



Universitat Autònoma
de Barcelona

**DEPARTAMENT DE FILOLOGIA ANGLESA
I DE GERMANÍSTICA**

The Ukraine Crisis as Represented in the News:

A Critical Discourse Analysis

By

Hanna Klimava

Supervisor: Dr. Melissa G. Moyer

Master's Dissertation
MA in Advanced English Studies:
Multilingualism and Acquisition of English

June 2016

Abstract

This thesis studies the role of language in the construction of ideological stances in newspapers from different countries representing the Ukraine political crisis. The events in Ukraine in 2013-2014 resulted in a confrontation of world views on the crisis, mainly of the US and the EU, and Russia that are reflected in a selection of articles taken from four different online news portals. These news portals are The New York Times, Deutsche Welle, The Moscow Times and Russia Today. The articles selected correspond to the three prominent events in the crisis: the annexation of Crimea, the Malaysian airplane crash and the sanctions introduced by the West against Russia. A Critical Discourse Analysis is adopted as a method of analyzing data. Discursive strategies as well as linguistic means that assist in framing texts of similar content into different ideological perspectives are identified and discussed. A comparison of the selected articles shows the different ways the news outlets set about to shape the public's opinion. The main findings of the study are that political and economic power groups tend to have an impact on political decisions and that these decisions are also driven by the economy of a country. Also, the investigated news texts serve as a means of legitimization of these political decisions and actions. Finally, language plays a crucial role in constructing ideological perspectives on events, which may be later naturalized and, therefore, transformed into common sense ideas and beliefs.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, news, Ukraine crisis, power, ideology

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude and special thanks to my thesis supervisor Dr. Melissa G. Moyer who was always available to discuss the content of the project and give her expert opinion on ideas and writing style. I am very grateful for all the time she invested and I should admit I really appreciate the chance to learn from her.

I am also very grateful to all my family and friends who supported me, at all stages of my work.

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1. Introduction

The constant doses of news which most people receive each day are a significant factor in social control, and they account for a not insignificant proportion of a person's average daily involvement in discourse. (Fairclough, 1996: 37)

The emergence of modern technologies and internet in particular has reshaped the world we live in. In our information-based society prominence is assigned accordingly to information, and internet actively participates in its successful distribution and consumption. Information circulates in media (radio, TV, printed press) and online media, which operate through sound, image and, most importantly, text. All of the three components are dependent on language, which in the news domain, is ideally supposed to be the means of delivering information. However, the idea of media simply giving information and impartiality of news in modernity seems problematic and unrealistic (Fairclough, 1995a: 44). Language is extensively used as a tool for exercising power, ideology, establishing discrimination and building inequality. In fact, language can be considered a secret weapon, for the hidden meanings and implications that might be intentionally embedded into texts are not always apparent to the public (Fairclough, 1996: 55). Mechanisms of mind control and manipulation applied through discourse contribute to the reproduction and reinforcement of power and control. Therefore, the role of language in these processes should not be underestimated. Analysis of discourse within social contexts aims at revealing features of power and bias, making them more visible and transparent, and, consequently, appears to be essential (Blommaert, 2005: 25).

The present study is motivated by the events in Ukraine which resulted in an international confrontation of the two political powers: the USA, including the EU, and Russia, for the first time since the Cold War. The conflict started from the division of the spheres of influence and it grew into a real war in the territory of Ukraine, capturing the headlines of numerous newspapers and producing relevant discourse in media for

several years now. Research on this topic has so far been limited. The studies on the Ukraine crisis which also employ Critical Discourse Analysis as a method of research, pose a different set of questions, investigate into other events and take a different approach to data collection. In her study *Discourse Strategies in Response to the Crimean Crisis* Peschlova (2014) looks into Lithuanian and Slovakian ways of construction of identity and links them to the political stance of these countries and their response to given events. Jorge (2014) examines “discursive construction of the EuroMaidan protests and the Crimean annexation in two major transnational news outlets – The Guardian and Russia Today”.

This particular study aims at revealing and analyzing instances of power and ideology embedded in the language of several major online newspapers/news portals: The New York Times, The Moscow Times, Russia Today and Deutsche Welle. Three events which took place at the beginning of the crisis and escalated it to an international level are chosen for this purpose.

This thesis is divided into several sections, which follow this introduction. In the next section the research questions are raised. The Theoretical Framing section which comes after, explains how this study employs Critical Discourse Analysis. Also, it defines power and ideology in a way they are used in this study. The following section is dedicated to the contextualization of the crisis. Historical and economic outline of Ukraine is provided. In addition to this, the context of events which are later analyzed, is included. The Methodology section comes next. It describes methodological choices undertaken in this study. As well, it provides information on the news outlets which were chosen for the investigation. The Analysis section comprises three subsections. In each of them, four articles on one event are analyzed. The Conclusions section summarizes the main findings. The Appendices are divided into two parts. Appendix A

contains all the news articles. Appendix B has a table which summarizes the analysis in a compact comparative form.

2. Research Questions

The questions I pose in this section rose after a careful consideration of the role of language in the media. Also, the events of the crisis were found to be stimulating, for they caused a contradiction in countries' positions and their evaluation of the events. Thus, the following research questions are raised in the thesis:

What are the main discursive and linguistic strategies used by the four news portals representing the Ukraine crisis?

What ideologies get constructed through these discourses and how do they legitimize power and political actors in the case of each of the newspapers?

The first research question aims at revealing certain linguistic structures employed for the portrayal of the events in Ukraine which are of worldwide significance. It is complemented by a broader question that intends to look into the main ideologies that get constructed through news texts of the four news portals, as well as the textual means through which political practices can be legitimized. In order to answer the second question, stakeholders need to be identified and their interests distinguished. Ideologies serve interests of certain social groups, therefore, they must represent the very definition of the group. Hence, social identities, actions, goals, norms and values, resources and interests of the four different, (presumably ideologically different) groups will be discussed and established (Van Dijk, 2015: 68). According to Berreby, 2008; Elliott, 1986, ideologies tend to be polarized between Us and Them (Van Dijk, 2015: 68). However, the present study sets a goal of uncovering different, not necessarily antipodal ideologies (groups) and displaying the ways in which each of the news portals portrays Others, not Them. Therefore, a more complete representation of the variety of ideologies and interests in the world is being established, which makes the study robust and well-founded.

3. Theoretical Framing

This section introduces the main tenets of a Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) framework and its various methodological approaches, as well as the typologies of linguistic tools proposed by Wodak (2009) and Fairclough (2005) which will be incorporated into the analysis of the selected newspaper articles about the Ukraine crisis. Overarching notions of power, as an indirect way of exercising control, and ideology, as system of beliefs that serve certain interests, play a pivotal role in the understanding of discourses and printed news construction and therefore need to be taken as a basis in the present study.

3.1 CDA approaches

In this section I present the interdisciplinary approach that CDA represents and clarify how it will be used in my project. This is followed by a presentation of how power and ideology are taken up in this study and their relevance for the social theory analysis that is carried out.

CDA goes beyond the identification of a linguistic item per se. Systematic analysis of semiotic data, written, spoken or visual (textual in the present study), serves to expose ideologies and power, with the aim to account for and explain wider social phenomena (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 2-3).

CDA considers that social reality is constructed and therefore is not neutral. According to Berger (1991: 70), “social order cannot be derived from the ‘laws of nature’ therefore, it exists only as a product of human activity”. Human actions become habitualized through practice and these actions establish the order of things which in time becomes taken for granted. In other words, if a certain action is primarily thought to be best accomplished in a particular way (due to various reasons which may involve power), humans adopt the same manner of doing it; and once the action becomes

routine, it transforms into a natural order of conduct that becomes accepted and unquestioned. Therefore, since discourse is a human product and practice, it is subjective and non-neutral in its making.

Language and discourse, in the case of this study, consist in the construction of news events published in newspapers, which participate in the construction of social reality, for they are a necessary tool of communication and formation of meanings. Furthermore, reported meanings and ideas become assimilated into reality and become a part of it. Printed news analyzed in this study are believed to be created in (intentional or non-intentional) convention with the dominant, preestablished order, and usually reflect the position of an institution, which in turn represents opinions favourable for given economic, social, political groups, which may be in opposition to another groups' interests. Thus, subjectivity and ideology come in a text by default.

The critical analysis of language in the printed news may assist in uncovering domination, power and subtly presented ideologies, which might be expressed in discourse through common sense ideas that do not get deciphered by the public, "create awareness about how language can manipulate our conscience" (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 2). In addition to this, CDA provides a necessary link between *micro* levels at which texts operate, and *macro* social phenomena which lie behind the production, providing tools for analysis of wider social phenomena starting with their linguistic representation. Particular linguistic tools that participate in the construction of ideas once grouped into discursive strategies create ground for the implementation of specific ideas, supported by interest groups.

According to Fairclough (1989), micro and macro analysis in CDA encompasses description (focus on textual-linguistic features), interpretation (the way participants make sense of discourse), and finally explanation (linking discourse to a social theory).

Analysis can be accomplished in both orders, starting with explanation being built on wider social phenomena such as theory of power and ideology, and as well starting with investigation of specific linguistic tools that draw a veil over the existence and presence of particular interests in a given piece of printed news.

Although micro and macro is employed in CDA in order to investigate different dimensions of discourse and social life, it has been argued that this division of social reality and therefore analysis into micro/macro might be problematic (Heller, 2001: 242). In everyday life micro and macro form a unified whole (van Dijk, 2003: 354). Therefore, by observing social reality as it is without dividing it into a dichotomy, the existing problem of bridging levels of different types of data, which should be equally observable and identifiable, could be avoided (Heller, 2001: 242). However, van Dijk (2003), insisting on the dichotomy, suggests several ways of bridging the micro and the macro in CDA in order to present a unified analysis (members – groups; actions – process; context – social structure; personal and social cognition).

Another way of looking at and analyzing social reality is through scales. The notion suggests that in globalization different processes within a certain space can happen at different scale-layers, from local (micro) to global (macro). Understanding of these processes should depend on identification of the relation between different scale-levels (Blommaert, 2007: 1). In a horizontal space at a certain time one scale-level is higher than the other. Access to a higher scale-level is granted due to possession of resources, therefore inequality makes distinction between the powerful and the powerless (Blommaert 2008; Blommaert, Collins, Slembrouck 2005).

Theoretical approaches to CDA employ different strategies (tools) to analyze specific types of data collected. Yet all of them agree on the necessity of linguistic expertise and possibility of combination of several methodologies. (Wodak and Meyer,

2001). In the choice of analytical approach to micro analysis I adopt methodology from several authors and build explanation, the macro analysis, on the notions of power and ideology.

3.2 Power

... Discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized.” (Foucault, 1984: 110)

This section is concerned with the notion of power and it defines this concept as it appears in discourse, but also in the way, it is investigated and analyzed in this study.

Power is a complex notion that encompasses social, political, and economic features, and it can be understood from different angles. Nye (2003) points out that power can be coercive or hard, which presupposes the use of military or economic resources to influence the behavior of others. Power can also represent a more subtle, indirect way of exercising control. Coercive power can be embedded in a global and a local context. Globally, in the case of my study, it can be applied towards countries in the form of coercive diplomacy or economic sanctions. Locally, coercive power can be understood as the sustainment of control within a nation-state by means of certain regimes and structures which submit populations to the ideas of the ruling government and make them act accordingly. Foucault (1995: 138) argues that discipline, as a way of exercising power within a nation-state, “dissociates power from the body and turns it into an aptitude, a capacity, which it seeks to increase”. It also submits one’s potential to an established purpose, thus, preventing exercise of undesired actions.

However, this project is mostly concerned with the indirect, and more subtle expression of ideological positions of control through written discourse.

This more indirect form of power is the possession of certain symbolic capital which legitimizes authority and domination over others. On a global scale power of a

single individual cannot possibly rule destinies of others, therefore it would further be referred as power alliance, or group power.

According to van Dijk (2016: 11), *group power* is “based on material power resources, such as property or capital, on the one hand, and on symbolic power resources such as knowledge, status, fame and access to public discourse, on the other hand”. Political and economic power groups which hold material power tend to exercise their power and negotiate their interests by controlling discourses. In this sense the ideas encountered in the printed news are ideas of political and economic groups modulated through publishing institutions and expressed by their agents.

Thus, power at its root lies in economic resources and capital, however it is not exercised through direct possession of certain amount of valuable resources by one individual or a group of individuals who give orders (Gramsci, 1971).

Understanding power may be useful in terms of hegemony, which is a system of domination based not on violence or economic control, but on political, cultural, institutional influence (Ahearn, 2012: 262). Hegemony establishes institutional control over ideas and consequently has an impact on social practices, therefore it is a way of power reaching out to the public. Economic and political actors possess asymmetric or uneven amounts of power, therefore, they are more likely be in position of control. Cultural domination, dominant ideas and discourses as the way of talking about people, events or things, are implanted into society with the help of discourse. Therefore, there exists power over language, power that gives legitimacy to language, or discourse to speak on its behalf. This is what we refer to as power over discourse. However, there should be a differentiation drawn between the *power over discourse* and *power of discourse*. Blommaert (2005: 163) argues that “the media seem to have the power to construct deep ideological messages out of trivial, sociologically insignificant events or

phenomena. The modulation of the message through mass media converts it into a message of enormous importance.” Therefore, mass media carry certain amount of power, power to formulate and deliver the message to the public. Consequently, *power over discourse* legitimizes *power of discourse*, that is political and economic groups empower mass media to formulate ideas and speak for them. Power of discourse presents a secondary power, empowered power that serves the interests of the greater power.

However it has been argued that hegemonic power, both economic but also cultural, gets established through consent and ideology, and in postmodernity it is being shifted towards a new type of power – post-hegemonic power which is a structural power. (Scott and Lash, 2007: 68). Post-modern hegemony reflects a new social order which has emerged with globalization: national capitalism has become global capitalism and social life has become technologically mediated (Scott and Lash, 2007: 70). Therefore, the way power is understood in hegemonic terms needs a contemporary update. In post-hegemony, society of ubiquitous media means, society in which power is in the algorithm, there is a *power from within*, power which operates directly through production of economic, political and social relations. Consequently, power becomes ontological, real, factual and intensive. “It no longer stays outside that which it effects” (Scott and Lash, 2007: 61). In other words, power seems even more intricate, since it does not only convince people or normalize ideas, but it also shapes the way reality is constructed from its core to a supra-national level, and it determines the way people act, and the way things and ideas are produced. This power is part of the world’s system, it’s built in and it participates in the production of the new.

Moreover, discourse, depending on who it is produced by, can have a predefined price or value, therefore it will be perceived not as an idea to consider and agree or

disagree with, but rather as a voice of command which is to be listened to and obeyed. Bourdieu (1991) argues that a linguistic exchange, that is a communication between a sender and a receiver, is also an economic exchange established between a producer with a certain amount of power, and a consumer. Thus, utterances are not only to be understood, “they are also signs of wealth, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, signs of authority, intended to be believed and obeyed” (cited in Jaworski and Coupland, 2006: 480). The value of an utterance is defined only in relation to a market. It depends on the degree to which certain products are made to be appreciated. The more capital one possesses, the greater are the means and resources, to manipulate opinions and implant ideas (cited in Jarworski and Coupland: 483). Consequently, a media source has a capacity to influence not just by mere ideas, but also by the value it assigns itself, by the way it creates its own image. Finally, power is not formed and determined by linguistic forms only, the whole social structure resides in written texts (cited in Jaworski and Coupland: 481).

It appears that power does not necessarily have to come directly from one source, not does it have to be directed towards a certain group. Power can be understood as an intricate network of relationships, in which different power – economic or political give away pieces of their own domination (power-possession), to empower other groups and to establish hegemonic control which includes institutional control over printed discourse. Thus, power becomes distributed and the traces of it might be lost or unseen. Established control functions as an apparatus that produces and disperses ideologically charged meanings into the public, which get absorbed by everybody regardless of the initial direction in which it may be set. In line with these ideas, Foucault (1987: 92-95) argues that “power is not concentrated in a single place, such as the state apparatus, but it is, instead, ubiquitous and at once visible and invisible, present and hidden”.

According to the ideas put forth by Martín Rojo (2015), power is not always exercised in a single direction with some people on the one side and some people on the other side, hence it might be easier to identify who lacks power, or is being empowered and depowered (Foucault, 1977: 213).

So far, multisourceful, multidirectional, all-penetrative and productive nature of power in relation to language has been discussed. It has also been pointed out that language within discourse holds power in itself, for it mediates and represents, not reflects, reality. It can also be a medium of domination and social force and serve to legitimize relations of organized power (Habermas, 1967: 259 cited in Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 10).

3.3 Ideology

... The act of discoursing should appear to be no more than a certain bridging between thinking and speaking - a thought dressed in its signs and made visible by means of words, or conversely the very structures of language put into action and producing a meaning-effect (Foucault, 1984: 124).

The term ideology is crucial for the notion of power, for it embodies power, legitimizes it through cognitive processes. Ideologies are sets of beliefs, conceptualizations of ideas, that even if assumed neutral in themselves, by representing social reality in printed texts get manipulated by parties of interest. From this perspective, ideology is seen as ideas, discourse, or signifying practices in the service of the struggle to acquire or maintain power. It may be a tool of any protagonist in contestation of power, but is normally a tool, property or practice of dominant groups. (Schieffelin, Woolard, Kroskrity 1998: 7).

Thus, the present study considers that ideologies are tools employed by dominant groups to establish certain ways of thinking and influence public opinion and actions.

However, the whole concept of ideology is more intricate. On the surface, ideologies might be seen as representation of ideas, or practices – tools of struggle for

power. However, a more abstract notion of ideology, articulated by Gramsci (1971), Bourdieu (1990), Althusser (1971), Foucault (1975), claims that it is more abstract, not located in one particular site and not attributed to one particular actor, it penetrates the whole fabric of societies or communities and results in normalized, naturalized patterns of thought and behavior (Blommaert 2005: 159). Ideologies, being a symbolic representation of organized ways of thinking, shape the public opinion, and thereby, implant the meanings they are supposed to represent. The meanings circulate and get established as common ways of thinking. Most of these processes are covert, unrevealed for the public, and therefore are effective. Further on, people tend to take what they read for granted, and this is the way in which they are being controlled. According to van Dijk (1995), people control themselves by means of ideologies they have in their heads. Cognitive processes are involved in production and interpretation of discourse, therefore cognition presents an important link between discourse and society. In other words, “social interaction, social situations and social structures can only influence text and talk through people’s interpretations of such social environments” and the other way round (van Dijk, 2016: 2). Memory (short-term and long-term), mental models (our personal experiences which have a standard hierarchical structure of spatio-temporal setting, participants, actions/events, goals; semantic models account for personal interpretation of discourse, context models represent communicative situation) and social cognition (generic and abstract knowledge of the world, attitudes, ideologies) all comprise cognitive structures that help to produce and understand discourse. (van Dijk, 2016: 5). Knowledge in Critical Discourse Studies is a power resource, for some groups or institutions that may have privileged access to it and therefore they may use it in order to manipulate or control public discourse. Whereas knowledge is universal and shared by all, attitudes and ideologies are only shared by specific groups. Ideologies are

belief systems shared by groups in order to promote their interests and to guide their social and political practices (van Dijk, 2015: 66). Ideologies represent the very 'definition' of a group in terms of their identity, actions, goals, norms and values, resources, interests; in addition to this, ideologies are normally referred to in relation to other social groups (van Dijk, 2015: 69). According to van Dijk (2016: 11), discourse plays a pivotal role in the exercise of power. He understands power in terms of control of the actions of dominated groups and control of their personal and shared cognitions (attitudes, knowledge, ideologies). Since control very often has a manipulative character, it is not always that ideologies can be easily unmasked by the public. Therefore ideologies may often seem like ground knowledge. The following definition represents the full complexity of the way ideology works:

Ideology is a form of thought generated or skewed out of shape by the exigencies of power; but if it is therefore traced through with significant tensions and inconsistencies, it also represents an attempt to mask the very conflicts from which it springs, either by denying that they exist, or by asserting their unimportance or inevitability. Ideologies are sets of discursive strategies for displacing, recasting or spuriously recounting for realities which prove embarrassing to ruling power; and in doing so, they contribute to that power's self-legitimization (Eagleton, 2007: 5).

Thus, the quote points out that ideologies are a consequence, or a vehicle of power relations, which serve to legitimize the exercise of power by masking the ugly truth and emphasizing the right motives that lead the public into approval of their actions and establishment of corresponding beliefs.

