the Western Balkan Media*. Riga: NATO StratCom COE.
- Eisentraut, S., & de Leon, S. (2018). “Propaganda and Disinformation in the Western Balkans: How the EU Can Counter Russia’s Information War.” *Facts and Findings* 294: 1–9.
- Elswah, M., & Howard, Ph. N. (2020). “Anything that Causes Chaos’: The Organizational Behavior of Russia Today (RT).” *Journal of Communication* 70(5): 623–645. DOI: 10.1093/joc/jqaa027.
- EUISS. 2016. “EU Strategic Communications with a View to Counteracting Propaganda.” URL: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2016/578008/EXPO_IDA\(2016\)578008_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2016/578008/EXPO_IDA(2016)578008_EN.pdf).
- Garčević, V. (2019). “Russia’s Soft and Sharp Power in Southeast Europe: The Russian Hybrid Influence Operation in Montenegro.” Accepted Manuscript for *Reality Check Series: Sources, Tools and Impact of External Non-EU-Engagement in Southeast Europe*. Berlin, 1–16. URL: <https://hdl.handle.net/2144/40820>.
- Hidaka M. (2017). “Kosovo ni okeru serubia seikyōkai syūdōin no genzyō [Present State and Obstacles of Cultural Properties in Post-Conflict Kosovo].” *Tōhō kirisutokyō sekai kenkyū* 1: 113–123. DOI: 10.14989/eoas_1_113.
- Hirose Y. (2021). *Haiburiddo sensō: Rosia no atarasii kokka senryaku* [Hybrid Warfare: Russia’s New National Strategy]. Tokyo: Kōdansya.
- Hofstetter, Y. (2022). *Me ni mienai sensō: Dezitaruka ni obiyakasareru sekai no anzen to anteit* [Japanese edition of *Der unsichtbare Krieg: Wie die Digitalisierung Sicherheit und Stabilität in der Welt bedroht*], trans. Watanabe R. Tokyo: Kōdansya.
- Hoyle, A., van den Berg, H., Doosje, B., & Kitzen, M. (2021). “Portrait of Liberal Chaos: RT’s Antagonistic Strategic Narration about the Netherlands.” *Media, War & Conflict*, online first, 1–19. DOI: 10.1177/17506352211064705.
- Jovanović, S. M. (2018a). “Headlines as Fake News: Discursive Deception in Serbia’s Daily *Informer* (2012–2018).” *Central and Eastern European Review* 12: 1–22. DOI: 10.2478/caeer-2019-0001.
- Jovanović, S. M. (2018b). “The Discursive Creation of the ‘Montenegrin Language’ and Montenegrin Linguistic Nationalism in the 21st Century.” *Acta Universitatis*

- Sapientiae: European and Regional Studies* 13: 67–86. DOI: 10.2478/auseur-2018-0005.
- Jovanović, S. M. (2018c). “Confronting Recent History: Serbia’s ‘Fateful Eight’ and a Decade of Kosovo’s Independence in the Serbian Media (2008–2018).” *Adeptus* 12: 1–16. DOI: 10.11649/a.1710.
- Kimura Y. (2005). *Owaranu “minzoku zyôka” serubia-monteneguro [Never-Ending “Ethnic Cleansing” in Serbia and Montenegro]*. Tokyo: Syûeisya.
- Koizumi Y. (2016). *Gunzi taikoku rosia: Aratana sekai senryaku to kôdô genri [Military Power Russia: New World Strategies and Principles of Action]*. Tokyo: Sakuhinsya.
- Koizumi Y. (2018). “Rosia no tituzyokan: ‘Syuken’ to ‘seiryokuken’ o tegakari to site [Russia’s Perspective of Order: On ‘Sovereignty’ and ‘Sphere of Influence’].” *Kokusai anzen hoshô* 45(4):32–47. DOI: 10.57292/kokusaianzenhoshô.45.4_32.
- Koizumi Y. (2019). “Teikoku” rosia no tiseigaku: “Seiryokuken” de yomu yûrasia senryaku [*The Geopolitics of Russia as “Empire”: Eurasian Strategies through the “Sphere of Influence”*]. Tokyo: Tôkyôdô syuppan.
- Komar, O. (2020). “The Elephant in the Room: Illiberal Politics in Montenegro.” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 20(1): 61–80. DOI: 10.1080/14683857.2020.1703495.
- Kragh, M., & Åsberg, S. (2017). “Russia’s Strategy for Influence through Public Diplomacy and Active Measures: The Swedish Case.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 40(6): 773–816. DOI: 10.1080/01402390.2016.1273830.
- Kubo K. (2004). “Montenegro ni okeru dokuritu mondai to minzoku aident“it’i [The Issue of Independence and Ethnic Identity in Montenegro].” *Rosia-tôô kenkyû* 33: 69–79. DOI: 10.5823/jarees.2004.69.
- Melnitska, K. (2016). “Język a tożsamość: Przypadek Czarnogóry.” *Adeptus* 8: 50–71. DOI: 10.11649/a.2016.013.
- Milačić, F. (2017). “Montenegro: ‘Lost’ in Statehood Problem.” *Analji Hrvatskog politološkog društva: Časopis za politologiju* 14(1): 107–124.
- Morrison, K. (2018). *Nationalism, Identity and Statehood in Post-Yugoslav Montenegro*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. DOI: 10.5040/9781474235211.
- Nakazawa T. (2015). “The Making of ‘Montenegrin Language’: Nationalism, Language