Naturalization is a process in which ideas become seen as commonsensical and based in the nature of things or people, rather than in the interests of other classes or groupings (Fairclough, 1995b: 35). Fairclough states that "naturalized ideologies and practices become part of the knowledge base, which is activated in interaction"; therefore the orderliness of interactions as local, micro comes to be dependent upon a higher orderliness. I understand micro and higher orderliness as constituents of social structure. In other words, what is believed to be background knowledge (henceforth,

BGK) is a consequence of a relationship between the three levels of social phenomena: the social formation, the social institution, and social action. Social action, which is the employment of those naturalized ideologies, micro orderliness, is determined by social institutions, which in turn are determined by the social formation, higher orderliness (Fairclough: 37). Consequently, the analysis of a social institution that prepares social actors within its own frame should be an object of detailed investigation. In *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), Foucault considered the formation of enunciative models and set out a number of questions, which seem similar to what Fairclough (1995b) describes to be ideological-discursive formations (henceforth IDFs) associated with different groups within an institution. “Each IDF is a sort of community with its own discourse norms but also ideological norms”. Institutional subjects are construed in accordance with the norms of an IDF, whose ideological underpinnings they might be unaware of (Fairclough: 27). Foucault (1972: 50) intends to trace the sources of formation of discourse and understand their nature by looking at a subject of a particular institution: “Who is speaking? Who, among the totality of speaking individuals, is accorded the right to use this sort of language? Who derives from it his own special quality, his prestige, and from whom, in return, does he receive if not the assurance, at least the presumption that what he says is true? What is the status of individuals who ... have the right to ...proffer such discourse?” Next, he looks at an institution itself. Here we must also describe the institutional site, from which the subject makes his/her discourse and from which this discourse derives its legitimate source and point of application. Finally, a context should be considered, in which a subject finds him/herself. The positions of a subject are defined by the situation that it is possible for one to occupy in relation to various domains or groups of objects.

Naturalization “gives to particular ideological representations the status of common sense, thereby making them opaque, in other words no longer visible as ideologies” (Fairclough: 42) through a number of processes – subject-construction, concrete action of a subject (text production), dominance of a particular IDF, functioning peculiarities of an institution.

Resistance may come from members of other institutions that are in possession of the resources to resist the dominant order (Fairclough: 24). Moreover, resistance could be understood as a starting point of understanding power relations. In addition, this presence of resistance points to the presence of power (Martín Rojo, 2015). Opposition to a certain idea, decision or action indicates that it was not taken or realized upon consideration of all interests. In such case it is possible that some important aspects were overlooked and not taken into account. Naturally, behind every decision there might be parties that disprove of it. However, resistance, or opposition is an indicator of existence of a powerful alliance that can afford to neglect interests of minority groups, which might also be important to consider.

Another possible way of normalizing ideology is through the notion of doxa. According to Bourdieu (1977, cited in Ahearn, 2012: 268), doxa is what is taken for granted, commonsense, that which literally goes without saying. Doxa includes every social norm or cultural value that lies outside of the universe of discourse or argument, and people do not question it because it simply does not occur to them that there could be other ways of thinking or acting. Doxa is contrasted with two alternatives: orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Both of them exist within the universe of discourse or argument. Bourdieu defines orthodoxy as opinion in favor of the status quo and the current alignment of powers. Heterodoxy, on the opposite, is the opinion against the status quo.

It is in the nature of social change that many cultural and language practices throughout history have moved from doxa to the universe of discourse and back.

Discourse is a structured and structuring medium tending to impose an apprehension of the established order as natural orthodoxy through the disguised and thus misrecognized imposition of systems of classification and of mental structures that are objectively adjusted to social structures (Bourdieu, 1991: 169).

Therefore, doxa is involved in the maintenance or restructuring of power relations. The dominant groups seek to upgrade doxa to orthodoxy, by imposing their own ideologically charged meanings, whereas the dominated groups attempt to restore doxa and uncover the dissimulation of the commonsense (Bourdieu, 1977, cited in Ahearn: 270).

It is important to understand that texts are involved in the interaction process with society. They deliver certain messages to the public which are later deciphered, accepted/ neglected but eventually find a place in human minds in some form. Though this project is mainly concerned with the message, the text, it is crucial that texts are not just mere reports of information, they are initially predisposed to carry certain weight and establish connection with the reader.

3.4 Language

In this section I discuss the analytical tools which will be employed in the analysis of the language of the newspaper articles. The typology presented by Reisigl and Wodak (2009) looks into the discursive strategies in CDA that are incorporated into the method of analysis of this study.

According to the authors, strategy is a more or less intentional plan of practices including discursive practices, adopted to achieve a particular, social, political, psychological or linguistic goal. Five general discursive strategies are being distinguished (these strategies might be represented by different linguistic devices):

- Nomination, which relates to how persons, objects, events are named and talked about.
- Predication, which characterizes social actors, objects, events and processes by assigning certain qualities to them.
- Argumentation looks at how ideas are argued.
- Prespectivization involves framing or discourse representation and it translates the writer's point of view, involvement or distance.
- Intensification or mitigation defines the degree of confidence or emphasis with which overt or covert ideas are expressed.

Discourse representations are considered in what follows. Fairclough (1995b: 54) argues that discourse representation or speech reporting participates in the shaping of social structures and relations by means of construction of primary discourse, the representing or reporting discourse, which in turn incorporates secondary discourse, the discourse represented or reported, interprets, or mediates it, therefore, creating an additional voice in a report. According to Hall et al. (Fairclough: 63), transformations of secondary discourse may “serve to legitimize and reproduce asymmetrical power relationships by putting across the voices of the powerful as if they were the voices of common sense.”

Consequently, I find it particularly relevant for my study to distinguish between primary and secondary discourse and to look into their relationship and juxtaposition. The way voices are represented in the articles may help to shed light on the discernment of powers and contribute to the identification of naturalized propositions, and as a result implicit ideological meanings.

Fairclough's framework on discourse representation draws upon Volosinov's typology built around the dynamic interrelationship of primary discourse and secondary

discourse. Five parameters were established: mode, boundary maintenance, stylisticity, situationality, and setting. In my study I only use one parameter, the mode, for I consider the difference between direct and indirect discourse crucial for understanding of the portrayal of voices in news reports.

Mode refers to type of discourse. Fairclough distinguishes between Direct Discourse (DD), Indirect Discourse (ID), the former can be converted into the latter by several means, such as a) subordination of the secondary discourse, in the form of that-clause; b) shift from 1, 2 person pronouns to 3 person pronouns; c) shift of deictics. In addition to this, Slipping - 'DD(S)', presents a sub-type of DD, and UNSIG (nalled) serves for the cases where "secondary discourse appears in primary discourse without being explicitly marked as represented discourse" (Fairclough:55). In DD and DD(S) there is explicit demarcation between the voice of the reporter/newspaper and the voice of the initial speaker, while in ID and UNSIG the voices are not demarcated. In the analysis I will attempt to unveil the reason for the use of DD or ID in the discussed articles.

This section defined the notions of power and ideology and discussed CDA, as an approach to data analysis. The following section provides the reader with relevant information about Ukraine and the crisis. It also contextualizes the events that appeared to be the main focus of the articles analyzed in this study.

4. The Context of the Study

This section provides the key background information that includes the historic, ethnic and economic structure of the country. All of these comprise a base to consider that the reasons for the crisis that evolved in Ukraine partly spring from country's historical and cultural division between the West and the East, as well as from its economic and geostrategic importance in the world's arena. Next, the events that form the basis for the analysis are discussed.

The origins of the crisis are believed to be political and economic. They, also, result from the demographics of the country and its historical past. Ukraine is the country with a population of about forty two and a half million people¹ out of which 17,3% are ethnic Russians and 77,8% ethnic Ukrainians². Until the thirteenth century a powerful state Kievan Rus' in the present-day territory of Ukraine was the centre of the Slavic culture. Later the territory was fragmented and divided between several powers (Lithuania, Poland, Ottoman Empire and Russia). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a powerful Cossack Republic was based in its territory, however, it was later divided up between Poland and the Russian Empire. The territory of Ukraine was then fully absorbed into Russia. The country gained its independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991³. Since then the country had a limited military partnership with Russia. It also began a partnership with North Atlantic Treaty Organization (henceforth, NATO) in 1994. Since 2000 the country began to seek closer cooperation with NATO and the EU which resulted in the preparation of the political and economic association agreement between the EU and Ukraine.

¹ The following website was used for accuracy of this information:
<http://countrymeters.info/en/Ukraine>

² This site provided the given information:
http://www.indexmundi.com/ukraine/demographics_profile.html

³ To compose a historical outline, the online Encyclopedia of Ukraine was checked:
<http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/>

Before the crisis Europe and Russia were Ukraine's main trading partners. However, by 2015 the EU had become the largest trading partner with Ukraine. The country is renowned for its hard industrial sector, which comprises power-generation, metallurgy, chemical and gas production, machine-building (including aircraft and aerospace building), metal-working, mineral-production and so on. The country lives on about 10% of its own oil and 20% of its home produced gas, however it mainly imports Russian gas, as well transporting Russian gas to EU through its pipeline network. Also, the country is among the top ten largest arms exporters in the world. The Donbass region, which has become the war zone during the last two years, is as major industrial centre in coal-mining and metallurgy. Mostly, Russian-speaking population resides in this region.

Crimea, the peninsula that was annexed by Russia in 2014, has close cultural ties with Russia. The territory of the peninsula belonged to Russia from 1783, comprising a part of Russian Empire, until 1991, as a part of the Soviet Union. The peninsula of Crimea is of great strategic value as its ports provide quick access to the Mediterranean, Balkans and Middle East. In addition to this, it has 12 operating merchant seaports and it is located in the proximity of the gas reserves. The ethnic composition of Crimea is as follows: 67.9% of the population are Russians, 15.7% - Ukrainians. About 80% of the population state that Russian is their native language⁴.

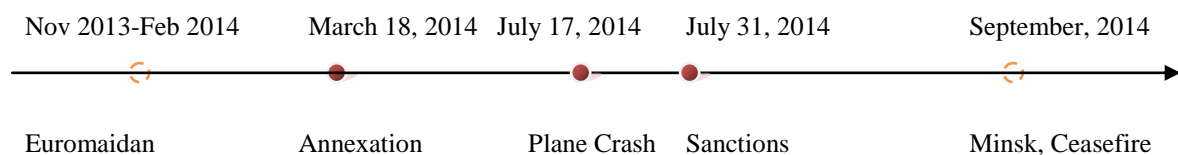
4.1 Prior to the First Event

Before the crisis broke out the government of Ukraine sought closer collaboration with the EU. However, in November 2013 the Ukrainian President Yanukovich refused to sign the association and free trade agreement with Europe. It is known that the EU was

⁴ This section was elaborated with reliance on online statistics.

ready to offer Ukraine 610 million in loans, while Russia offered 15 billion and cheaper gas prices. Yanukovich's acceptance of a 2-billion aid from Russia and his refusal to sign the agreement with the EU was estimated by the public as a change of the course with respect to the integration with the West and a new course towards Russia, which caused multiple protests in Kiev and it became a movement that received the name of Euromaidan. The Euromaidan movement demanded closer ties with the EU and produced the ousting of the President Yanukovich.

The following timeline shows the three events analyzed in this study as situated in the time span of the events of the crisis:



4.2 The First Event

Shortly after the disappearance of the Ukrainian President V. Yanukovich on February 22, 2014, a number of pro-Russian protests took place in Simferopol, the capital of Crimea. On February 27-28, 2014 pro-Russian gunmen seized the Supreme Council of Crimea in the capital. Key locations including airports and military bases were said to have been occupied by Russian troops with no insignia. Along with the new pro-Russian Minister, the Crimean parliament declared the Republic of Crimea to be an independent, self-governing entity.

From a Russian point of view, Euromaidan represented a threat to the Russian population in Ukraine. A decision by the Russian government in order to defend Russians in Ukraine was taken. The new opposition government that came to power in Kiev led to protests, mainly in Crimea, by the ethnic Russian-speaking population. Pro-Russian activists contributed to change in the executive power in Crimea. The safety of

the activists, as reported in the Russian documentary film on the events, was secured by the Russian Special Forces. The activists claimed that they did not recognize the new Kiev government. The Russian government was officially called upon to cooperate in providing safety in the region, which it agreed to do. Russian troops secured all locations and military divisions that refused to submit to the new government of Crimea.

On March 16, 2014 secession referendum to decide to join Russia was held and backed by 97% of voters. However, it was considered a sham by the West, which resulted in the freezing of the assets and travel bans for several Russians and Ukrainians who were involved in the activities connected with the fraudulent referendum. On March 18, the territory of Crimea was annexed and came under the sovereignty of the Russian Federation through a bill signed by the Russian President V. Putin. This was followed by the international condemnation of the annexation and alleged proof of its illegality and violation of international law according to a number of documents, such as 1994 Budapest Memorandum. Russia perceives a secession of Crimea as the realization of a legal and democratic right of the population for self-determination brought about by the change of the central government which was not recognized in Crimea⁵.

4.3 The Second Event

Shortly after the annexation of Crimea, protests by pro-Russian separatists took place across southern and eastern Ukraine. Soon, the situation escalated into an armed conflict between the separatists who declared the Donetsk People's Republic (henceforth, DPR) and Luhansk People's Republic, and the Ukrainian Government. The clashes between the Armed Forces of Ukraine and the insurgents were continuous, and as a result, on

⁵ The following sources were consulted: Telegraph, BBC, Financial Times, Washington Post, Documentary film "Crimea, on its way home".

July 17th a Malaysian passenger jet was shot down within the area of conflict. Ukraine blamed the accident on the rebels, while the DPR claimed it was Ukraine's responsibility. American and German intelligence sources reported that the plane was mistakenly shot down by pro-Russian insurgents by a Buk surface-to-air missile. The Russian media, including Russia Today, put forth a number of theories to the account for the crash, in all of them, Ukraine was held responsible. According to the poll conducted at the time (between July 18 and 24) 80% of Russians said they believed the Ukraine military was responsible, and only 3% put the blame on the rebels.

On October 13th, 2015 an official report by the Dutch Safety board which was undertaking the investigation confirmed that the plane was shot from a Buk missile launched from Eastern Ukraine. Criminal investigation of the Joint Investigation Team henceforth, JIT) is still ongoing. The Netherlands lead the investigation, however Belgium, Australia, Ukraine and Malaysia represent members of the team. The JIT members proposed to create an international tribunal to prosecute the suspects at the end of the criminal investigation. However Russia, whose cooperation in the prosecution of the people responsible for the plane crash is considered important, voted against the tribunal and was able to veto the resolution on the organization of the tribunal.

4.4 The Third Event

The first round of sanctions was introduced by the US and the EU and some other countries in March 2014 as a response to the annexation of Crimea, which was not recognized either by the EU or the US. It consisted in freezing assets and posing travel bans for individuals in Russia and Ukraine who undermined Ukraine's territorial integrity. In April 2014, in the second round of sanctions, more individuals were included into the sanctions' list, along with a ban on business transactions with some Russian individuals. The sanctions of the two rounds were not considered punitive. The

third round of economic and punitive sanctions was introduced in response to Russia's actions which were believed to destabilize the situation in eastern Ukraine. The Malaysian plane crash is believed to have also triggered tougher sanctions. The EU was the first to introduce the economic sanctions (July, 31, 2014), this was followed by the US (September, 12, 2014). Germany was considered to be one of the countries in the EU that was most reluctant to introduce sanctions. The German exports to Russia totaled \$51 billion in 2013, which was the highest in EU. The sanctions target major Russian oil and energy companies, banks, deny equipment needed for deepwater and shell exploration by major oil companies, ban arms import and export, restrict access to international capital. Other countries such as Canada, Australia, Japan, Norway, Switzerland, Ukraine also joined the third wave of sanctions.

The EU is considered to have been urged by the US to adopt these sanctions, which was perceived as pressure from the US and raised a lot of criticism in Russia. Some of the Russian politicians spoke positively about the sanctions, noting that they would make the Russian market seek new world partners and reorientate to new markets. However, the sanctions led to losses in both EU and Russian economies. In Russia a slowdown in the economy was marked, which triggered the collapse of the Russian ruble. The EU, as a major trading partner with Russia has lost about 100 billion in profits. However, in another assessment article⁶ it was stated that many of EU members were able to compensate for the loss of market with Russia.

Sectoral sanctions against the Russian economy were supposed to change Russia's political course towards Ukraine. It is estimated by Ukraine that the sanctions weakened Russia's military presence in Ukraine. However, it is also argued that the sanctions did

⁶ This information is provided by the article on the following website: <http://www.nato.int/docu/Review/2015/Russia/sanctions-after-crimea-have-they-worked/EN/index.htm>

not “persuade Russia to withdraw its troops from Donbass”⁷. In general, they may have raised the popularity of Putin inside the country and made Russia more hostile towards international relations.

In response to the sanctions, Russia, on August 6, 2014, introduced an embargo on a wide range of foods imported from EU, US, Canada and Australia. This also added more losses to the economies of the named countries and Russia itself. So far, the duration of sanctions, which were introduced for a year, has been prolonged and they remain open-ended.

⁷ This information is provided by this website:
http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Brief_10_sanctions.pdf

5. Methodology

The given section is divided into three subsections. The first section outlines the methodological steps undertaken in the choice of the articles for the analysis. The second section provides basic information on the newspapers as well as attempts to uncover the editorial lines of each of them. The third sections accounts for certain methodological issues that had to be considered.

5.1 Criteria for Selection of the Data

This subsection outlines the reasons for the choice of the relevant events in the crisis as well as the choice of news portals and articles for the investigation.

The choice of the events for the analysis is defined by their relevance in an international scope. The events in Ukraine, that created international resonance and conflict between Russia and US/EU, changed the balance between them and shaped further international relationships, were considered analysis-worthy. Thus, the project takes the events in Ukraine as a basis for the analysis of relations between Russia and US/EU that have altered due to the conflict of interest, which is the territory of Ukraine, due to different world views, and as a result, different interpretation of the events in the media and further escalation of the conflict.

As it is outlined in the Context section, the events of the Ukraine crisis started with the refusal of the Ukrainian President to sign the Association agreement, which brought to a number of protests that received a name Euromaidan. This event was discarded from the analysis due to the fact that it was still an inside matter of Ukraine. The choice of the first event for the analysis has fallen on the next important event – annexation of Crimea by Russia. The event initially caused a conflict between Russia and EU/US, in which struggle for the sphere of influence and difference in world views became vivid. The event of the plane crash was the next event of major importance, for

it affected many countries and it became a trigger for actions undertaken by the US and EU towards Russia. This event revealed more discrepancies between the position of the West and the East. Its analysis unfolded ideological assumptions that countries had on each other's account. The third event, introduction of the sanctions, took place shortly after the plane crash. It was considered as a measure undertaken by the western bloc in response to the first two events (annexation and the plane crash). The consequences of this event seriously affected the economies of the countries at conflict and shaped their relationships for years to come. Investigating the interpretation of these three events is seen as relevant. Each of them directly or indirectly led to the following event to happen, hence the three of them are interconnected. They all are historically, politically and economically important, for they define relationships between these countries. The next event, ceasefire, which was initially chosen for the analysis, was later discarded from it, firstly, due to the fact that the event itself failed in its objectives and later led to similar events, and secondly, due to the fact that the crisis continued, and it became impossible to encompass all of the relevant events as initially planned. In addition to this, exclusion of this event was conditioned by the limits of this project.

The choice of the newspapers was initially predefined by the choice of countries which these newspapers were to represent. Since the Ukraine crisis happened to be a stimulus for the confrontation that emerged between East and West, the countries involved in the confrontation were chosen for the analysis of the articles. Hence, Russia, US and Germany (as a representative of EU due to its economic leading position and close ties with Russia) were chosen for further investigation. Next, the news outlets that represent these countries needed to be defined. Language was one of the criteria for the choice of the news portals. All of them broadcast their news in English (and many more languages). The second relevant criterion was scale of the outlets. Since the project is

also interested in how interpretation of news contributes to the formation of ideologies, these news outlets needed to be popular and well-known. Thus, New York Times was chosen as one of the most popular representatives of American news sources⁸. DW was chosen as a representative of a European news outlet (its position in global ranking among most popular news websites is 57). RT was chosen as a Russian widest broadcaster that is also watched and read internationally. Finally, the last choice fell on a local newspaper, the Moscow Times, which also has a website and reports news in English. Its angle of reporting was considered worth of investigating, as an alternative Russian opinion on events.

Further on, specific dates which corresponded to the dates of the outlined events were chosen. The articles were looked for in the archives of the online websites of the outlets. They were matched on the basis of the date and similarity of content (if no appropriate article was found on that particular date).

5.2 Information on the Newspapers

This subsection presents information on the four news outlets that were selected for the analysis of ideological stances. Circulation or viewership, languages, and the editorial line are discussed with the purpose to understand the scope and the role of each of the outlets in news delivery.

5.2.1 The New York Times

The New York Times is an US daily newspaper founded and continuously published in New York City since September 18, 1851, by the New York Times Company.

⁸ In a most visited web-sites rating by country it takes 31st position and it is the second major news outlet after CNN, Alexa: <http://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/US>

According to the Alliance for Audited Media⁹ (AAM) report (the data was collected over a six-month period ending in September, 2014), the total average circulation of the NYT, including print and digital, is 2,134,150 Monday to Friday and 2,502,367 on Sunday, out of which the total digital circulation reaches the number of 1,379,806 copies for Monday-Friday and 1,321,207 for Sunday, showing a 13%, 13,1% growth in one year. Respectively, the total print circulation is 639,887 for Monday-Friday and 1,181,160 for Sunday. There has been a 5,4% and 3,5% decline in the print circulation over 1 year. Growth in the digital circulation and decline in print circulation reveals that more people have begun to read the newspaper online, and even more people found subscribing to it essential for the past year. (Zebian, 2014).

The NYT is released in English and Chinese. The Chinese-language news site was introduced in 2012, with about two-thirds of content translated from Times articles and one-third written by Chinese editors and local freelance journalists based in Shanghai, Beijing and Hong Kong. The NY Times has set up the server outside taking into account possible censorship issues that may arise (Haughey, 2012).

The New York Times aims at expanding its international presence further. A Portuguese-Language Edition was announced to be added in the second half of 2013 in order to “bring Times journalism to Brazil, an international hub for business”, however, this plan remains unfulfilled so far (The NYT, October 2012). In addition to this, The New York Times community blog provides translation of the Times articles on political and social topics into Russian and welcomes comments which assist in “gaining a better grasp of life in Russia” (Levy, 2008). It is an interesting opportunity for the Russian community to express their opinion even if it can be hostile towards the US or the NYT. Since the blog began, many hundreds of translated comments have been published on

⁹ AAM is a North American organization that provides expert media analysis.

NYTimes.com and in the newspaper (Levy, 2008). In addition to this, the articles from the newspaper are translated for many different news reporters all over the world.

The renowned slogan *All the News That's Fit to Print* created in 1897 by Adolph S. Ochs, the owner of the NYT, served to distinguish the newspaper from yellow press. It has been used in the upper left corner of the newspaper ever since, reflecting the essence of what the New York Times stands for.

The goal of The New York Times is to cover the news as impartially as possible — “without fear or favor”, in the words of Adolph Ochs, our patriarch — and to treat readers, news sources, advertisers and others fairly and openly, and to be seen to be doing so. The reputation of The Times rests upon such perceptions, and so do the professional reputations of its staff members. (A Handbook of Values and Practices for the News and Editorial Departments)

In the digital age the New York Times continues to put a lot of emphasis on its fundamental principles of news delivery. Several areas have been identified by the NYT staff as crucial and challenging (Riordan, 2014:45):

- Impartiality –maintaining a firm grip on the core principle of impartial reportage on all platforms for all stories
- Time pressures – upholding the principles of the New York Times in an age of constant publication rather than a 24-hour print cycle
- Flattening out of content online, where different types of news (such as opinion) aren't as distinguishable as they were in print
- Experimenting with new journalistic platforms such as social media
- Paid posts and native advertising (which was dealt with in previous chapter).

5.2.2 Russia Today

RT is a Russian state-funded television network and a powerful news media online source. Being internationally oriented, RT launched the first English channel in December 2005 in Moscow, later adding two more global news channels in Arabic (2007) and Spanish (2009). In addition to this, RT America (2010), broadcasting from

Washington DC, RT UK (2014) airing from London, recently launched RT Deutsch (2014) and RT Français (2014) offer locally based content for these countries. RT was



Figure 1. Youtube subscribers, Annual budget of RT – source: time.com (YouTube, BBC, RT)

originally created in order to improve the image of Russia abroad (Evans, 2005). Its professional format similar to that of BBC and Euronews aims at “reflecting Russia’s opinion of the world and making Russia clearer for understanding” (Ria Novosti, 2005).

At present RT has a global reach of over 700 million people in over one hundred countries (RT, 2015).

RT is funded by the government, its annual budget has now reached \$300 million per year, as can be seen from Figure 1 (for comparison, BBC, “the biggest broadcast newsgathering” service in the world, has the budget of \$376 million for 2014-2015). RT is reported to be creating “an alternate reality on TV and online, generating more YouTube views than any other news channel in the world (The data is shown in Figure 1). Thus, “casting Russia as victim and West as villain”, RT presents itself a powerful “Kremlin media machine” that has a “real-world impact” (Shuster, 2015).

RT operates as a multilingual service with channels in English, Spanish and Arabic. Content in German and French has recently (2014) become available online as well.

Question more is the motto of the network. It is visible in upper left corner of the webpage. RT claims to offer a Russian perspective on global events:

RT news covers the major issues of our time for viewers wishing to question more and delivers stories often missed by the mainstream media to create news with an edge. RT provides an alternative perspective on major global events, and acquaints an international audience with the Russian viewpoint (rt.com 2015).

As a matter of fact, the media outlet has been repeatedly accused of violation of the impartial approach to news delivery (TIME) and spreading disinformation. RT is “part of the Russian industry of misinformation and manipulation” which utilizes methods of propaganda in order to deceive world public opinion and manipulate it (Preobrazhensky, 2011).

5.2.3 The Moscow Times

The Moscow Times is the only English-language daily newspaper published in Russia (The Moscow Times). It was founded in 1992 by a Dutch publisher Derk Sauer, who decided to turn his small bi-



Figure 2. Media Kit 2015 The Moscow Times

weekly paper the Moscow Guardian into a world-class daily. Reflecting on the initial role of the newspaper, Meg Bortin, the first editor of the Moscow Times admitted: “We played an important role by giving space to Russian commentators who, despite relaxation of controls on press freedom, couldn’t always find a Russian-language venue for their articles” (Bortin, 2012). Thus, when articles critical of the authorities could not be published in Russian newspapers, the Moscow Times provided an opportunity for them to see the light by printing them in English. Then the articles “were quickly picked up and beamed back in Russian by BBC and other foreign radios, defeating the censors” (Bortin, 2012). The Moscow Times established itself as an independent newspaper that “tells the truth and makes a difference”. The webpage moscowtimes.ru was registered in 1997. The Moscow Times was owned by the Independent Media until 2005. In 2006 it began its alliance with the International Herald Tribune. The site moscowtimes.com was launched in 2009. Nabi Abdullaev, a former Moscow Times reporter, news editor,

managing editor and deputy editor-in-chief who was the head of foreign language service in RIA Novosti since 2011, was assigned to the position of editor-in-chief at the Moscow Times in April 2014.

The circulation of the newspaper is 35000 copies. It is distributed for free in over 500 of Moscow's most prestigious locations: business centres, embassies, hotels (17,5%), restaurants (28,5%), medical centres and educational institutions. Thus, 80% of the copies are distributed at public spaces often visited by expatriates. 10% goes to individual and corporate subscriptions, and the remaining 10% - to air and railway transportation. 57% of Russians and 43% of foreigners are reported to read the newspaper (Media Kit 2015).

In *The Guardian* Nabi Abdullaev, the present editor-in-chief, admitted that Western media coverage of the Ukrainian crisis "cultivates poor opinion of the west among Putin and his henchmen". He called himself "no fan of Putin" but named Western journalism biased and one-sided (2014).

In the events of the Ukrainian Crisis the Moscow Times has been condemned for its anti-Putin spirit. Allegedly, in relation to this accusation, the website has been repeatedly hacked. The newspaper is known to publish both pro-Russian and critical of the state policy content (Luhn, 2015).

5.2.4 Deutsche Welle

Deutsche Welle is a German International public broadcaster. It was founded in May 1953. DW is similar to such international world broadcasters as the BBC World Service, it transmits news and information on shortwave, satellite and Internet radio in 30 languages. It has developed regional television lineups in English, German, Spanish and Arabic. Besides, it has got an online news site and as well as its own centre for

international media development, media consulting and journalism training DW Akademie (DW.de).

The list of languages available on the DW webpage is presented in the given Figure:

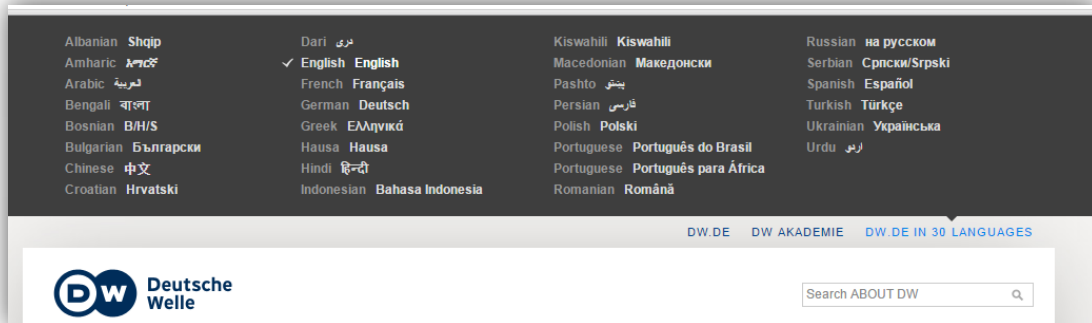


Figure 3. The list of languages available on the DW webpage, DW.de

More than 100 million people access DW worldwide each week. The international broadcaster intends to reach out to international decision makers, opinion leaders, to those who stand for democracy, human rights and civil society; to the ones who wish to learn German (DW.de). The table below represents the percentage of DW visitors by country (the table is not complete due to the webpage’s viewing limitations). According to it, German, American and Russian audience has the highest viewing scores:

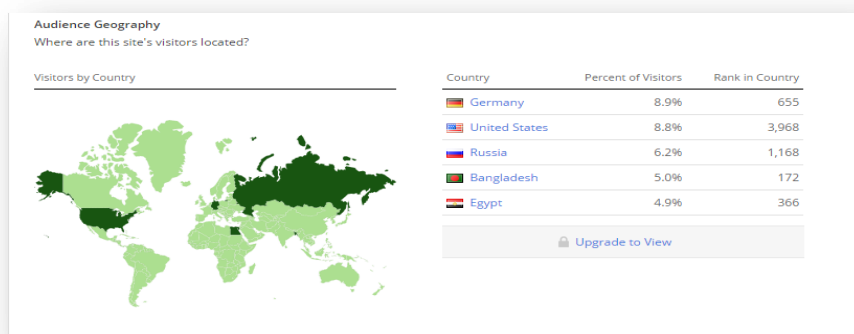


Figure 4. DW visitors by country. Source: Alexa.com (July 15, 2015)

Reporting in-depth, reliable news and information, promoting exchange and understanding between the world’s cultures and people, and providing access to the German language are the core principles of the network.

The mission statements of DW which represent their approach to news delivery are the following:

- We communicate German points of view and European perspectives.
- We promote intercultural dialogue and work to further international understanding and tolerance.
- We communicate the values of a liberal democracy and support respect for human rights.
- We report independently, comprehensively, truthfully and on a pluralistic basis.
- We provide comprehensive and uncensored information to countries that lack free media, particularly crisis regions and war zones.
- We use our credibility to promote Germany's reputation worldwide¹⁰.

The Table below summarizes the 4 media outlets analyzed in the current study:

News outlets	NYT	RT	MT	DW
Source of information	Print and digital	Digital, TV network	Print and digital	International public broadcaster
Languages	English, Chinese	English, Russian, Arabic, Spanish, French, German	English	30 languages
Circulation	2,134,150 for Monday-Friday 2,502,367 for Sunday (in 6-month period)	700 Million people in +100 countries	35000 copies +3793000 views per months	>100 million people worldwide
Editorial line	Impartiality	Alternative view on global events	Independence, truth	Reliable information, reaching out to everyone, promote German culture and European values

Table 1: Summary of the information about news outlets

5.3 Certain Methodological Issues

In this section I mention some of the methodological issues I had to deal with while working on this project. The first difficulty consisted in deciding what terms to use

¹⁰ DW.de- Vision and Values 03.02.2012

during the analysis. I acknowledge that “annexation” is a non-neutral term. In the international law it connotes a coercive transition of one state’s territory into another state. The three news outlets use this term in order to emphasize the illegitimacy of the first event. Russia Today, on the other hand, uses the term “secession” to argue for the legitimacy of the incorporation of the Crimean territory into the Russian State. Similarly, it also uses more neutral terms to describe “the rebels”. In the project I decided to use the terms “annexation” and “rebels” in the analysis of the events, because these are the terms used by the majority of the articles. They do not reflect my own position towards the event, which, from a position of a researcher, should attempt to maintain neutrality.

The second issue I had to deal with was deciding how to present the quotes in the Theoretical Framing section and in the Analysis section. To differentiate between the quotes of the authors I cite in the theoretical section, and the quotes taken from the articles, I decided to use quotation marks for the former, and italics for the latter. In the analysis section, I also use bold type in order to emphasize the role of language in the construction of ideological meanings.

6. Analysis of the Events

In this section, I present a comparative analysis of the newspaper articles taken from four different newspaper outlets, The New York Times (henceforth, NYT), the Moscow Times (henceforth, MT), Deutsche Welle (henceforth, DW) and Russia Today (henceforth, RT) all of which are published in the English language. This analysis section is divided into three subsections which correspond to the main news events of the Ukraine crisis identified in section 4. These events are: the annexation, the plane crash, and the sanctions. The selected news articles from the four newspapers are analyzed together in connection to each one of the key analyzed events chosen. This organization carries out a comparison of the way each of news events is ideologically framed, by each of the newspapers, and how the position held by each of the newspapers is argued for, as well as what linguistic devices are used in each case. A comparative analysis allows me to conclude that similar choice of content presented in the articles and sometimes even identical arguments may serve to justify a completely opposite point of view, depending on the arrangement of these ideas and the support by the arguments uttered in a particular voice as well as by additional descriptiveness of the language.

6.1 Annexation

The annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation on March 18, 2014 is the first news event that creates confrontation between Russia and US/EU and expands the Ukraine Crisis to an international level. Russia accepts Crimea into its part, whereas the West considers these actions illegal.

The headlines reporting the annexation of Crimea in each of the newspapers show that there is ideological division between the West and the East, additionally, Putin, the Russian President, personifies the whole Eastern bloc. He is presented as influential and

powerful in the headlines and in the articles themselves. Three of the articles on this event (NYT, MT, DW) portray Putin negatively, while RT takes his voice as a positive authority. The MT headline evaluates both the West and Putin negatively.

The second aspect that I point out is the ideological stance that each newspaper takes towards the event. This stance is represented by the selection of information offered but also by the strategic use of specific terms, adjectives and adverbs that convey the writer's and more indirectly the newspaper's perspective on the events. These positions are differentiated on the basis of recognition and non-recognition of the event. The three articles (NYT, MT, DW) do not consider the event legal, whereas RT acknowledges its full legitimacy.

Headlines to the chosen articles outline their content, focus and perspective on the event. Thus, two Western newspaper outlets, NYT and DW chose headlines which have a focus on Putin and his political moves: *Putin Reclaims Crimea for Russia and Bitterly Denounces the West* (NYT); *Putin defiantly moves forward with annexation of Crimea* (DW). On the other hand, MT and RT focus on the West in the headlines: *How the West Encouraged Putin's Aggression* (MT), *Crimea similar to Kosovo, West rewriting its own rule book* (RT). In all the headlines, except for the RT, Putin is explicitly described as a powerful and influential figure with negative connotation. The headline by MT is somewhat ambiguous, for it does not take a stance for or against Russia or the West. Its perspective suggests that both Putin and the West are negative actors, both of them are criticized. The RT's headline compares two different crises, that of Kosovo and of Crimea. It reveals the contradiction in the policies of the West that supported Kosovo's plea for independence and autonomy but attacks Crimea, and condemns the West for injustice.

The NYT article (See Appendix A, Article 1, page 92) presents an account of events in which Putin is a central figure. The article constructs heterodoxy through portrayal of the actions and speeches of the Russian president. Negative other-representation assists in depicting an imminent threat coming from him, the only man named responsible for the actions undertaken by Russia. This constructed alarming position of Russia serves to justify and legitimize further exercise of power by US to subdue or punish Russia.

Thus, Putin is depicted as a *paramount leader with unchallenged political authority and wild popularity* of his actions, the only political figure who sets the trends in Russia, whose voice goes unquestioned. This discourse empowers the Russian President and makes him responsible for the annexation.

The Russian president is assigned undesirable features through description of his actions and views, which contradict with American values, such as democracy. He *brushes aside international condemnation*, which was caused by the *stealthy takeover* of Crimea, and it is considered illegitimate by the US, Europe and Ukraine. He is reported to be protecting Russia's interests in the region. Putin acknowledges that the Soviet collapse was *the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the twentieth century* and that the *global domination of one superpower* after that did not consider Russia prominent enough to count with. These overtly expressed ideas, intensified with quoted direct speech of Putin and the epithets and metaphors found in primary discourse, *brushes aside, stealthy takeover*, create a greater degree of confidence in discrepancies observed between Putin and the West.

The actions of Russia are described as rapid, unpredictable and very determined, they may present threat and danger. The article creates this feeling by pointing out that the speed of Crimea's annexation was *breathhtaking* therefore *so far apparently*

unstoppable. Also, Russia is willing to continue with its interests even if it implies more risk for its economy and further international isolation of the country: *daring world leaders to sever political and economic ties and risk **the consequences to their own economies***. This idea overtly speaks of US's condemnation of politics which harm the economy and shatter stability. Next, the contradiction of Putin's words *not a single shot* has been fired in the military intervention, and actions described in the article, the base appeared to be under the control of *attacking soldiers*, who like most of the Russians in Crimea *wore no insignia*, intensify the presence of potential threat that the actions of Russia may pose for the stability in the world, as presented by the article.

The military actions of the Russian soldiers with no insignia are contrasted with the organization of nationalistic celebrative events, which are *charged with emotional and historical significance* and accompanied by Putin's patriotic speech in which *Crimea and Sevastopol are returning to their home harbor, to the native shores, to the home shores, to the home port*. This discourse creates an allusion to a country with a totalitarian military regime and propaganda. Reports of the actual propaganda in Russia are also present: *propagandistic documentaries on state TV and moves to mute or close opposition news organizations and websites*.

In addition to this, in his speech, Putin is reported to condemn a number of historic events, including the conflict in Libya in 2011¹¹, *the false pretense of a humanitarian intervention*, which he considers as faulty actions taken by the West.

Furthermore, the rhetoric of Cold War is brought up in the article. Its strategic use creates a feeling of horror and complete negation of Putin. In addition to this, uncertainty about the future and unpredictability of Russia's actions creates sense of insecurity for the US. Putin is reported to have said very little in public about his

¹¹ The Russian President refers to international events, on which the stance of Russia was distinct from the stance of the West in order to demonstrate discrepancy between the two views.

ultimate goals. *He did not declare a new Cold War, but he bluntly challenged the post-Soviet order that had more or less held for nearly a quarter-century...*

The article in the NYT newspaper ends with Putin's claims that threats inside the country will be eliminated and the disagreeing considered traitors. Moreover, he is convinced that the threat coming from inside will be provoked by the West. Thus, the article shows that Putin is ready to blame the West for any kind of further action. His belief in conspiracy theories and his aggressiveness and hostility add to the negative image which is already created through literally every paragraph of the article.

Thus, the NYT article, with its stance of heterodoxy, or other-representation, creates a very negative image of Russia and Putin's actions. He is evaluated as a very contradictory and unpredictable figure who is also a perfect strategic actor. His leadership in the country is maintained by the distortion of historical and political facts, nationalistic inspirational strategies and by implanting of conspiracy theories which are later successfully being revealed by himself. He takes a hostile position towards the West, because Russia is not taken into account on an international level; and because now NATO allegedly has interests in the region which is historically bound with Russia. At the same time, his unpredictability and his speedy actions, such as Crimea's annexation, may as well be dangerous for the West. Therefore, in a way, the newspaper transmits the general disapproval of Putin's actions, portrays him as untrustworthy, and makes the reader want to call for action to stop the escalating crisis which may lead to unpredictable and undesirable changes in the world. Moreover, responsibility for the whole annexation is laid exclusively on one person.

The article by DW (See Appendix A, Article 2, page 98), with its reference to annexation, intends to represent political actions related to annexation undertaken by different countries. The headline is followed by 2 subheadings *Biden meets with eastern*

European leaders and *Still seeking diplomatic solution*, which divide the article into three parts that highlight the events connected with annexation in Russia, US and Germany. These three parts cover political views and the stance of three different political groups on the crisis. The statement straight after the headline outlines the two parts of the article, in which Russia and US are main actors. It also establishes a parallelism and creates complexity and dynamism by reporting on political affairs in several places in the world that take place at a given time. In particular, the statement describes the actions undertaken by the US government *meanwhile* Russia *is taking another step* towards the annexation of Crimea. Thus, equal power, importance and speed of action-taking is assigned to both countries that represent two different world views and sets of values.

The first part of the article dwells on the actions taken by the Russian side in order to incorporate Crimea into their territory. Putin is presented as the decisive voice in all of the formal procedures. He signs a decree which recognizes the Republic of Crimea as a sovereign and independent state, then a bill that approves of the annexation, and finally he is scheduled to address the Russian parliament. Quotes from the bill and the decree *expedient to sign... the agreement at a high level; recognize as a sovereign and independent state*, serve as a confirmation of the fact that the Russian president considers the secession completely legitimate. It is mentioned that the EU and the US do not recognize the referendum, *which they already dismissed as illegal and illegitimate*, and therefore, methods of coercive power have been undertaken, that is the key Russian and Ukrainian figures *behind the recent political unrest* have been sanctioned.