- Planning, and Language Ideology after the Collapse of Yugoslavia (1992–2011).” *Südosteuropäische Hefte* 4(1): 127–141.
- Nakazawa T. (2020). “Gengo no kazoe kata: Kyû yûgosuravia syokoku ni okeru serubia-kuroatiago no zirei kara kangaeru [How to Count Language(s): From the Example of Serbo-Croatian in Former Yugoslav States].” In Association for Ethnic Minority Studies (ed.), *Tayôsei o yomitoku tame ni [To Read Diversity]*. Hutyû: TUFS Institute for Global Area Studies, 147–159. URL: <http://repository.tufts.ac.jp/handle/10108/99686>.
- Nantoi, O., Platon, A., & Cristei, A. (2018). *Russian Propaganda on “Odnoklassniki”: The Case of Republic of Moldova*. Chisinau: Institutul de Politici Publice.
- Okada M. (2017). “Kainyûkoku to site no rosia’ ‘hikainyûkoku to site no rosia’ [‘Russia as Intervening State,’ ‘Russia as Intervened State’].” *Kokusai anzen hosityô* 45(2): 21–34. DOI: [10.57292/kokusaianzenhosho.45.2_21](https://doi.org/10.57292/kokusaianzenhosho.45.2_21).
- Pupcenoks, J., & Seltzer, E. J. (2021). “Russian Strategic Narratives on R2P in the ‘Near Abroad.’” *Nationalities Papers* 49(4): 757–775. DOI: [10.1017/nps.2020.54](https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2020.54).
- Ramsay, G., & Robertshaw, S. (2019). *Weaponising News: RT, Sputnik and Targeted Disinformation*. London: Policy Institute, King’s College London.
- Reid, E. A. (2021). “Third Rome or Potemkin Village: Analyzing the Extent of Russia’s Power in Serbia, 2012–2019.” *Nationalities Papers* 49(4): 728–737. DOI: [10.1017/nps.2020.62](https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2020.62).
- Sadakata M. (2017). “SFRJ kaitaigo no serubia kyôwakoku to monteneguro [Republic of Serbia and Montenegro after the Breakup of SFRY].” In Tukimura T. (ed.), *Kaitaigo no yûgosuravia [Yugoslavia after the Breakup]*. Kyoto: Kôyô syobô, 93–128.
- Saggau, E. H. (2018). “A Shrine for the Nation: The Material Transformation of the Lovćen Site in Montenegro.” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 20(5): 495–512. DOI: [10.1080/19448953.2018.1385934](https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2018.1385934).
- Samorukov, M. (2017). *Illjuzija blizosti: Ambicii i vozmožnosti Rossii na Zapadnyx Balkanax*. Moscow: Carnegie Moscow Center.
- Stefanov, R., & Vladimirov, M. (2018). “Russian Influence on the Media: A Case Study of Serbia.” In S. Meister (ed.), *Understanding Russian Communication Strategy: Case Studies of Serbia and Estonia*. Stuttgart: ifa, 15–30.

- Stojarová, V. (2020). "Media in the Western Balkans: Who Controls the Past Controls the Future." *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 20(1): 161–181. DOI: 10.1080/14683857.2020.1702620.
- Svetoka, S., & Doncheva, T. (2021). *Russia's Footprint in the Western Balkan Information Environment: Susceptibility to Russian Influence*. Riga: NATO StratCom COE.
- Ştefan, B. G. (2020). "Understanding Sputnik News Agency: Strategic State Narratives." *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Braşov, Series VII: Social Sciences and Law* 13(1): 165–174. DOI: 10.31926/but.scl.2020.13.62.3.17.
- Thomas, T. (2014). "Russia's Information Warfare Strategy: Can the Nation Cope in Future Conflicts?" *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 27(1): 101–130. DOI: 10.1080/13518046.2014.874845.
- Wagnsson, Ch. (2022). "The Paperboys of Russian Messaging: RT/Sputnik Audiences as Vehicles for Malign Information Influence." *Information, Communication and Society*, online first, 1–19. DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2022.2041700.
- Watanabe K. (2018). "Conspiracist Propaganda: How Russia Promotes Anti-Establishment Sentiment Online?" Paper presented at ECPR General Conference 2018, Hamburg, 1–32. URL: <https://blog.kohei.w.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Sputnik-05-ECPR.pdf>.
- Yablokov, I. (2015). "Conspiracy Theories as a Russian Public Diplomacy Tool: The Case of *Russia Today (RT)*." *Politics* 35(3–4): 301–315. DOI: 10.1111/1467-9256.12097.
- Zahova, S. (2013). *Černa gora sled Jugoslavija: Dinamika na identičnostite*. Sofia: Paradigma.
- Zamfir, R. (2020). *Risks and Vulnerabilities in the Western Balkans*. Riga: NATO StratCom COE.