The directly articulated subheading *Biden meets with Eastern European leaders* introduces the second theme, in which the US is presented as an actor that gives a quick

political response to the annexation event. The US is portrayed as acting and speaking from a position of power, which is able to prevent other countries from certain actions by threats and actions which follow their warning. A warning, or threat is transmitted through several phases of reporting: *in a move widely understood as a warning to Russia not to continue its interference, President Obama issued a sharp warning to Moscow to halt interference*. Also, direct speech of the President Obama points to the fact that US' power is as great and capable as to influence political course of other countries: *We'll continue to make clear to Russia that further provocations will achieve nothing except to further isolate Russia and diminish its place in the world*. As reported in the newspaper, Russia's actions in Crimea are perceived as provocations, which creates a complete contrast with the Russian interpretation of their presence in Ukraine.

The third subheading *Still seeking diplomatic solution* introduces the third part of the article, in which Germany as a representative for the EU discusses a further plan of actions in response to the annexation. The discourse provided in this part abounds in regret, guilt and self-justification, and lack of trust or confidence in the position of Germany. It does not recognize the legitimacy of the referendum, *clear violation of international law, so-called referendum*, and expresses the regretful obligation to impose sanctions, *expressed regret and the need to impose bans against Russia*. In fact, the speech of the German Chancellor Angela Merkel sounds like a justification and is directly reported: *It wasn't our aim. We wanted talks and diplomatic solution...* On the other hand, Germany points out that it chooses to resolve the situation in a diplomatic way, which contradicts the decision to impose sanctions: *Germany, for its part, pushed for the diplomatic solution*. Moreover, *the need for the sanctions still to be reversible* in case the opportunity to negotiate emerges is highlighted. This statement transmits a lack

of trust in the decision taken and a fear to side with either of the powers in order not to boost a greater conflict.

The ambiguous position of Germany in this matter as presented in the article, reveals that it does not completely agree with the strategy of hard power due to various possible reasons (close economic relationships with Russia, a different stance on international politics); however it cannot confront the US or deny support. The circumstances (the violation of law) seem to leave the EU no choice but to introduce sanctions and condemn annexation. This is perceived as a legitimization of Germany's actions.

In general, the article by DW transmits the complexity of the situation. Both Russia and US are portrayed as countries with a firm view and clear angle of interpretation of the events, whereas Germany has political and economic ties with both countries, and allying with one power, it presents rhetoric of regret and slight discontent. Portrayal of the two confronting ideologies might as well be strategic. Before making a concrete decision, Germany gives voice to both the views and compares them. Both Putin's and Obama's ideas are presented in secondary discourse. They are voices of authority that portray the official political stance on the event. The quoted statement (see page 129 of Appendix B) of Angela Merkel is used to intensify this general feeling of uncertainty of Germany in its own position as transmitted in the article.

Another article on annexation analyzed is an opinion article¹² written by Alexander Golts (deputy editor of Daily Journal) and published in MT (See Appendix A, Article 3, page 100). The style of writing is more personal, however it gives a clear

¹² Alexander Golts is a columnist who writes opinion articles for Moscow Times. This article is different from the others in a way that it provides a journalist's opinion on the events instead of a news report. This article was considered to demonstrate the stance of the newspaper better, for the other articles on this event were found to have mainly consulted such sources as Reuters and similar.

representation of the stance this newspaper holds of the events, the arguments used in the article are well-balanced and quite convincing. The article gives a critical evaluation of the crisis and looks into the reasons for Russia's drastic change in political behavior. The main idea, which is also reflected in the headline, is that the US and the EU towards Russia over the years has been a booster for Russia's *aggressive* behaviour. Also, clear discrepancy between the values of the West and the East is presented and discussed in the article.

The article in this newspaper starts off by introducing an idea that current actions by Russia are similar to political strategies used in Soviet times, however the author argues that they are much worse due to their timing. Allusions to the Soviet Union and Iron Curtain, comparison of *Pro-Kremlin rallies with their chants "We believe in Putin"* and *Soviet-era slogan "We support and approve of the Communist Party's policies"*; comparison of what Falkland islands are for Britain and what Crimea is for Russia; provide the reader with the vivid image that the current situation is even more alarming than that in the Soviet times due to the fact that it happened so suddenly, so impertinently and untimely [... *it would **happen this quickly**, he **conveniently overlooks the fact that The Falkland Islands belonged to Britain before the Falkland war started, while Crimea has already been a part of Ukraine for 20 years...***]. The author names the actions in Crimea an exercise of *limited sovereignty*, which creates the feeling of fear that Russia is incorporating Soviet methods into its policy and because of that it regresses. The Soviet Union is called *the most frightening totalitarian state of the twentieth century*, consequently the author's position towards Russia's historical past and current actions is clear. The reader is being persuaded to take sides against the Soviet regime, therefore, against the annexation. Further on, a contradiction between Russia's policy over the past years and its present methods is questioned: *How did*

Russia, after almost a quarter of a century as a member of the world's democratic community, revert into a totalitarian state intent on biting off sizable chunks of a neighboring state in the name of what its leader refers to as historical justice? It is stressed that Russia has drastically and suddenly changed its policy, or views. By posing this question, the author is trying to find reasons for this change by looking into the possible events which lie further back in history than the span of time that the crisis encompasses. It appears that Russia has always been *savage*, only that the policy of *constructive engagement* with Russia undertaken by US and EU overlooked this fact.

Thus, the main responsibility for this *uncivilized* political behavior is laid on the citizens of Russia, who maintain loyalty to the regime. They chose to get rich by corrupt methods after the fall of the Soviet Union. They elaborated *antipathy for democracy* and they chose to be *unshakeably loyal* to the regime which *was smart enough* to share part of its wealth obtained from oil sales with the population. Here, unlike the other newspapers, the relationship between the population and the regime is described, hence, reasons for problems on an international level are looked for in a local context. The author finds it relevant that the mentality of people after the fall of the Soviet Union was not ready to change, therefore they were *lured into enrichment* and became supporters of the regime that provided it. Therefore, the current government is supported by the elite with capital. This is the power group, which is always referred to as Putin only in most of the articles; and is inexplicitly told of in this article.

The way Russia is portrayed in the article shows that it does not share democratic values and it does not respect international law. Such expressions as *Putin's exotic views, nineteenth-century world views, retained its nineteenth-century mindset, did not become more civilized, biting off sizable chunks of a neighboring state*, assist in arguing for the idea that even though Russia has been a member of world's democratic

community, its values have always been different: *the serious values gap between Moscow and the West*. In fact, Russia defines the West as an enemy, or power opponent. It also blames the West for its internal problems. This idea is supported by the example that in the Beslan school siege in 2004 Putin's declaration that the terrorists were backed by *certain forces*, the expression *certain forces* was interpreted as Western powers. The article draws a clear division between Western values and Russia. The West is characterized as an idealistic democracy with *fair elections, the rule of law with political and personal freedoms for its citizens*, while Russia's main objective is to manipulate the populations.

Thus, in the article, the West is considered to have opposite values and beliefs from those of Russia. In spite of that, the West has also violated international law in the cases of Iraq, Kosovo, and it did not stand by its principles with Russia for the sake of *political expediency*. Such expressions as *so loudly tout their supposed observance of the rule of law, by adhering to the lofty principles it proclaims, struggled to make its case for the invasion of Iraq, they turned a blind eye* connote that the Western beliefs do not match reality.

Finally, the author of this MT article is very critical of Russia. The country is portrayed as *uncivilized*, or lacking values and seeking to maintain power by force. At the same time, the West, even though it proclaims core democratic values, for a quarter of a century, it has been seeking its own interests instead of standing by its values. Consequently, the author's opinion is that the wrong policy of the West has led to the current crisis. In a way, this discourse is perceived as a justification for Russia's actions.

The article abounds in emotive expressions that characterize political actors and events. The writer's position is supported by instances of secondary discourse (slipping into direct discourse) which typically portray the collective voices of politicians or refer

to clichés used by them. This creates evaluative vividness, and adds legitimacy to the content of the article.

The article by RT (See Appendix A, Article 4, page 103) presents a different stance on the events. The choice of topics and arguments that support it are directed towards blaming the West for breaking the law and towards explaining and justifying Russia's actions in Ukraine. Putin's speech at the Federal Assembly is taken as a basis for the line of argumentation. Direct quotations from this speech assist in arguing for the writer's perspective on the event.

Thus, Putin compares Crimea's secession to Kosovo's secession from Serbia claiming that the two cases are the same, even though the West refuses to recognize it, *they recognized Kosovo's secession from Serbia legitimate while arguing that no permission from a country's central authority for a unilateral declaration of independence is necessary*. The pronoun "they", which is multiply used in the article through Putin's speeches, *that's what they wrote, that's what they trumpeted all over the world*, serves to distance Russia from the position of the West, emphasizing its ideological non-belonging. Negative other-description adds to in-group/ out-group polarization.

Further on, arguments encountered in RT appear to mirror the arguments which are brought up in NYT, but in an opposite way. In other words, what is considered orthodoxy in NYT (Putin *crossed the red line* by breaking international law), is denied in RT (heterodoxy) with a counter-accusation. For instance, the same very expression that can be found in NYT *Putin crossed the red line* is used in RT with an opposite meaning – *In Ukraine the West crossed the red line*.

Russia presents itself as a defender of international law and of a threat coming from NATO's expansion in this previously Soviet territory: *We stand against having a*

military organization meddling in our backyard, next to our homeland or in the territories that are historically ours. This statement is a vivid example of group positive self-identification and a presentation of its values, as well as an example of ideological struggle for geopolitical interests. The normalized discourse for Russia is that the territory of Ukraine is historically Russian. NATO, from the West, is trying to *corner us (Russia) in retaliation*, to overtake a territory Russia is linked to. After the collapse of the Soviet Union (henceforth, SU), Russia has lost its power and prominent position in the world, which, as can be drawn from the following lines, it is struggling to get back: *Just like any other nation it has national interests that **must be taken into consideration and respected.***

In addition, the West is also accused of recalling the period of the Cold War. On the one hand, Russia seems to be proud of the past powerful position of the SU in the world. On the other hand, this expression indicates a wish for recognition of Russia, apart from its historical past (not the SU), as an equally powerful international partner.

Finally, the argument that the West believes itself to be exceptional and is legitimized to rule *by the right of strength*, is supported by a number of flashbacks into events in Yugoslavia in 1999, Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya. *Orchestrated colored revolutions in Europe and the Arab World* seem to also be the deed of the West.

One of the strongest statements made by Putin reported in the article shows that Russia is a victim of the West, which does not appear to be a just partner: *Russia's willingness to seek dialogue and compromise was stonewalled again.* (The article by DW brings up the same topic, which is filled with guilt for introducing the sanctions.) The direct discourse of Putin abounds in epithets and metaphors, *orchestrated, was stonewalled*, which are not very common for formal speech. However, their

descriptiveness intensifies the status of the ideas described and assists in forming further logics of justification of Russia's policy on Ukraine.

The analysis of the given event presented here, reveals that the same discourse topics circulate among all the four newspapers, nevertheless they are applied as discursive strategies for different (contrary in the case of NYT and RT) ideas. NYT and RT speak from a position of power, in which polarization between the West (US, EU) and the East (Russia) is omnipresent. NYT and RT use clear black and white oppositional tactics, whereas DW and MT show awareness of the power struggle between the two of them.

The three newspapers (NYT, DW, MT) recognize referendum in Crimea as illegal (see Appendix B, page 129); however RT claims its full legitimacy. In fact, it blames the West for numerous violations of law and exercises of its power, which this time Russia cannot tolerate, as the expansion of power poses a geopolitical threat to the country. DW portrays US as a powerful ally, and expresses the regretful need to support its decision, though it seems to leave itself a back door, as it does not share the tactics employed by the US. MT presents a complex historical overview, which clarifies the position of Russia on the crisis, but also explains whose interests Russia is protecting. At the same time, the West is criticized for double standards, and this idea goes in line with the same idea expressed by RT.

6.2 Plane Crash

This subsection considers the four articles on the event of the Malaysian Airline Plane crash which happened in Ukraine territory in conflict within the time span of the crisis. The analysis here looks into the angle of reporting of the event right after it happened, therefore the investigation of the reasons of the plane crash is ongoing (has just started) at the moment of reporting. The articles report on the event through the choice of

information presented and the ideological lense of the news outlets. In the analysis I specifically focus on the information related to the investigation of the event, as well as who is named responsible for it, thus neglecting the very details of the terrible tragedy and its emotional consequences.

The analysis of the headlines reveals that only the NYT unfolds a stance towards the plane crash, though it does it through the eyes of a Ukrainian perspective. The headlines of the other three articles do not uncover their assessment of the persons responsible for the tragedy. However, in the articles only MT adopts an uncertain stance.

The analysis of the articles from the four news outlets allows us to conclude that the blame is placed on the party that holds the opposite ideological view (except for MT). The articles rely heavily on well-known political figures and institutional sources in their argumentation. For the NYT these voices are Ukraine and American Intelligence. RT employs the rebels' voice, which is portrayed as positive and legitimate in the article, and the voice of the Russian Ministry. MT uses people's and officials' posts from social networks and also contrasts them with the known facts about the tragedy. DW mainly uses the primary discourse and reports facts without additional support. All articles mitigate the statements, in which they make assumptions about the people responsible for the plane crash, for the exact circumstances of the crash are not determined yet. The degree of mitigation, however, differs from article to article (NYT and RT express most certainty in their estimations). The mitigated statements can be consulted in the Summary of the Analysis in Appendix B, page 132.

The analysis of the headlines reveals that the NYT hedges its position on reporting who they consider is responsible (i.e., pro-Russia rebels) for the crash of the plane, lending support to the accusation made by Ukraine. However, the NYT's article

unfolds the arguments that support the idea that the rebels are really responsible for the crash. Therefore, the position presented in the headline reflects the way discourse is framed in the article. Additionally, the headline does not question if the plane was shot or if it was an accident, which is also peculiar. The other newspapers (MT, DW and RT) do not present a discourse about the downing of the plane in such a straightforward way.

Meanwhile, DW accentuates the fact that both the Ukrainian forces and the rebels deny their connection to the accident. However, in the article itself, it becomes clear that DW considers the possibility that the rebels are responsible, albeit this idea is not reflected in the headline.

In the headlines of their reports, MT and RT both focus on the fact regarding the crash and the location where it happened. It seems important for MT to report that the accident took place in the *conflict-torn* Ukraine, while RT stresses that the plane crashed near the Russian border. MT follows the theme of the headline in the article, thus mainly highlighting that the parties are at conflict (the Ukrainian government and the pro-Russian separatists), and they put the blame on each other.

As far as the RT headline is concerned, the prominence is given to the location of the crash – near the Russian border. On the one hand it reflects the position of the official Russia towards the conflict, which could be “this does not involve our country, this happened in Ukraine” (which is also mentioned by NYT). On the other hand, proximity to the border connotes that there is a conflict in the nearby state which has gone too far, and it might be that Russian involvement will be suspected due to the nature of international relations at the moment. Additionally, the headline does not exactly transmit the way in which the given event is framed in the article. It is repeatedly hinted, that according to the facts and arguments presented, the Ukrainian

government is responsible. Finally, the NYT and MT headlines seem to be more transparent, as they transmit their position towards the event, whereas DW and RT only expose their angle in the article itself.

The choice of information in the article by NYT (See Appendix A, Article 5, page 107) serves to disclose the position towards the event of the three countries, - Ukraine, Russia and the United States. The first argument poses a contradiction in the position of Ukraine and pro-Russian separatists, since Ukraine accused the latter of shooting down the plane, and the rebels denied being responsible for it. In the presentation of Ukraine's position, the article relies on the information provided in public by the Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko, on information based on the investigation carried out by Ukraine's security services, and in words of the Ukrainian Ambassador at the UN. Thus, Poroshenko called the event an *act of terrorism* (Slipping to DD, henceforth SDD) and *insisted his forces did not shoot the plane*. His attitude to the event is directly reported, and the verb of reporting, *he insisted*, which serves for intensification of the ideas and ideological positions, adds legitimacy to his words. In addition to this, information about the two intercepted telephone conversations that prove rebels' responsibility for the crash, is provided by Ukraine's security services. However, the credibility of this information is questioned by the NYT, which can be observed through the structure of the sentence, - *produced what they said were...*, as well as through the following statement: *Neither recording could be independently verified*. The Ukrainian Ambassador is explicit in his speech which is presented in the article through reported speech; his words are neither hedged nor intensified, therefore, they sound quite straightforward. The information that he talks about is that Russia gave the separatists the missile, therefore it is responsible for the downing of the plane.

The position of Ukraine outlined in the article functions as support for the position of the US that is later unfolded. As well, it serves as a hedge for the position of the US. The logic of a reader is - it is Ukraine that blames the separatists, not the US. Simultaneously, the words (not the evidence) of the two important Ukrainian figures assist in taking the blame for the crash off Ukraine.

Russia's role in the affair is presented negatively in the article. The Russian news agency Russia's Interfax denied that the intercepted telephone conversations were genuine. This fact may be interpreted as Russia supporting the separatists. In addition to this, Putin is reported not to have questioned who shot the plane and not to have accused Ukraine of doing so: *but he did not address the question of who might have shot the plane down and did not accuse Ukraine.* The position reflected in the article in this way poses a question about whether Putin did not question and did not accuse because he knew it was not Ukraine.

In the article the US give their evaluation of the reasons for the crash. In the presentation of information there is a heavy reliance on American intelligence. The first fact reported is that the plane was brought down by a surface-to-air missile. This information was voiced by a U.S. official. In the article it is hedged by a verb of thinking, - *American intelligence authorities believe...* The key sentence in which the stance of the US towards the event can be observed is the following:

American intelligence assessments suggest it is more likely pro-Russian separatists or the Russians rather than the Ukrainian government forces shot down the plane, according to the official, who spoke on condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to discuss the matter publicly.

This statement outlines a point of view of the US which cannot be confirmed with evidence. The idea is heavily hedged (*assessments suggest it is more likely...*). In addition to this, the voice of the person who formulated the idea is anonymized. This sentence reveals that the US is inclined to believe that Russia (or the separatists

supported by Russia) is to blame for the crash, even without evidence found. However, the position of power can be observed in the sentence *the US has sophisticated technologies that can detect...*, which serves as support for credibility of the version. Thus, the reader is led to believe in American intelligence and take its word for what it reports actually happened.

Furthermore, the opinion of the US about who is responsible for the plane crash is supported by a number of facts that argue for this idea. These facts are: 1) rebels bragged about having Buk systems; 2) Russia supplied separatists with military hardware; 3) AP journalists saw a launcher that looked like a Buk missile in a town held by rebels; 4) Poroshenko said his country's forces did not shoot any airborbe targets; 5) Pro-Russia rebels claimed responsibility for strikes on two Ukrainian jets. These arguments lead to a logical conclusion that even though it is not clear yet which party was the cause of the accident, all the evidence available at the moment points at the rebels.

Thus, it is observed in the article that the representation of the Ukraine's position towards the crash through the facts that are reported by the Ukrainian officials, and simultaneously a negative representation of Russia provide the reader with the evidence that suggests Russia is responsible for supporting the separatists and indirectly, or directly, for the crash of the plane. In addition to this, though initially hedged, the American stance towards the events becomes more firm once supported with all the facts provided in the article. The article frames Ukraine as being responsible for the blame on Russia, nevertheless, the position of the US goes in line with what Ukraine suggests.

The way in which the MT (See Appendix A, Article 6, page 111) frames the discourse in its article is distinct from that of NYT. The main stress is on presenting the

views of both sides, Ukrainian military and insurgents, accusing each other. Although there are a number of arguments that point out that the insurgents might have been the guilty side, it is numerously stressed in the article that even with the evidence found, the two conflicting sides would still blame each other.

Initially, the article takes the stance that it is impossible to identify the guilty party, *in the immediate aftermath of the tragedy it **remains impossible to discern what caused the plane crash.*** Furthermore, an overview with a negative connotation is given to what people post on social networks. Such metaphors as ***speculation swirling in tweets*** and ***netizens engaged in frantic finger-pointing*** add to the image of the conflict that broke out not only in Ukraine but also in the web. Some of the people's reactions upon hearing the news of the tragedy as well as their guesses of who might be the guilty party are presented in direct speech. Two different points of view which reflect two ideological stances towards the event are directly reported: 1) ***previously separatists stated that they knocked down another transport plane of the Ukrainian navy. Later we have a crashed Boeing passenger jet;*** 2) ***...Provocation. Kyiv and the State Department may blame the Russian Federation for that*** Another line of comments shown in the article is that people want the war in Ukraine to stop. Thus, by presenting people's comments from social network the article depicts three different ways in which the society has become divided on the bases of the conflict and the events that escalated it. Such a representation appears quite neutral at a first glance, as several different opinions are equally outlined. The main reason for presenting this information is to represent the clash of attitudes in the society as a consequence of the event.

The article, also, looks into the line of argumentation put forth by the rebels. The facts presented perform a somewhat ambiguous role, for the side that the article takes in this contradictory representation of the facts is not completely clear. It is reported that

after the Ukrainian president called the plane crash *a terrorist act* (it is the same information presented in NYT), the authorities of the self proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic denied any involvement in the incident and accused Ukrainian forces of downing the plane. The main argument used by the rebels is presented in direct speech: *We do not have the anti-aircraft technology to do this*. However, the two following factual statements presented in the article contradict this information: ITAR-Tass reported that the insurgents had captured a military base with a Buk system in its stock in late June; it was tweeted on June 29 that the Donetsk People's Republic had Buk in their possession. After that Deputy Prime Minister of the Donetsk People's Republic is reported to have told Interfax that the separatists do not have Buk missile systems. Another contradictory fact mentioned in the article is that one of the rebels posted on his social network account that a military transport aircraft had been shot 1,5 hours before the news about the Malaysian airline crash. Later on, this message was deleted and the same person posted another message in which he says that the passenger airliner was shot by a Ukrainian fighter jet and that it violated the closed airspace for two reasons. They are Ukraine provocation or dispatcher's mistake (whereas in the NYT article it was pointed out that even though the space was closed for the planes, many airline companies still flew over the area because this route is shorter, and therefore, cheaper).

Thus, the factual information presented in the article, serves to disclose that there is a contradiction in the facts reported by the rebels, which puts their credibility in question. However, it is not explicitly reported in the article. Therefore, it can be assumed that by presenting this contradictory factual information the article indirectly blames the rebels for ambiguity of information and possibly, for the accident.

The words of an advisor to Ukraine's interior minister seem to represent the stance of the article by the fact that the plane might have been shot down. On his

facebook page, Anton Gerashenko writes that the Ukrainian authorities are *not excluding the possibility that the plane was downed* (SDD). Unlike NYT, in which American intelligence *believed* that the plane was shot, the given information seems less categorical and more mitigated. Thus the two facts, the downing of the plane and determining who the guilty side is, are overviewed in the article. However, an explicit position, apart from the fact that the rebels and the Ukraine forces and accusing each other, is not provided.

The article in the MT also presents an overview of the analytical analysis done on the consequences of the crash and its role in the ongoing conflict. This event is called a *game-changer*, for the guilty side will be *discredited*. Additionally, it is said that *the tragedy could divert more international attention to the ongoing conflict and serve as a push for final and fundamental conflict-resolution*. These statements indicate the main interest of the discourse in the given article is for the conflict to be finally resolved.

In the end, the article relies on an opinion of a Moscow-based think tank, which points out that proving the guilt of one of the sides will be very difficult, since they *both use the same Soviet-era weapons, and were both fighting in the area*. Reliance on a Russian source and reliance on the facts earlier does not allow the article to give a concrete opinion about the event. The conclusion seems very uncertain and quite pessimistic. It also seems to contradict the facts outlined in the article which put credibility of the rebels' alibi in question.

The DW article (See Appendix A, Article 7, page 115) starts off by stating the idea represented in the headline to the article, that both the rebels and Ukraine Kiev-based government denied being responsible for the plane crash. With respect to the crash, the article assumes that it was downed. The statement *there is speculation that the plane was shot down by an anti-aircraft missile which may have been fired from a*

Russia-made Buk system, is hedged. The fact that the plane was downed sounds less firm in this article than in the NYT's one, however it seems to express the idea in a clearer manner than in the MT article. The facts that were employed in the NYT and MT articles in order to show why the rebels might have been the reason for the crash, and in order to demonstrate the contradictive claims of the two sides, also comprise the content of this article. It is reported that the separatists previously admitted being in possession of a missile capable of such a shot, and that Ukraine's security services had the recordings that proved the rebels were responsible (This statement is identical to the one found in the NYT). The information about the rebel leader who boasted of shooting down the plane at the same location where the Malaysian plane was downed is identical to that of the MT article. However, DW adds a new idea by stating that this fact is *fueling suspicion that the plane might have been shot down by accident*. According to the facts presented it becomes clear that DW considers that the rebels did not shoot the plane (the statement is also hedged) on purpose. The idea about the crash being an accidental mistake made by the rebels is explicit only in this article. Another fact reported that points to the rebels' fault in shooting of the plane is that they have retrieved the black box, though there was a call for an international investigation. Finally, the article expresses concern about the impact of the events in Ukraine on the economy by presenting the statement that *the stock markets tumbled on the news of Thursday's crash, which raised tensions already fueled by broadened US and EU sanctions*. It seems that DW is very concerned about the stability of the economy, since information about it emerges in an article about the plane crash, and it is also expressed in such a vivid way. Additionally, this statement reveals further the idea expressed in the analysis to the previous event, that DW does not completely agree with the sanctions. One of the reasons for such disapproval of the sanctions becomes clear in the

given article – it is the economic benefits that Germany receives from international trade with Russia. The sanctions, and the plane crash undermine those economic relationships.

The first statement of the RT article (See Appendix A, Article 8, page 117) expresses the same idea which is present in all the articles on this event: *both Kyiv and opposition deny involvement in the incident*. Rebels are named as opposition. Similarly, in another place of the text, “rebels” are referred to as *groups that are fighting Kiev’s forces*. These more neutral terms (in comparison to other newspapers where the terms “separatists”, “rebels” and “insurgents” are employed) reveal Russia’s stance towards the “opposition”. Russia does not perceive the groups against the central government as “rebels”, for they are pro-Russian groups that are fighting for Russian values, for independence from Ukraine and maybe incorporation into Russia’s territory.

The defense-arguments that clear the “opposition” in this accident are that the Donetsk People’s Republic does not have the military equipment to shoot an aircraft at such a high altitude. The reporting verb and the adverb *simply* connote that the given statement is intensified: *...claims its self defense forces simply don’t have such military equipment*. This statement is followed by the direct speech in which one of the leaders gives details of the military equipment at their disposal. Definitely, direct discourse serves as intensification of the statement and makes it more credible. The leader also calls the incident a *provocation by the Ukrainian military*.

Next, the article reports on the state of the Russia’s military, *none of its military planes have been flying close to the Russia-Ukraine border*. Clearly, this fact is mentioned to exclude any possibility of Russia’s direct or indirect involvement. It seems a little awkward that this fact about Russian planes not flying close to the border is used

to serve as an alibi, for it has been stated in most discourses that the plane was attacked from the ground.

The article goes on to discuss the possibility of Ukraine's government involvement in the plane crash. First, the contradiction in the official position of Ukraine is mentioned. While Poroshenko *does not rule out* that the plane was shot down, another official posts on Facebook that the plane was targeted by an air defense missile. Secondly, an account about the number of missile launches deploying Buk systems carried out by Ukraine earlier, is provided. The statement presented by the Russia Defense Ministry in direct speech says that Ukraine forces are equipped with the given Buk system, and characteristics of this weapon are described very thoroughly, in order to convince the reader that the government of Ukraine was technically capable of bringing the Malaysian airplane down. Thirdly, it is said that Ukraine closed airspace because of a *so-called* 'anti-terrorist operation'. The adjective *so-called* shows distrust of the article in whichever actions undertaken by the Ukraine government. However, the words of a representative of the Donetsk People's Republic are presented with no negative evaluation. This spokesperson's words suggest that Kiev is responsible for the air traffic in the area: *dispatching support of all passenger flights is being conducted from Kyiv. How this plane could be there – is not clear.* Finally, after this negative portrayal of Ukraine is presented, the article gives an evaluation from an observer at the crash site – the plane was '*definitely shot down*' (SDD). With all the reasoning described earlier it becomes almost certain that Ukraine is to blame for the downing of the plane.

The last paragraph reports an opinion of a Russian pilot and aviation expert, whose direct speech serves to present a technical opinion which can be considered the main stance of the article on the event: *I can allege that it most likely was the Ukrainian*

armed forces: simply because its military – anti-aircraft defense, in particular – are, unfortunately, unqualified. A hedged opinion of a single specialist does not give much credit to the theory, however, it is presented at the end of the article, after all the arguments that point to the responsibility of the Ukraine forces have been presented. Therefore, this idea is perceived by the reader as credible.

Overall, the article in the RT abounds in direct discourse, which supports the arguments presented. Direct discourse is used as a main tool of justification of the statements provided, it adds legitimacy and credibility to the ideas expressed. The repetition of the adverb *simply* adds clarity and significance to the reported ideas. A structured outlay of topics, first the position of the “opposition” followed by Russia’s alibi, and negative presentation of the Ukraine government and its military forces, put the reader in the position of trust in the “opposition”, or the rebels, and make the legitimacy of the Ukraine position questionable.

The four articles provide similar or in some cases even identical information that serves to represent different stances on the event. In its argumentation strategy, the NYT article employs the voice of Ukraine to argue for the rebels’ involvement in the accident. The position of Ukraine is supported and intensified by information provided by American intelligence, whose voice though anonymized is made to sound credible. The opinion of the article, though hedged, is voiced quite clearly, the plane was shot down and pro-Russia rebels are more likely to be responsible for this action. This idea is supported by a number of facts which are also presented in the article.

The MT article adopts a more ambiguous and contradictory stance towards the event. The opinion for the reason of the plane crash is non-identifiable as the article does not dare to make an explicit judgment or to side with either the rebels or the Ukraine forces. The impossibility of identifying the guilty party has been stressed and

the voices of both the Ukrainian forces who deny any involvement in the accident, and the rebels who accuse the Ukraine forces, are presented in the article. Factual statements that point at the insurgents' responsibility intertwine with their voice which contradicts these facts. However, the facts, that contradict the rebels' position, outweigh their voice, therefore the credibility of the voice of the rebels is in question. Nevertheless, the article does not make an explicit statement about that, continuing to stress that both sides will still be accusing each other even with evidence provided. Towards the end of the article, a pacifist stance towards the conflict is presented. The idea that the plane crash will lead to the conflict-resolution in the territory of Ukraine sounds prominent and perhaps reveals the stance of the article towards the event.

The DW article uses a manner of reporting in which the voices of all sides are almost unheard. The article alleges that the plane might have been shot down. This opinion is mitigated. The arrangement of presentation of the factual statements that circulate in all of the articles, points to the idea that the rebels might have downed the plane by accident. Simultaneously the article expresses concern about the state of the economic market and economic relations which have not been favoured by recent events connected to the conflict in Ukraine.

The discourse presented in the RT article argues for the idea that The Ukraine forces bear responsibility for the downing of the plane. This idea is unfolded by means of providing expert testimony and creating credibility for the rebels' voice, which is presented through reporting and repeated instances of very detailed direct discourse. Simultaneously, Ukraine's voice of the government and the military is diminished by negative linguistic and factual representations. The article also presents direct discourse of Russia, in particular, of Russian Defense Ministry, and of a pilot and aviation expert,

that support the main idea expressed by the latter that the plane was *most likely* shot down by the Ukrainian forces.

6.3 Sanctions

The analysis of the headlines of this event reveals that the NYT and RT articles represent their stance towards the event through the portrayal of emotionally charged language (NYT – *at last*; RT – *disappointed*) in their headlines (See Appendix B, page 134). The NYT article shows the US's impatience in exercising its power to undertake actions to punish Russia, while the RT article criticizes EU for allying with the US. The headlines of DW and MT are more action-oriented. DW reports on adopting sanctions *against* Russia (the preposition *against* makes the position of the article more categorical, more specific with respect to the stance of the EU). This headline in comparison to the headlines of previous events of the same news outlet analyzed, finally takes a stance on the conflict. It also represents the voice of the EU that takes an active position in the attempt to stop the conflict. The headline by MT adopts the position of Ukraine. The verb *welcomes* characterizes the position and response of Ukraine to the new round of stronger sanctions on Russia. The fact that the article chooses to reflect the position of Ukraine also indicates that its ideological position may go in line with that of Ukraine.

The NYT article (See Appendix A, Article 9, page 121) appears to be quite categorical in its style of reporting. Also, it adopts a more firm ideological stance, in which Russia and in particular, Putin is presented even more negatively than in the article on annexation. The US seems to have occupied a dominant position in the crisis, and since the EU has decided to join the US in its position on Ukraine, the US now evaluates the actions of the EU and instructs it on further actions.

In the first paragraph the article mildly reproaches the EU for taking a long time to adopt a higher level of sanctions. This idea is pointed out with the help of the expression *lengthy and difficult deliberations*, which indicates the impatience of the US to act and have an impact on Russia. Next, the reasons for the sanctions are provided. Russia's recent actions are characterized as a *sharp escalation of direct involvement in the Ukraine fray*, while Russia's actions (since the Malaysian plane crash) are described by a metaphor *string of lies*. The plane crash serves as a justification for introducing the sanctions. The statement that reports on this is very straightforward: *Russia carries out armed aggression against a sovereign state while enabling proxies in eastern Ukraine who shot down an unarmed passenger plane*. The verbs of this statement are not hedged, and the noun *aggression* is intensified by the adjective *armed*. It is also stressed that the passenger plane was *unarmed*. The public charges outlined in the article that the US presents in order to justify the tougher sanctions are, however, all connected to military actions taken by Russia (violation of arms control accord, the intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty, among others). There is no mention of breaking any other specific law here except for the military ones. Also, it is said that Putin in particular deserves punishment, *to exact a heavy price from Mr. Putin, and deservedly so*.

The language that is used to describe the purpose of the sanctions is filled with negativity, aggression and revenge: *sanctions are designed to exact a heavy price, to make Putin... understand that breaking the rules carries a cost, striking at the Russian economy, economic measures that shrink his economy*.

Furthermore, the article shifts from blaming Russia for its faulty actions to directly blaming Putin, *the choice that Russia, and President Putin in particular, has made*, and his supporters. The language used for the portrayal of the Russian President

and his surroundings is rather sharp: *Putin and his revanchist-ruling clique, magnitude of Putin's threat, hurt his cronies.*

Next, the new sanctions are characterized as *punitive and carefully orchestrated actions*. Thus, the idea the sanctions serve as a measure of punishment is repeated several times, which indicates that the US considers itself as having the right to judge and exercise the justice it believes in. The article stresses that sanctions are also a *flawed and double-edged weapon*. For Europe they mean possible economic losses, *potential cost in lost jobs and contracts*. It is also mentioned that Europe depends on Russian natural gas, and that Germany has important commercial relations with Russia, and as well a lot of wealthy Russians keep their money in Britain, *oligarchs that park their loot*. However, the general tone of the article stresses that these sanctions are necessary even though they might go with potential economic losses for Europe, and European countries are warned of the possibility of further financial losses. Clear dictates are present in the following statement: *Britain cannot be exempt from making financial sacrifices in any future round of sanctions, nor Germany*. Relationships with Russia and France are also discussed in the article. Here the US adopts a powerful position and expresses its concerns about the deal on the two Mistral-class ships that Russia is buying from France. The rhetoric of reproach and command/instruction is employed: *The idea that France is building two for Mr. Putin at this time is deeply troubling, financial sacrifice is one thing, arming Russia is another, that is what the French should focus on.*

The analysis of the given article reveals that the US, having recruited the EU as an ally that supports its tactics against Russia, has formed a more confident, more powerful discourse. The ideas presented in the article are quite explicit. The main strategy employed is linguistic representation of the participants in the conflict through

emotional expressions, epithets and metaphors. Such rhetoric as *shrink economy, hurt his cronies* reveals that the article perceives Putin as a threat and strives for diminishing Russia's power and influence in the world.

The article in DW (See Appendix A, Article 10, page 123) comprises reasons for introducing the sanctions on Russia. Mostly, argumentative strategies rather than linguistic ones are employed for this purpose. The evidence provided by the US and inclusion of the discourse by the US Secretary of State serves as a supporting voice in the article.

The article defines the position of the EU in the conflict. It stresses that the EU has introduced this kind of sanctions for *the first time*. Thus, for the first time a firm stance in the conflict is claimed and supported by impactful actions. However, there is no aggression expressed towards Russia or Putin in particular, as it is in the case of the NYT article. In fact the name of the Russian President is brought up three times, and in all of them he is not judged or criticized: *imposed until now on **confidants** of Russian President, Putin's last chance (subheading), suggest that **Putin still had the chance***.

The purpose of the sanctions is described in a more neutral, business-like, impersonal way than it in the NYT article. Also, it is strictly linked to the conflict in Ukraine: *intending to **strongarm** Moscow **into reducing its role** in the conflict in Ukraine, designed to **make** Moscow's **support** of pro-Russian rebels in eastern Ukraine **uneconomical, make Russia reconsider** its course*. Argumentation of the reasons for the sanctions includes naturalized ideas about the previous events. Thus, annexation, support of pro-Russian separatists and the plane crash all comprise the base for the adoption of the sanctions. While annexation is only mentioned once as one of the *unacceptable* things done by Russia, the plane crash and the separatists' support are brought up in the article several times. These arguments are also intensified by text

around them and the evidence provided by the US that is incorporated in the article. It is stated that economic relationships with Russia prevented the EU from taking action earlier, *close economic ties with Russia, a reality that had made Brussels **reluctant to come down heavily** on Moscow*. This argument, which reveals that political decisions made by EU are economy-driven, is contrasted with the fact of the plane crash – *alleged downing... by pro-Russia rebels using a Russian-made...* – the events surrounding the plane crash are still hedged, which in this case outweighs the economic interest of *major business lobbies, notably in Germany*. Presentation of the argument that justifies the sanctions in this way adds more significance to it, though, peculiarly, the article does not seem to be completely confident about the persons responsible for this terrible tragedy. Another supporting statement for adopting the plane crash as a justification for the sanctions follows: *...international investigators are being prevented from assessing the site*.

As far as Russian support of the separatists is concerned, the article strengthens its statement by relying on the US. Direct speech of John Kerry, US Secretary of State, is provided in which he states that there is evidence of Russian help to the separatists: *the Russians and their so-called volunteers are continuing to ship arms... there is **clear evidence** of it*. This is also followed by a satellite image also provided by the US, of Russian artillery firing into Ukraine.

In general, the article mentions on various occasions the position of the US, or relies on the evidence provided by the US. It is expressed twice that the US will also follow with their sanctions, *similar measures from the US could soon follow, US's response could be unveiled later*. The final argument of the article uses direct expressions of the US, for example *no shred of evidence* – SDD, and reported speech to argue for the idea that Russia is not cooperating in the resolution of the conflict.

However, both the US, and especially Germany point out that the whole situation is still reversible. Expressions *a strong warning, inevitable* (SDD) serve to characterize the current sanctions. The article uses this technique in order to distance itself from the authoritative voice, and therefore, sound more neutral. The direct speech of Angela Merkel is also provided: *whether they want to get the way of de-escalation and cooperation, the EU sanctions **can be reviewed***. Thus, there is a similar pattern in outlining the position of Germany and EU in all DW articles. The possibility to reverse the situation is always present and expected from Russia.

The position of EU in this article is presented as more confident. It is noticeable in the discourse that the EU is siding with a powerful ally, for the article relies on the US in providing evidence for justification of adoption of the sanctions.

The RT article (See Appendix A, Article 11, page 125) outlines the position towards the new round of sanctions introduced by the EU. It adopts the rhetoric of disappointment with the EU for not being able to act independently from the US. The argumentation is built on direct discourse by the foreign ministry of Russia incorporated into the article as primary discourse or quoted as secondary discourse. The secondary discourse transmits the exact words of the ministry, thus making the authoritative voice prominent in the article, which in its turn aligns with it. Also, the article abounds in quoted expressions (SDD), which have impact on reader's emotions. The main stance that reflects the ideological position of the article is that the EU supports the Kyiv government, which performs military actions on its territory. It is explicit that Russia does not participate in the conflict in Ukraine. Therefore, the EU is reproached for adopting the 'incorrect' position towards the conflict as a result of the American influence.

Thus, the article transmits feelings of frustration with the policy adopted by the EU. This effect is created with the help of expressions *such as **disappointed**, we feel **ashamed**, Moscow was **bewildered***. Simultaneously, the EU is blamed for submitting to the power of the US and taking its side. This idea is repeated numerous times through the negative representation of the weak position of the EU: ***inability to act independently from Washington's dictation, is now speaking with Washington's voice, demonstrates its lack of political will in general, lack of determination to resolve the Ukrainian crisis***.

The sanctions are described as *destructive and myopic (SDD), questionable geopolitical schemes (DD)*. Here, direct discourse creates figurativeness, vividness. The stance against the sanctions is created with the help of several arguments, which include the point that the economies of Russia and the EU are connected, they are called *communicating vessels (SDD)*; that the sanctions will *have an impact on the EU economy*; that they contradict the WTO rules. This idea is not used as a primary argument. The discourse about the sanctions is also directed towards the US, *US will feel **tangible losses***. This statement connotes negativity and confrontation with the US, which has not even introduced the new sanctions yet. As it was explicit in the other RT article, Russia perceives that the US is supporting the expansion of NATO to Ukraine. This is unacceptable for Russia, since it cannot lose its influence in that region.

Next, the article blames the EU for the ongoing crisis which it reportedly approves of and supports. Such expressions as ***blindly ignores the reasons behind the tragic developments, civilians are dying... as a result of Kyiv's military operation, EU, who support the current Kyiv government, EU has given Kyiv **carte blanche***** create a highly ideological discourse in which indirectly the EU is blamed for a mistaken, from the Russian point of view, geopolitical decision. Therefore, by supporting Ukraine, it keeps

the conflict alive (Russia claims that it does not participate in the conflict in Ukraine, but at the same time, it stresses that the EU's position in support of Ukraine prolongs the conflict. This fact makes the reader question Russia's real involvement in the conflict). It is inexplicit in the article, but it becomes clear that if the EU stopped the support of Ukraine, the conflict might have been over. The conflict itself is portrayed as *a massive humanitarian catastrophe*, which is supported by the EU. At the end of the article the ministry expresses surprise at the newly introduced ban in trading weapons and military equipment, *was bewildered by the decision to ban*. Positions of Russia and Ukraine are compared: ***Unlike Kyiv...Russia is not taking part in the military conflict in Ukraine.*** A Comparison of the two official positions serves to negatively evaluate the Ukraine government, which performs actions against its own people. Also, it presents Russia as innocent and non-involved in the conflict. However, this statement does not deny the support of the separatists in Ukraine, for which Russia is actually blamed. Thus, (if alleged that Russia is supporting the separatists), this statement guides the reader into belief in Russia's innocence, whereas the other part (that it supports the separatists) is conveniently omitted. Presumably, if Russia was not supporting the separatists, the ministry would directly deny this fact in this statement, but it does not. Therefore, it can be assumed that Russia might be supporting the separatists.

Thus, it becomes clear that Russia sees the main conflict of the region as a conflict of geopolitical interests, Ukraine is seeking integration with the EU, and the EU is giving support to Ukraine that is presented as an indirect actor in the conflict.

The MT article (See Appendix A, Article 12, page 127) represents the voice of Ukraine and its response to the newly introduced round of sanctions. The Ukrainian prime minister is reported to have consulted with the US Secretary of State and US Vice President. It becomes clear that the Ukraine government takes the Western side. After

the introduction of the sanctions Kyiv takes a step to stop military actions in the conflict area, which is causing human losses among the civilians. Notably, it only does so after the US and the EU agree on sectoral sanctions, and therefore, they present a consolidated power front (against Russia's influence in the region). Ukraine considers to no longer need defense as it gets the full support from the West. Simultaneously, it is reported, that Ukraine is not joining NATO in the near future. This fact indicates that the government is afraid to take a decision that is so unacceptable for Russia, the decision that is the core reason of the conflict, because this bears unpredictable consequences.

The article relies on the direct speech of the prime minister and instances of slipping into secondary discourse in representation of the important decisions taken by Ukraine, *'We will not attack such cities', he said, because it would trigger human losses*. Also, through reported speech it represents the voice of the people who live in the conflict area: *residents fear they will be trapped between the fighting forces*.

The alignment of the US and the EU in support of Ukraine is of paramount importance to this country. This alliance is fully discussed in the article. A quoted statement and two instances of slipping into direct discourse are employed for that. A repetition of the same idea, *US and EU simply speak with one voice supporting Ukraine, commitment to Ukraine*, and repetition of the same word *commitment to Ukraine, commitment to a united, democratic and European Ukraine*, emphasize significance of the event of sanctions.

The stance against separatists and Russia is argued throughout by the use of the term "terrorists". This idea is also repeated, twice in secondary discourse and once in primary discourse which draws a conclusion from the speech of the Ukraine minister. In his speech, Klimkin, the minister, sounds very direct and straightforward, while

pointing that the Russians represent the Ukraine terrorists: *It's up to Russia to take back the key leaders of the terrorists, who are all Russia citizens and have a clear connection with the Russian security services.*

However, as far as joining NATO is concerned, the minister's position is not so clear. It is said that he *played down any suggestion that Kyiv would eventually seek to join NATO*. The arguments of the minister provided in the article contain repetitions: *no political consensus and no consensus in Ukrainian society (...), intense interaction, intense cooperation, sense of security, (...) for our defense and security sector*. These repetitions create a sense of insecurity about this issue and also contradict the position of the same minister, who earlier stressed with all the confidence that Russian citizens represent the "terrorists" and they are the ones disagreeing. It becomes certain that Ukraine cannot even speak publicly about joining NATO, since it is the most sensitive topic, the topic that poses a threat to Ukraine.

All the articles that outline the new round of sanctions introduced by the EU take a different stance towards this event. The NYT and DW articles represent a Western perspective on the event and justify the need for sanctions. They also provide an overview of the consequences of the sanctions for both Russia and the Western bloc. The NYT article employs a very aggressive, categorical style of writing. The metaphors that serve to portray Russia, its ruling groups, come in primary discourse, which states that the article does not seek to distance itself from such sharp rhetoric. Therefore, the article has its own voice, which appears to be very powerful and authoritative. The way the consequences of the sanctions are portrayed reveals that the US longs for punishing Russia and for weakening its economy. This attitude of one country towards another seems a bit unhealthy. In addition to this, the conviction of the article that even though the sanctions are *double-edged* and they also harm the economy of the EU, there is an

absolute necessity to move forward with sanctions, and even go beyond that, even if it means further weakening of presently shaky EU's economy, intensifies the hostile position of the US towards Russia.

The DW article, portrays similar discourse, however its style is rather business-like and quite neutral in comparison to that of the NYT article. It relies less on its own voice, including secondary discourse of the important political figures, thus distancing itself from the straightforwardness and expressiveness of their language. In the argumentative strategy, there is reliance on the position of the US, which indicates the dependence of the EU on the US in this issue. The EU finally takes the side of the US in the crisis, justifying its previous sluggishness. Notably, it is explicit in the article that the decision to join the US was taken by the economic groups after the downing of the passenger jet.

The article by RT presents a contrary view on the event, in which it blames the EU for siding with the US against innocent Russia that, reportedly, does not take part in any military actions in Ukraine. Though it is the EU that introduced the sanctions, the US is made responsible. The EU is criticized for being weak and submitting to the power of the US. Also, it is blamed for indirectly, by providing support to Ukraine, prolonging the crisis. The article bases its argumentation on the statement of the Russian Foreign Ministry, thus, making it the main voice that transmits ideas. Simultaneously, the article uses secondary discourse as intensification of its own argumentation. The main peculiarity of this article observed is that it omits facts. In particular, it does not deny supporting the rebels, instead, it claims that the official Russia is not participating in the conflict. This assists in maintaining Russia's stance on the events.

The MT article presents the reaction of Ukraine to the sanctions. The fact of the US and EU aligning its positions and giving support to Ukraine is seen as extremely positive by Ukraine, hence by the article, which through presentation of Ukraine's voice, shows its accordance with it (there is no indication of opposition to the views of Ukraine). It also notes that Ukraine is going to rely on a political decision in the conflict and therefore it pledges to stop its military actions which harm its own population. The article refers to the voice of the Ukraine Minister in its report. The ambiguous response to the question about joining NATO reveals that this issue is the most sensitive in Ukraine, and that the Ukraine government is afraid to take any steps that would lead to a greater conflict with Russia. However, it is explicit in the articles that the separatists are believed to be Russians and they are perceived as terrorists.

7. Conclusions

The aim of this project was to look into instances of power and ideology as well as to investigate discursive strategies employed by the four news outlets in representing the Ukraine crisis.

The context of the Ukraine crisis takes into account the geographical position of the country, its historically formed cultural dividedness between the East and the West which is at the roots of the difference in views among its population. Furthermore, its economic relevance and close cooperation with both Russia and the EU has situated the country to become an arena for the fight over a sphere of influence.

A comparison of the stances expressed in the articles and of the editorial lines of the news outlets discussed in the Methodology section allows to conclude that there is not discrepancy (but for one) between how the news outlets portray themselves and the way they report on the events. Thus, the DW portrayed itself as a presenter of the German perspective and of the news reports on a pluralistic basis, as well as a promoter of tolerance. In the articles it depicted both Russian and American viewpoints, and it also communicated its own position towards the events. In the events of the annexation and the sanctions it argued for its position in a business-like distanced way. In case of each of the decisions taken against Russia, the article inspired cooperation and de-escalation of the situation. The NYT, on the other hand, stated in its principles that it reports news as impartially as possible. However, through the analysis of the perspective in the articles it became clear that it represents the official position of the US on the events, for it relied on political figures and American institutions in its argumentation, therefore, it is non-neutral towards other world views. The articles represented Russia, and especially Putin, quite negatively and spoke from a position of power, numerously adopting harsh language and rhetoric of punishment instead of more

neutral, impartial forms. The RT presented an alternative viewpoint of the events, which was in accord with its editorial line and the stance of the Russian government on the events. The MT did not take a stance in the crisis, attempting to identify existing problems in viewpoints and actions both of the West and Russia, which was in line with what the newspaper represents.

The study uncovered that the economy of a country tends to shape its relationships with others, and in some cases, economic capital can affect political decisions. This conclusion is drawn from the explicit discourse in the DW article about German lobbies being in favor of sanctions and also by reports of economic ties between Germany and Russia which made Germany hesitate to take a position against Russia. The NYT also outlines the economic relationships of the EU with Russia, a reason which prevents Europe from taking a firm anti-Russia stance in the conflict. Economic and military might, or group power based on material power resources, also contributes to the construction of a firm ideological stance and a more hostile position of a certain country towards others, as in case of both Russia and the US. Also, as reported in the MT, in the case of Russia the economic elite might support a political leader for its own benefits, and this support will assist in consolidating power inside the country and exercising it internationally.

Further conclusions relate to the specific research questions proposed at the beginning of this study. The four news outlets create different ideological stances on the Ukraine crisis in their articles. The NYT, the DW and the RT reflect the official positions of their countries towards the events through representation of political leaders and institutions of their countries. MT presents different points of view, however, it appears to be skewed towards the Western world view. This effect is a consequence of the newspaper's attempt to resist the dominant ideological position in Russia.

The NYT argues for its stance against Russia, and for the need to punish Russia, through heterodoxy, negative representation of Russia and Putin in particular, in all of the events. In the first article, the NYT constructs ideas in which it presents Russia and Putin as an opposite ideological entity, which because of its values, actions and interests, interferes with the American area of economic and political influence. The events are portrayed as a threat coming from Russia, hence, this serves to legitimize the need to exercise power against Russia and introduce sanctions. The articles mainly employ strategies of nomination, predication and perspectivization. They describe the opposite ideology, its subjects and characterize the actions undertaken by them. The second article chooses to maintain the same anti-Russian stance on the events, though in the immediate aftermath of the events it is practically impossible to identify the party responsible for the downing of the plane. In fact, the criminal investigation has been ongoing for two years now, and the definite answer is not identified yet. However, the article relies on the voice of Ukraine's government which it supports, and the voice of American intelligence in order to justify its hedged, but clear and well-argued position. The stance, in which the article considers the rebels responsible for the crash, is also achieved through factual representation. The third article is a vivid example of a naturalized anti-Russian ideology and of legitimization of the US's influence over EU. Language use, expressive characterization of Putin and verbs of instruction applied towards policies of EU, reveal the tendency of the US to dominate the world and to eliminate ideologically different power opponents.

RT presents a Russian viewpoint on the events. In the first article it employs an oppositional us vs them ideological representation and a discourse of heroic protection of law and of the Russian population in Crimea. The discourse of territorial threat-resistance is also present. This is used in order to construct a positive self-image and

contrast it with a negative image of a different ideological entity, the US, as well as to legitimize Russia's actions in Crimea. A strong line of argumentation is presented and includes a comparison of Kosovo and Crimea cases in order to justify its own actions, and an outline of NATO's goal to expand to the East of Europe, legitimizes Russia's resistance to an all-embracing world power of the West. The features of the discourse are in strategic use of the term "secession" instead of "annexation" used by the Western media and MT, as a presentation of a completely different stance and world view. The second article is consistent with the stance depicted in the annexation article. The main strategy employed in the discourse is negative portrayal and characterization of the Ukraine voice and giving the voice to the rebels and empowering it with credibility. This effect is achieved through linguistic use of adjectives and specific terms. Rebels are named "opposition", or "groups that are fighting Kiev's forces". Additionally, the stance towards the Malaysian airplane crash is voiced by an aviation expert at the end of the article, which blames the Ukraine forces for the accident. Altogether, anti-Ukraine discourses may seem convincing, however, entrusting rebels with an opinion on the event, and a serious statement about the responsibility for the accident in the speech of one expert puts the credibility of this information in question. The third article adopts an anti-US and even more anti-EU rhetoric, since now EU has aligned its position with the US. The article translates the authoritative voice of the Russian ministry in order to argument its position. The ideas of reporting are supported by secondary discourse or slipping into it for more accurate portrayal of the Ministry's response to the sanctions. Once again, the explicit position that Russian does not participate in the conflict in Ukraine makes the Ukraine government and the EU responsible for the military actions that take place in Ukraine. It is peculiar that the voice of the separatists is unheard in

this article, and there is not explicit denial of Russia's support of the separatists, which can be considered as an omission of information strategy.

The ideological stance that DW takes in the articles undergoes a shift from an uncertain position of the EU, as represented in the article, "being stuck" between the two powerful and influential world views to an alignment with one of them. The first article presents in a balanced way the two points of view, those of US and Russia. Germany does not agree with either of them, for it does not recognize the referendum and the subsequent annexation, and it also portrays the US's discourse as too radical. Hence, the article presents Germany's position, in which it suggests a diplomatic resolution of the conflict. At the same time, it does introduce some asset freezes against Russia, taking a Western side on this. The stance of the article is constructed through voice representations of the three countries, supported by instances of secondary discourse of the three political leaders of Russia, the US and Germany. The second article presents a heavily hedged assumption that the plane was shot down and it also argues, using a number of factual statements, that it might have been an accident performed by the rebels. The article does not rely on any sources (such as American Intelligence) in its report, therefore there is no intensification for the purpose of the hedged point of view as in the NYT or the RT. The main argument relies on the facts, which are the same facts employed in other articles about the events. The third article discloses that the EU takes sides in the conflict, by introducing sanctions against Russia. As it is explicitly reported, German lobbies had an impact on this decision. The ideas about the purpose of the sanctions expressed in the article, are more neutral than those of the NYT on the same topic, however, the stance of the EU is perceived as more firm. The voice of the US participates in argumentation of ideas expressed in the article. The EU relies on it in the presentation of the evidence of Russian involvement in the region

in order to justify the decision taken. Interestingly, NYT in the article on the same topic, does not use this or other evidence to justify its exercise of power, limiting the content to a negative representation of Putin.

MT, presents itself as an independent newspaper. In the first article it criticizes both Russia, and the West, the EU and the US. The text on the event of annexation abounds in negative metaphors. Responsibility for the actions in Russia is put on the economic supporters of the regime and on the West, who chose to involve with a country the values of which are completely different in the first place. In its argumentation, the discourse employs historic analysis of the reasons of such an outcome. The second article uses a lot of direct discourse in order to portray different positions of the Ukrainians and the rebels, along with judgments by the populations collected from various social networks. It also uses social networks as a source for statements of officials and texts posted by the rebels. The description of the facts preceding the event is built on the statements which are arranged in a contrastive way. Perhaps, the facts which depict contradiction in the rebels' position, outweigh, however, the article does not express a definite stance, and it hedges its position behind the voice of a Moscow-based think tank, that states that both parties could have been involved. As far as the last article is concerned, MT chooses to present the position of Ukraine towards the implementation of the sanctions. Ukraine is portrayed as happy by the unified support from the US and the EU. It promises to stop the military actions as now there is hope for a more powerful alliance. The position of Ukraine is presented as weak, for it is reported to be fearful to continue negotiations to join NATO. The article bases its main reporting on the speech of the Ukraine Prime Minister.

Language plays an important role in the construction of a perspective, or stance of the analyzed articles. Selection of statements for argumentation, specific voice

representation, portrayal of people, events, accompanied with verbs of emotion and adjectives that denote positive and negative qualities, are the main tools, encountered in these articles, to create an ideological opinion. The use of distinct terms for the same events and repetition of ideas from one article to another, which finally normalizes them, makes the stances portrayed in the articles legitimate. A comparison of texts with similar content allows to trace these differences in the language use strategically employed by the news outlets, and it also allows to conclude that these means make a difference in an ideological stance and finally shape a reader's perception of the events.

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Appendix A Newspaper Articles

This section is divided into two subsections. The first subsection offers a selection of the articles employed in the analysis. The articles are ordered in the same way as they are investigated in the Analysis section. Four articles from four different news outlets comprise each of the three events. The second subsection summarizes the analysis undertaken in the three comparative tables.

Article 1. The New York Times

Putin Reclaims Crimea for Russia and Bitterly Denounces the West

By STEVEN LEE MYERS and ELLEN BARRY MARCH 18, 2014

MOSCOW — President Vladimir V. Putin reclaimed Crimea as a part of Russia on Tuesday, reversing what he described as a historic injustice inflicted by the Soviet Union 60 years ago and brushing aside international condemnation that could leave Russia isolated for years to come.

In an emotional address steeped in years of resentment and bitterness at perceived slights from the West, Mr. Putin made it clear that Russia's patience for post-Cold War accommodation, much diminished of late, had finally been exhausted. Speaking to the country's political elite in the Grand Kremlin Palace, he said he did not seek to divide Ukraine any further, but he vowed to protect Russia's interests there from what he described as Western actions that had left Russia feeling cornered.

"Crimea has always been an integral part of Russia in the hearts and minds of people," Mr. Putin declared in his address, delivered in the chandeliered St. George's Hall before hundreds of members of Parliament, governors and others. His remarks, which lasted 47 minutes, were interrupted repeatedly by thunderous applause, standing ovations and at the end chants of "Russia, Russia." Some in the audience wiped tears from their eyes.



Russians gathered in Red Square under banners hailing President Vladimir V. Putin for his moves to restore Crimea to Russia. Credit James Hill for The New York Times

A theme coursing throughout his remarks was the restoration of Russia after a period of humiliation following the Soviet collapse, which he has famously called “the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century.”

He denounced what he called the global domination of one superpower and its allies that emerged. “They cheated us again and again, made decisions behind our back, presenting us with completed facts,” he said. “That’s the way it was with the expansion of NATO in the East, with the deployment of military infrastructure at our borders. They always told us the same thing: ‘Well, this doesn’t involve you.’ ”

The speed of Mr. Putin’s annexation of Crimea, redrawing an international border that has been recognized as part of an independent Ukraine for 23 years, has been breathtaking and so far apparently unstoppable.

While his actions, which the United States, Europe and Ukraine do not recognize, provoked renewed denunciations and threats of tougher sanctions and diplomatic isolation, it remained unclear how far the West was willing to go to punish Mr. Putin. The leaders of what had been the Group of 8 nations announced they would meet next week as the Group of 7, excluding Russia from a club Russia once desperately craved to join.

Certainly the sanctions imposed on Russia ahead of Tuesday’s steps did nothing to dissuade Mr. Putin, as he rushed to make a claim to Crimea that he argued conformed to international law and precedent. In his remarks he made clear that Russia was prepared to withstand worse punishment in the name of restoring a lost part of the country’s historic empire, effectively daring world leaders to sever political or economic ties and risk the consequences to their own economies.

Mr. Putin, the country’s paramount leader for more than 14 years, appeared to be gambling that the outrage would eventually pass, as it did after Russia’s war with Georgia in 2008, because a newly assertive Russia would be simply too important to ignore on the world stage. As with any gamble, though, the annexation of Crimea carries potentially grave risks.

Only hours after Mr. Putin declared that “not a single shot” had been fired in the military intervention in Crimea, a group of soldiers opened fire as they stormed a Ukrainian military mapping office near Simferopol, killing a Ukrainian soldier and wounding another, according to a Ukrainian officer inside the base and a statement by Ukraine’s Defense Ministry.



Near Simferopol, Crimea, women watched at lunchtime as Mr. Putin addressed legislators and other officials in Moscow on Tuesday. CreditYuri Kochetkov/European Pressphoto Agency

The base appeared to be under the control of the attacking soldiers, who like most of the Russians in Crimea wore no insignia, and the ministry said that Ukrainian forces in Crimea were now authorized to use force to defend themselves.

The episode underscored the fact that the fate of hundreds of Ukrainian soldiers, as well military bases and ships, remains dangerously unresolved.

In the capital, Kiev, Ukraine's new prime minister, Arseniy P. Yatsenyuk, declared that the conflict had moved from "a political to a military phase" and laid the blame squarely on Russia.

Mr. Putin's determined response to the ouster of Ukraine's president, Viktor F. Yanukovich, last month has left American and European leaders scrambling to find an adequate response after initially clinging to the hope that Mr. Putin was prepared to find a political solution — or "off ramp" — to an escalating crisis that began with the collapse of Mr. Yanukovich's government on the night of Feb. 21.

Within a week, Russian special operations troops had seized control of strategic locations across Crimea, while the regional authorities moved to declare independence and schedule a referendum on joining Russia that was held on Sunday.

Even as others criticized the vote as a fraud, Mr. Putin moved quickly on Monday to recognize its result, which he called "more than convincing" with nearly 97 percent of voters in favor of seceding from Ukraine. By Tuesday he signed a treaty of accession with the region's new leaders to make Crimea and the city of Sevastopol the 84th and 85th regions of the Russian Federation.

The treaty requires legislative approval, but that is a mere formality given Mr. Putin's unchallenged political authority and the wild popularity of his actions, which have raised his approval ratings and unleashed a nationalistic fervor that has drowned out the few voices of opposition or even caution about the potential costs to Russia.



PLAY VIDEO | 2:23

Putin Justifies Moves in Crimea

Putin Justifies Moves in Crimea

In his speech in Moscow, President Vladimir V. Putin defended Russia's actions in Crimea by pointing out past Western "interventions," including Libya and Afghanistan, at length.

Publish Date March 18, 2014. Photo by Pool photo by Alexander Zemlianichenko.

Mr. Putin appeared Tuesday evening at a rally and concert on Red Square to celebrate an event charged with emotional and historical significance for many Russians. Among the music played was a sentimental Soviet song called "Sevastopol Waltz."

"After a long, hard and exhaustive journey at sea, Crimea and Sevastopol are returning to their home harbor, to the native shores, to the home port, to Russia!" Mr. Putin told the crowd. When he finished speaking, he joined a military chorus in singing the national anthem.

He recited a list of grievances — from the Soviet Union's transfer of Crimea to the Ukrainian republic in 1954, to NATO's expansion to Russia's borders, to its war in Kosovo in 1999, when he was a little-known aide to President Boris N. Yeltsin, to the conflict in Libya that toppled Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi in 2011 on what he called the false pretense of a humanitarian intervention.

Since Russia's stealthy takeover of Crimea began, Mr. Putin has said very little in public about his ultimate goals. His only extensive remarks came [in a news conference](#) with a pool of Kremlin journalists in which he appeared uncomfortable, uncertain and angry at times. In the grandeur of the Kremlin's walls on Tuesday, Mr. Putin sounded utterly confident and defiant.

Reaching deep into Russian and Soviet history, he cast himself as the guardian of the Russian people, even those beyond its post-Soviet borders, restoring a part of an empire that the collapse of the Soviet Union had left abandoned to the cruel fates of what he described as a procession of hapless democratic leaders in Ukraine.

"Millions of Russians went to bed in one country and woke up abroad," he said. "Overnight, they were minorities in the former Soviet republics, and the Russian people became one of the biggest — if not the biggest — divided nations in the world."

He cited the 10th-century baptism of Prince Vladimir, whose conversion to Orthodox Christianity transformed the kingdom then known as Rus into the foundation of the empire that became Russia. He called Kiev “the mother of Russian cities,” making clear that he considered Ukraine, along with Belarus, to be countries where Russia’s own interests would remain at stake regardless of the fallout from Crimea’s annexation.



Russian forces arresting Ukrainian Army officers in Simferopol, Crimea, on Tuesday. The United States and European nations have strongly opposed the Russian takeover of Crimea from Ukraine. Credit Alisa Borovikova/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

He listed the cities and battlefields of Crimea — from the 19th-century war with Britain, France and the Turks to the Nazi sieges of World War II — as places “dear to our hearts, symbolizing Russian military glory and outstanding valor.”

He said that the United States and Europe had crossed “a red line” on Ukraine by throwing support to the new government that quickly emerged after Mr. Yanukovich fled the capital following months of protests and two violent days of clashes that left scores dead.

Mr. Putin, as he has before, denounced the uprising as a coup carried out by “Russophobes and neo-Nazis” and abetted by foreigners, saying it justified Russia’s efforts to protect Crimea’s population.

“If you press a spring too hard,” he said, “it will recoil.”

He justified the annexation using the same arguments that the United States and Europe cited to justify the independence of Kosovo from Serbia and even quoted from the American submission to the United Nations International Court when it reviewed the matter in 2009.

Mr. Putin did not declare a new Cold War, but he bluntly challenged the post-Soviet order that had more or less held for nearly a quarter-century, and made it clear that Russia was prepared to defend itself from any further encroachment or interference in areas it considers part of its core security, including Russia itself.

He linked the uprisings in Ukraine and the Arab world and ominously warned that there were efforts to agitate inside Russia. He suggested that dissenters at home would be considered traitors, a theme that has reverberated through society with propagandistic documentaries on state television and moves to mute or close opposition news organizations and websites.

“Some Western politicians already threaten us not only with sanctions, but also with the potential for domestic problems,” he said. “I would like to know what they are implying — the actions of a certain fifth column, of various national traitors? Or should we expect that they will worsen the social and economic situation, and therefore provoke people’s discontent?”

Reporting was contributed by Alan Cowell from London; David M. Herszenhorn from Simferopol, Ukraine; Andrew Higgins from Brussels; Peter Baker from Washington; Andrew E. Kramer from Kiev, Ukraine; Alison Smale and Melissa Eddy from Berlin; and Mark Landler from Warsaw.

A version of this article appears in print on March 19, 2014, on page A1 of the New York edition with the headline: Putin Reclaims Crimea for Russia and Bitterly Denounces the West. [Order Reprints](#) | [Today's Paper](#) | [Subscribe](#)

Putin defiantly moves forward with annexation of Crimea

Russian President Putin has signed a bill that would annex Crimea, little more than a day after the region voted to join Russia. The US, meanwhile, has sent its vice president to eastern Europe as a message to Moscow.



Russian President Vladimir Putin on Tuesday took another step in the formal procedure that would lead to the annexation of the Republic of Crimea into the Russian Federation. The Kremlin confirmed that he had signed draft legislation which instructed lawmakers to recognize [the inclusion of the Black Sea peninsula](#).

The bill signed by the Russian president declared that it was "expedient to sign...the agreement at a high level," according to a statement posted on the Kremlin's official website.

Putin is scheduled to address the Russian parliament at 3 p.m. local time (11 UTC), during which he is expected to speak about the situation with Crimea.

Prior to sending the bill to parliament, [the Russian leader signed a decree on Monday evening recognizing the Republic of Crimea as a "sovereign and independent state."](#)

Voters in the Black Sea peninsula voted over the weekend to secede from Ukraine and join Russia. [The referendum garnered 96.77 percent approval from voters.](#)

[The European Union and the United States responded to the secession vote - which they had already dismissed as illegal and illegitimate - by sanctioning Russians and Ukrainians regarded as key figures behind the recent political unrest.](#)

Biden meets with eastern European leaders

US Vice President Joe Biden was scheduled to meet with several eastern European leaders on Tuesday, in a move widely understood as a warning to Russia not to continue its interference in Ukraine.

Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk and President Bronislaw Komorowki were to receive the US vice president in Warsaw on Tuesday. Biden also planned to meet with the Lithuanian and Latvian presidents, however it was not immediately clear when that would take place.

US President Barack Obama is scheduled to visit Europe next week.

On Monday, President Obama issued a sharp warning to Moscow to halt its interference in Ukraine or face further isolation.

"We'll continue to make clear to Russia that further provocations will achieve nothing except to further isolate Russia and diminish its place in the world," he said, adding that a diplomatic solution was still possible.

Still seeking diplomatic solution

[Germany, for its part, has pushed for a diplomatic solution](#). Following a meeting of EU foreign ministers in Brussels on Monday, German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier emphasized the need for the newly imposed sanctions to be reversible so that negotiations could move forward if the opportunity presented itself.

"We can't block paths [that lead to a solution in the future]," he said.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel expressed regret at the need to impose bans against Russia, however, she also said it was the right decision.

"It wasn't our aim. We wanted talks and a diplomatic solution but the clear violation of international law yesterday with the so-called referendum meant we had to take this step and I am glad that Europe showed such unity," Merkel said.

kms/pfd (AP, AFP, Reuters, dpa)

Article 3. The Moscow Times

How the West Encouraged Putin's Aggression

- By [Alexander Golts](#)
- Mar. 18 2014 00:00
- Last edited 21:53



I ended my previous column in this newspaper with these words: "I am afraid that when we wake up tomorrow, we will find ourselves in different country. I even know the name of that country: the Soviet Union." But despite my pessimism, I never dreamed it would happen this quickly. The current pro-Kremlin rallies with their chants of "We believe Putin" are even more alarming than the Soviet-era slogan of "We support and approve of the Communist Party's policies."

The weakness that the U.S. and other developed democracies have shown in standing up to Putin over the years has led in no small part to the rise of his aggressive policies.

Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov claims that Crimea is no less important for Russia than the Falklands are for Britain. However, he conveniently overlooks the fact that the Falkland Islands belonged to Britain before the Falkland war started, while Crimea had already been a part of Ukraine for 20 years before Russia made its first moves over the past three weeks to incorporate the peninsula into Russia. Putin's actions in Crimea signify the resurrection of Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's "limited sovereignty" doctrine.

When Russian leaders begin speaking of "protecting the rights of our countrymen" in other lands, it calls to mind not the Soviet government, but the most frightening totalitarian state of the 20th century. In the span of a few short weeks, Russia has managed to restore an "Iron Curtain" and launch a military confrontation reminiscent of the worst years of the Cold War.

More than half a century ago, U.S. politicians and political scientists vehemently debated the question, "Who lost China?" I am certain that the U.S. and European countries will soon be asking themselves, "Who lost Russia?" How did Russia, after

almost a quarter of a century as a member of the world's democratic community, revert into a totalitarian state intent on biting off sizable chunks of a neighboring state in the name of what its leader refers to as historical justice?

Of course, the main responsibility lies with the citizens of Russia. Russians were not prepared to take advantage of the freedom we unexpectedly gained in 1991. The liberals who took the reins of government after the fall of the Soviet Union were unable to resist the lure of getting rich quickly by corrupt methods. This created a certain antipathy for "democracy" among most Russians and prompted them to abandon it in favor of Vladimir Putin and his Orthodox chekists.

Putin's regime was smart enough to share a fraction of the country's enormous oil wealth with the population under its control, thereby procuring the unshakeable loyalty of a significant portion of the population.

But the weakness that the U.S. and other developed democracies have shown in standing up to Putin over the years has led in no small part to the rise of his aggressive policies.

Strategists and ideologues have been debating for 15 years whether or not the West could overlook Putin's exotic views — namely, that Russia is engaged in a permanent struggle with the West and that the West is responsible for all of Russia's problems.

This debate prevented Washington from reacting to Putin's declaration that the terrorists behind the 2004 Beslan school siege were backed by "certain forces" that do not like the fact that Russia has a nuclear arsenal. What exactly did Putin mean by "certain forces"? Difficult to say for sure, but many observers interpreted it as meaning Western powers.

Meanwhile, Western strategists focused on a policy of constructive engagement with Russia. They turned a blind eye to the fact that Russia is led by people with 19th-century worldviews, instead hoping to engage Moscow in projects of mutual importance in which some common interest was served — for example, a transit corridor from Afghanistan and the facilitation of multilateral talks with Iran and North Korea.

In pursuing this policy of engagement the West hoped that, as that cooperation progressed, the Russian leadership would gradually become more "civilized." This policy was obviously a failure. Despite its involvement in these projects, the Kremlin did not become more civilized, but retained its 19th-century mindset.

The ideologues — who were previously outnumbered by the strategists, but will likely grow from here — argued all along that long-term cooperation would not work without paying attention to the serious values gap between Moscow and the West.

They contend that if one side believes in free and fair elections, the rule of law and political and personal freedoms for its citizens, but the other side believes that all of these are just tools for manipulating the population, then no long-term partnership is possible in any form.

If one side views the relationship as a constant struggle for superiority, it will use any ostensible cooperation as an opportunity to weaken the enemy's military might and undermine the resolve of its population.

Instead of trying to engage Russia, the West should have focused on explaining to the Kremlin that civilized states should not violate international law. Unfortunately, the same Western states that so loudly tout their supposed observance of the rule of law at times prefer circumventing those rules for the sake of political expediency.

Recall how Washington struggled to make its case for the invasion of Iraq, or how the West granted independence to Kosovo in violation of international law. As Moscow annexes Crimea, it happily reminds the West of those precedents.

It is this behavior that reinforces Putin's conviction that the world is ruled by force, not by law.

Admittedly, this analysis lacks practical value when Putin has already crossed every imaginable "red line." At this point, there is nothing left to do but focus on the future, be it in the short or long-term. The only way the West can hope to reestablish normal relations with Russia is by itself adhering to the lofty principles it proclaims.

Alexander Golts is deputy editor of the online newspaper Yezhednevny Zhurnal.

See also:

[Kerry in Russia to Explore Putin's Flexibility on Ukraine, Syria](#)

[Sorting the Truth From the Lies on Victory Day](#)

[Kerry and Putin to Discuss Ukraine, Iran in Sochi](#)

Article 4. Russia Today

Putin: Crimea similar to Kosovo, West is rewriting its own rule book

Published time: 18 Mar, 2014 11:08 Edited time: 18 Mar, 2014 21:29

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Russian President Vladimir Putin addresses the Federal Assembly, including State Duma deputies, members of the Federation Council, regional governors and civil society representatives, at the Kremlin in Moscow March 18, 2014. (Reuters / Maxim Shemetov) / Reuters

Crimea's secession from Ukraine was just like Kosovo's secession from Serbia, and any arguments otherwise are just attempts to bend the West-advocated rules that were applied to the Kosovo case, Russian President Vladimir Putin said.

The statements came as Putin was addressing the Russian parliament to convince lawmakers to ratify a treaty, which would make Crimea part of the Russian Federation.

In the speech he challenged Washington's position, which says that Kosovo was a unique case and could not justify any other move towards independence in the world.

"Our western partners created the Kosovo precedent with their own hands. In a situation absolutely the same as the one in Crimea they recognized Kosovo's secession from Serbia legitimate while arguing that no permission from a country's central authority for a unilateral declaration of independence is necessary," Putin reminded, adding that the UN International Court of Justice agreed to those arguments.

"That's what they wrote, that what they trumpeted all over the world, coerced everyone into it – and now they are complaining. Why is that?" he asked.

Putin dismissed the argument that Kosovo was unique due to the large number of victims during the Balkan wars and the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

"It's beyond double standards," Putin said. "It's a kind of baffling, primitive and blatant cynicism. One can't just twist things to fit his interests, to call something white on one day and black on the next one."

The president dismissed the allegations that Russia is violating international law with its actions in Ukraine.

"Well' it's good that they at least recalled that there is international law. Thank you very much. Better late than never," Putin said adding that in fact nothing of this kind happened.

Watch President Putin's speech in full



'In Ukraine the West crossed the red line'

In fact, it was Russia that defended international law and its institutions, while western countries have been diminishing them. The situation in Crimea is just a reflection of this broader process, which has been happening for decades now.

"In the practical application of policies, our western partners – the United States first and foremost – prefer to be guided not by international law, but by the right of strength. They believe in their exceptionalism, that they are allowed to decide on the fate of the world, that they are always right," Putin charged.

This disregard to rule of law was evident in Yugoslavia in 1999, when NATO bombed the country without a UN Security Council mandate,

the Russian president said. There was Afghanistan, Iraq and the perversion of the UNSC resolution on Libya, when instead of imposing a no-fly zone NATO bombed the country into submission.

There were also orchestrated "colored revolutions" in Europe and the Arab World, which cynically used the feelings of people tired with corruption and poverty. The latest Ukrainian events are just the latest of such actions, and Russia's willingness to seek dialogue and compromise was stonewalled again, Putin said.



"They were cheating us once more, took decisions behind our back, presented us with a fait accompli," he said, adding that the pattern is identical to that which accompanied NATO's expansion to the east, the deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system, visa restrictions and numerous other issues.

"They are constantly trying to corner us in retaliation for our having an independent position, for defending it, for calling things by their names and not being hypocritical," Putin accused. *"Everything has its limits, and in Ukraine our western partners crossed the red line. They acted brutally, irresponsibly and unprofessionally."*

Putin said the West must stop being hysterical, restrain from the Cold War rhetoric and admit the obvious: *"Russia is an independent and active participant of international relations. Just like any nation it has national interests that must be taken into consideration and respected."*

As for the Ukrainian red line, the coup-imposed authorities in Kiev voiced their desire to join NATO, and such a move would pose an imminent threat to Russia, Putin said.

"We stand against having a military organization meddling in our backyard, next to our homeland or in the territories that are

historically ours. I just cannot imagine visiting NATO sailors in Sevastopol," he stressed. "Most of them are fine lads, by the way. But rather let them visit us in Sevastopol than the other way around." At the end of his speech, Putin [announced](#) the submission to parliament of a draft federal law which would incorporate Crimea and the City of Sevastopol into Russian territory, as well as a request to ratify an international treaty with the government of Crimea to make this happen. He said he was sure of the legislature's support for both documents.

Article 5. The New York Times

Ukraine: Pro-Russia Rebels Downed Malaysian Plane

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS JULY 17, 2014, 7:10 P.M. E.D.T.

HRABOVE, Ukraine — Ukraine accused pro-Russian separatists of shooting down a Malaysian jetliner with 298 people aboard, sharply escalating the crisis and threatening to draw both East and West deeper into the conflict. The rebels denied downing the aircraft.

American intelligence authorities believe a surface-to-air missile brought the plane down Thursday but were still working on who fired the missile and whether it came from the Russian or Ukrainian side of the border, a U.S. official said.

Bodies, debris and burning wreckage of the Boeing 777 were strewn over a field near the rebel-held village of Hrabove in the Donetsk region of eastern Ukraine, about 40 kilometers (25 miles) from the Russian border, where fighting has raged for months.

U.S. Vice President Joe Biden described the plane as having been "blown out of the sky."

The aircraft appeared to have broken up before impact, and there were large pieces of the plane that bore the red, white and blue markings of Malaysia Airlines — now familiar worldwide because of the carrier's still-missing jetliner from earlier this year.

The cockpit and one of the turbines lay at a distance of one kilometer (more than a half-mile) from one another. Residents said the tail was about 10 kilometers (six miles) farther away. Rescue workers planted sticks with white flags in spots where they found human remains.

There was no sign of any survivors from Flight 17, which took off shortly after noon Thursday from Amsterdam to Kuala Lumpur with 283 passengers, including three infants, and a crew of 15. Malaysia's prime minister said there was no distress call before the plane went down and that the flight route was declared safe by the International Civil Aviation Organization.

Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko called it an "act of terrorism" and demanded an international investigation. He insisted his forces did not shoot down the plane.

In Kuala Lumpur, several relatives of those aboard the jet came to the international airport.

A distraught Akmar Mohamad Noor, 67, said her older sister was coming to visit the family for the first time in five years. "She called me just before she boarded the plane and said, 'See you soon,'" Akmar said.

Counsellors were meeting with a few family members in the airport viewing gallery, sealed off from a horde of journalists. One woman emerged in tears and was escorted out of the airport by a security officer without saying anything.

It was the second time a Malaysia Airlines plane was lost in less than six months. Flight 370 disappeared in March en route from Kuala Lumpur to Beijing. It has not been found, and the search has focused on the Indian Ocean far west of Australia.

"This is just too much," said Cindy Tan, who was waiting at the airport for a friend on another flight. "I don't know really why this happened to a MAS (Malaysia Airlines) plane again."

Ukraine's security services produced what they said were two intercepted telephone conversations that showed rebels were responsible. In the first call, the security services said, rebel commander Igor Bezler tells a Russian military intelligence officer that rebel forces shot down a plane. In the second, two rebel fighters — one of them at the crash scene — say the rocket attack was carried out by a unit of insurgents about 25 kilometers (15 miles) north of the site.

Neither recording could be independently verified.

Russia's Interfax news agency quoted Sergey Kavtaradze, a special representative of the Donetsk People's Republic leader, as denying that the intercepted phone conversations were genuine.

Earlier in the week, the rebels had claimed responsibility for shooting down two Ukrainian military planes.

President Barack Obama called the crash a "terrible tragedy" and spoke by phone with Russian President Vladimir Putin as well as Poroshenko. Britain asked for an emergency meeting of the U.N. Security Council on Ukraine.

Later, Putin said Ukraine bore responsibility for the crash, but he didn't address the question of who might have shot it down and didn't accuse Ukraine of doing so.

"This tragedy would not have happened if there were peace on this land, if the military actions had not been renewed in southeast Ukraine," Putin said, according to a Kremlin statement issued early Friday. "And, certainly, the state over whose territory this occurred bears responsibility for this awful tragedy."

At the United Nations, Ukrainian Ambassador Yuriy Sergeyev told the AP that Russia gave the separatists a sophisticated missile system and thus Moscow bears responsibility, along with the rebels.

More than half of those aboard the plane were Dutch citizens, along with passengers from Australia, Malaysia, the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, the Philippines and Canada. The home countries of 41 people were not confirmed.

Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott told Parliament Friday that authorities owe it to the families of the dead to find out exactly what happened and who was responsible. "As things stand, this looks less like an accident than a crime. And if so, the perpetrators must be brought to justice," he said.

The different nationalities of the dead would bring Ukraine's conflict to parts of the globe that were never touched by it before.

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry said he was "horrified" by the crash, and said the United States was prepared to help with an international investigation.

Ukraine's crisis began after pro-Moscow President Viktor Yanukovich was driven from office in February by a protest movement among citizens angry about endemic corruption and seeking closer ties with the European Union. Russia later annexed the Crimean Peninsula in southern Ukraine, and pro-Russians in the country's eastern regions began occupying government buildings and pressing for independence. Moscow denies Western charges it is supporting the separatists or sowing unrest.

Kenneth Quinn of the Flight Safety Foundation said an international coalition of countries should lead the investigation. Safety experts say they're concerned that because the plane crashed in area of Ukraine that is in dispute, political considerations could affect the investigation.

The RIA-Novosti agency quoted rebel leader Alexander Borodai as saying talks were underway with Ukrainian authorities on calling a short truce for humanitarian reasons. He said international organizations would be allowed into the conflict-plagued region.

Some journalists trying to reach the crash site were detained briefly by rebel militiamen, who were nervous and aggressive.

Aviation authorities in several countries, including the FAA in the United States, had issued warnings not to fly over parts of Ukraine prior to Thursday's crash, but many carriers, including cash-strapped Malaysia Airlines, had continued to use the route because "it is a shorter route, which means less fuel and therefore less money," said aviation expert Norman Shanks.

Within hours of Thursday's crash, several airlines said they were avoiding parts of Ukrainian airspace.

Malaysia Airlines said Ukrainian aviation authorities told the company they had lost contact with Flight 17 at 1415 GMT (10:15 a.m. EDT) about 30 kilometers (20 miles) from Tamak waypoint, which is 50 kilometers (30 miles) from the Russia-Ukraine border.

A U.S. official said American intelligence authorities believe the plane was brought down by a surface-to-air missile but were still working to determine additional details about the crash, including who fired the missile and whether it came from the Russian or Ukraine side of the border.

But American intelligence assessments suggest it is more likely pro-Russian separatists or the Russians rather than Ukrainian government forces shot down the plane, according to the official, who spoke on condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to discuss the matter publicly.

The United States has sophisticated technologies that can detect missile launches, including the identification of heat from the rocket engine.

Anton Gerashenko, an adviser to Ukraine's interior minister, said on his Facebook page the plane was flying at about 10,000 meters (33,000 feet) when it was hit by a missile from a Buk launcher, which can fire up to an altitude of 22,000 meters (72,000 feet). He said only that his information was based on "intelligence."

Igor Sutyagin, a research fellow in Russian studies at the Royal United Services Institute, said both Ukrainian and Russian forces have SA-17 missile systems — also known as Buk ground-to-air launcher systems.

Rebels had bragged recently about having acquired Buk systems.

Sutyagin said Russia had supplied separatists with military hardware but had seen no evidence "of the transfer of that type of system from Russia."

Earlier Thursday, AP journalists saw a launcher that looked like a Buk missile system near the eastern town of Snizhne, which is held by the rebels.

Poroshenko said his country's armed forces didn't shoot at any airborne targets.

Separatist leader Andrei Purgin told the AP he was certain that Ukrainian troops had shot the plane down, but gave no explanation or proof.

There have been several disputes over planes being shot down over eastern Ukraine in recent days.

A Ukrainian fighter jet was shot down Wednesday by an air-to-air missile from a Russian plane, Ukrainian authorities said, adding to what Kiev says is mounting evidence that Moscow is directly supporting the insurgents.

Pro-Russia rebels claimed responsibility for strikes on two Ukrainian Sukhoi-25 jets Wednesday. Ukraine's Defense Ministry said the second jet was hit by a portable surface-to-air missile but the pilot landed safely.

Peter Leonard reported from Kiev with contributions from an Associated Press reporter in Hrabove, Ukraine. Also contributing were AP Airlines Writer Scott Mayerowitz in New York; Jill Lawless and Matthew Knight in London; Laura Mills and Jim Heintz in Moscow; Lolita C. Baldor and Darlene Superville in Washington; Edith M. Lederer at the United Nations; Mike Corder in The Hague, Netherlands; and Eileen Ng and Satish Cheney in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Article 6. The Moscow Times

Malaysian Plane Crashes in Conflict-Torn Eastern Ukraine

- By [Ivan Nechepurenko](#), [Gabrielle Tétrault-Farber](#)
- Jul. 17 2014 22:07
- Last edited 22:08



Dmitry Lovetsky / APWorkers sifting through debris at the site of a Malaysia Airlines Boeing 777 plane crash in Donetsk Region in Ukraine's conflict-riddled east on Tuesday.

A Malaysian passenger plane carrying 295 people crashed near the Russian border in Ukraine's conflict-torn east on Thursday.

The aircraft departed from Amsterdam's Schiphol Airport at 12:14 p.m. local time, en route to Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. There were 280 passengers and 15 crew on board. The plane disappeared from radars at about 5:20 p.m. Moscow time. It was traveling at an altitude of 10,000 meters.

[Follow our liveblog on developments around the passenger plane crash.](#)

Although in the immediate aftermath of the tragedy it remains impossible to discern what caused the plane crash, Ukrainian authorities in Kiev and pro-Russian insurgents in Donetsk wasted no time blaming the incident on each other. Each side accused the other of having downed the plane.

News about a passenger airliner crashing on the Russian-Ukrainian border exploded on social networks Thursday evening, with speculation swirling in thousands of Russian tweets and Facebook comments about the catastrophe.

"Oh my God, a passenger plane was shot down! They got innocent people even in the sky, Ukraine is becoming a real nightmare for others," Elena (@helenwitt) wrote Thursday evening.

"I was told that during my step session that a Malaysian plane was shot down near Thorez. I have only one question: Who?" Margarita (@iri4ka89) wrote.

Just like Ukrainian officials and Russia-aligned separatists, netizens engaged in frantic finger-pointing late Thursday, blaming the insurgents or the Ukrainian military for downing the plane with 295 people aboard.

"Previously, separatists had stated that they knocked down another transport plane of the Ukrainian navy. Later we have a crashed Boeing passenger jet. What a mess!" Vladimir Lepsayev (@lepsaya) wrote.

Selena (@selena70007) suggested it could be an anti-Russian provocation.

"The tragedy with the plane is terrible. My heart is aching. But the consequences disturb me as well. It's not so simple. Provocation. Kiev and the State Department may blame the Russian Federation for that!" she wrote.

And yet another popular sentiment after the tragedy: war fatigue and pacifism.

"The war has gone too far. Now not even my neighbors, citizens of Ukraine, have died — those passengers were complete strangers! People! Come to your senses! Stop!" Natalya Chesnova (@Nany_Nalatty) wrote Thursday.

Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko said at a meeting of the country's security and national defense council: "This is not an incident, not a catastrophe, but a terrorist act." The quote was posted with a photograph on his official Twitter account.

The authorities of the self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic, who have denied any involvement in the incident, accused Ukrainian forces of having downed the Malaysia Airlines plane.

"The aircraft was downed by the Ukrainian side," Sergei Kavtardze, a member of the self-proclaimed republic's security council, told Interfax. "We do not have the anti-aircraft technology to do this. Our portable air-defense system can only hit targets 3,000 to 4,000 meters away. Boeings fly much higher than that."

In late June, ITAR-Tass reported the insurgents have captured a military base in the city of Donetsk that had a Buk missile system in its stock. The system can reach target at an altitude of up to 22 kilometers.

The Donetsk People's Republic tweeted on June 29 that they had taken possession of the Buk missile system.

Deputy Prime Minister of the People's Donetsk Republic Andrei Purgin told Interfax on Thursday, however, that the separatists do not have Buk missile systems at their disposal.

Purgin also said that the black boxes from the airplane will be given to the Moscow-based International Aviation Committee.

In addition, rebel leader Igor Strelkov reported through his Vkontakte account that an An-26 military transport aircraft had been shot down by the rebels just 1.5 hours before news broke about the Malaysian airline crash. A Su-25 fighter jet had also been downed earlier in the day, Strelkov said. He later deleted the post from his account.

After news of the plane crash broke, Strelkov added via V Kontakte, "the Malaysian airliner was downed by a Ukrainian fighter jet. The airspace of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions has been closed by the Ukrainian government. The airliner could violate the closed airspace for two reasons: 1) Ukraine provocation [or a] 2) dispatcher's mistake."

Overall pro-Russian insurgents in Ukraine have claimed to have downed at least 15 military fighter jets and transport planes.

The Ukrainian government vowed to create an international commission to investigate the circumstances of the incident.

Anton Gerashenko, an advisor to Ukraine's interior minister, wrote on his Facebook page that Ukrainian authorities were not "excluding the possibility that the plane was downed and stressed that the armed forces of Ukraine did not commit any action against targets in the air."

President Vladimir Putin has informed U.S. President Barack Obama about the crash in a phone call on Thursday night, Kremlin's press service said. Obama has instructed his staff to keep him updated on the developments

Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak tweeted on Thursday evening, "I am shocked by reports that an MH plane crashed. We are launching an immediate investigation."

Shortly after news broke of the crash, Russia's Investigative Committee predicted via Twitter that an information war would promptly ensue, and that both sides would accuse each other, but that this would not bring back the lives that have been lost.

"This will be a game-changer for the whole conflict. [If anyone is] found culpable, his position will be completely discredited," Alexei Makarkin, an analyst from the Center for Political Technologies, said in a phone interview.

"The Malaysian side will demand an international investigation, I think it will be fairly easy to establish the guilty side, but both will point fingers at each other regardless of its outcome," he said.

Sergei Oznobishev, director of the Institute of Strategic Assessment, a Moscow-based think tank said that the tragedy can divert more international attention to the ongoing conflict in Ukraine.

"Because of the tragic nature of this incident it is possible that it will serve as a push for final and fundamental conflict-resolution in Ukraine," said Sergei Oznobishev, director of the Institute of Strategic Assessment, a Moscow-based think tank.

At the same time, it will be difficult to prove the guilt of one side against the other. They both use the same Soviet-era weapons, they were both fighting in the area," he said in a phone interview.

[Follow our liveblog on developments around the passenger plane crash.](#)

Contact the author at i.nechepurenko@imedia.ru and g.tetraultfarber@imedia.ru

See also:

[Russia Accuses Poland of Holding Up 2010 Crash Investigation](#)

Kyiv, rebels deny link to Malaysian airliner crash

A Malaysia Airlines plane carrying 298 people has crashed in rebel-held eastern Ukraine in an apparent shooting down. Responsibility has been denied by rebels and Ukraine's Kyiv-based government.

Among the passengers of Malaysian Airlines Flight MH17, which crashed on Thursday, were 154 Dutch, 27 Australian and four German nationals. An international disaster assistance team is reportedly on its way to Kyiv, as are investigators from the OSCE. Malaysia Airlines said that it lost contact with Flight MH17 at 1415 UTC, about 50 kilometers inside Ukraine's border with Russia. It had been cruising at an altitude of about 10,000 meters (33,000 feet) en route from Amsterdam to Kuala Lumpur.

Wreckage over wide area

Wreckage bearing red and blue Malaysia insignia and dozens of bodies was scattered over an area of many kilometers in fields near the village of Grabovo, near the rebel-held eastern industrial city of Donetsk.

Journalists were quick to report gruesome details from the scene.

The black box has reportedly been retrieved by separatist rebels. There have been calls for an international investigation.

There is speculation that the plane was shot down by an anti-aircraft missile which may have been fired from a Russian-made "Buk" system.

The separatists had recently admitted being in possession of such a radar-guided missile system which can be mounted on a truck and can reach aircraft flying at over 10,000 kilometers.

Blame throwing

Ukraine's security services produced what they said were intercepted telephone conversations between rebel commander Igor Bezler and a Russian military intelligence officer, as well as rebel fighters at the scene, saying that rebel forces shot down a plane. The separatists denied any responsibility for the downing of the plane.

But Igor Strelkov, a pro-Russian rebel leader had earlier boasted of having shot down a Ukrainian cargo plane at the same location the Malaysian airliner went down, fueling suspicion that the Malaysia aircraft may have been shot down by accident.

In the aftermath of the incident, separatist rebel authorities said they were ready to agree to a two- to three-day truce in eastern Ukraine to allow for recovery work at the site of the crash.

Putin offers condolences

News of the crash emerged as US President Barack Obama was discussing a [new round of Western economic sanctions](#) on Russia during a telephone call with President Vladimir Putin.

The Kremlin said Putin had asked Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak to convey his "deep condolences" to victims' families.

Russia's Emergencies Ministry said it had asked Kyiv for permission to carry out "joint work" at the crash site, according to Russia's RIA news agency.

Obama, speaking in the US state of Delaware, said Thursday's incident was a "terrible tragedy," adding that his prayers with the victims, regardless of where they were from.

Earlier this week, Kyiv said [one of Ukraine's military transport planes was shot down](#) on Monday by a missile fired from Russian territory. It also blamed Russia for the downing of a fighter on Wednesday. Moscow denied involvement.

European and US stock markets tumbled on news of Thursday's crash, which raised tensions already fueled by broadened US and EU sanctions.

If proven, aviation's 4th such case

If Malaysia Airlines Flight MH17 was shot down it would be the fourth commercial airliner in aviation history to endure such a fate.

Previous cases included Korean Air Lines Flight 007 shot down by a Soviet missile in 1983 and Iran Air Flight 655 shot down by a missile from a US naval vessel in 1988.

Air France said Thursday it had "taken the decision to no longer fly over eastern Ukraine. The German flag carrier Lufthansa said it would make a "wide detour" around the area.

Malaysia Airline's second recent disaster

For Malaysia Airlines, Thursday's crash was its second disaster in less than five months. On March 8, another Malaysia Airlines Boeing 777 with 239 people on board went missing during a flight from Kuala Lumpur to Beijing after veering toward the Indian Ocean.

Despite a massive search off western Australia, no trace of that plane has yet been found.

ipj/rg(AFP, AP, dpa, Reuters)

Article 8. Russia Today

Malaysian airliner crashes in E. Ukraine near Russian border, 298 people on board

Published time: July 17, 2014 15:18

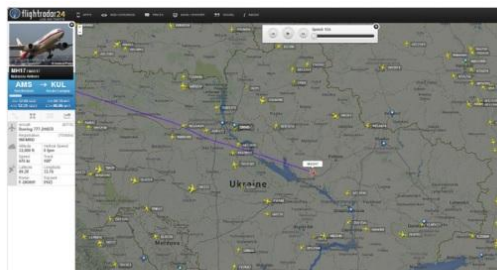
Edited time: July 18, 2014 03:56ly 17, 2014.(Reuters / Maxim Zmeyev)

[Download video \(74.03 MB\)](#)
17.5K12.8K5

A Malaysia Airlines' Boeing-777 with over 290 people on board has crashed in Ukraine, close to the border with Russia. Both Kiev and the opposition deny involvement in the incident.

[LIVE UPDATES: Malaysia Airlines MH17 plane crash in Ukraine](#)

Malaysia Airlines has lost contact with the plane when it was flying over Ukrainian soil. The head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine Anton Geraschenko confirmed the plane carrying 283 passengers and 15 crew members fell.



Flightradar24 [@flightradar24](#)

Malaysia Airlines flight #MH17 just before it disappeared over Ukraine.

5:35 PM - 17 Jul 2014

5,416 retweets 716 likes

The passenger plane was expected to enter Russian airspace at 5:20pm local time, but never did, a Russian aviation industry source was cited by Reuters.

"The plane crashed 60km away from the border, the plane had an emergency beacon," ITAR-TASS cited its source.

MH 17 Position Log

This section shows up to the last 200 positional updates for the flight. [Track Flight on Map](#)

UTC Time	Time At Departure	Time At Arrival	Speed	Altitude	Latitude	Longitude
Jul 17 1:13 PM	Jul 17 1:13 PM	Jul 17 9:13 PM	489 kts	33,000 feet (10 km)	48.5301	37.3473
Jul 17 1:14 PM	Jul 17 1:14 PM	Jul 17 9:14 PM	489 kts	33,000 feet (10 km)	48.4752	37.566
Jul 17 1:15 PM	Jul 17 1:15 PM	Jul 17 9:15 PM	492 kts	32,988 feet (10 km)	48.4127	37.7822
Jul 17 1:16 PM	Jul 17 1:16 PM	Jul 17 9:16 PM	491 kts	32,976 feet (10 km)	48.3501	37.998
Jul 17 1:17 PM	Jul 17 1:17 PM	Jul 17 9:17 PM	490 kts	33,000 feet (10 km)	48.3186	37.9837
Jul 17 1:17 PM	Jul 17 1:17 PM	Jul 17 9:17 PM	490 kts	33,000 feet (10 km)	48.2821	38.0873
Jul 17 1:17 PM	Jul 17 1:17 PM	Jul 17 9:17 PM	489 kts	33,000 feet (10 km)	48.2821	38.0873
Jul 17 1:18 PM	Jul 17 1:18 PM	Jul 17 9:18 PM	489 kts	33,000 feet (10 km)	48.2312	38.2319
Jul 17 1:19 PM	Jul 17 1:19 PM	Jul 17 9:19 PM	480 kts	33,000 feet (10 km)	48.1958	38.3311
Jul 17 1:19 PM	Jul 17 1:19 PM	Jul 17 9:19 PM	480 kts	33,000 feet (10 km)	48.1612	38.4305
Jul 17 1:19 PM	Jul 17 1:19 PM	Jul 17 9:19 PM	490 kts	33,000 feet (10 km)	48.1371	38.499
Jul 17 1:20 PM	Jul 17 1:20 PM	Jul 17 9:20 PM	490 kts	33,000 feet (10 km)	48.0887	38.4399

zerohedge [@zerohedge](#)

Last reported position log was as of 1:20 PM UTC

5:48 PM - 17 Jul 2014

71 retweets 14 likes

Residents have reported finding debris from a plane, which they say could belong to the Malaysian Boeing. They said that several dozen dead passengers have been found.

Gruesome images of Malaysia MH17 plane crash in east Ukraine appear online



Groups that are fighting Kiev's forces in eastern Ukraine have rejected any involvement in the incident, as there are reports that the plane was shot down.

The Donetsk People's Republic claims its self-defense forces simply don't have such military equipment. Donetsk People's Republic PM Aleksandr Boroday has called the incident a *"provocation by the Ukrainian military"*.

"We confirm that the plane crashed not far from Donetsk," Boroday said. *"Representatives of Donetsk People's Republic have headed to the scene of the plane search."*

"Self-defense forces have no air-defense, which could target transport aircraft at that height," he told Interfax.

"We have only MANPADs (portable anti-aircraft missile complex) which hit targets at 3-4 kilometers," Sergey Kavtaradze, representative for Donetsk People's Republic PM, also told journalists.

Russia's military also says none of its military planes have been flying close to the Russia-Ukraine border on Thursday, RIA Novosti reported citing a military official.

Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko has not ruled out that a Malaysian plane has been shot down.

"We don't rule out that this plane was shot down and stress that Ukrainian forces did not fulfill any actions targeting in the air," Poroshenko said. He added that an investigation commission will be launched.

At the same time, Anton Geraschenko said on his Facebook page that the plane was targeted from the air defense missile complex "Buk".



A picture taken on July 17, 2014 shows flames and smoke amongst the wreckage of the Malaysian airliner carrying 295 people from Amsterdam to Kuala Lumpur after it crashed, near the town of Shaktarsk, in rebel-held east Ukraine. (AFP Photo / Alexander Khudoteply)

Russian Defense Ministry has confirmed that according to its information Ukraine had deployed several Buk systems with at least 27 missile launchers in the Donetsk region.

"According to the Russian Defense Ministry information, units of the Armed Forces of Ukraine located in the crash-site are equipped with anti-aircraft missile systems "Buk-M1" ... These complexes in their tactical and technical characteristics are capable of detecting air targets at ranges of up to 160 kilometers and hit them at full altitude range at a distance of over 30 kilometers," the ministry's statement reads as cited by Ria.

[Kiev deployed powerful anti-air systems to E. Ukraine ahead of the Malaysian plane crash](#)

Experts stress that aircraft flying at an altitude of over 10 kilometers can only be targeted by C-300 class weapons or 'Buk'.

A source in Russia's federal air traffic agency Rosaviatsia has said that three days ago Ukraine's National Security and Defense Council closed the airspace over eastern Ukraine because of the so-called *"anti-terrorist operation"* that Kiev conducts in the region.

Earlier a representative of Donetsk People's Republic said that civil aviation planes could not fly over Donetsk and Lugansk regions. He added that all necessary traffic control and navigation equipment was damaged.

"Dispatching support of all passenger flights is being conducted from Kiev. How this plane could be there - is not clear," a representative of Donetsk People's Republic said.

Patrick Lancaster, who was at the crash site of the Malaysian jet, said the self-defense forces on the ground have confirmed the plane was *"definitely shot down."*

"Soldiers told us that there are bodies scattered all around the area... They're waiting on the prime minister of the Donetsk People's Republic to come and inspect the area," he told RT.

The Boeing-777, whose maiden commercial flight was almost exactly two decades ago, had previously suffered ten serious incidents, according to the Aviation Safety Database.



AFP Photo / Alexander Khudoteply

The most notorious of these involved another route performed by the same company, Malaysia Airlines Flight 370, during which the US-made aircraft disappeared off the radars between Kuala Lumpur and Beijing, in March this year. Despite an international search effort costing tens of millions of dollars, the plane, the reasons for whose disappearance have still not been definitively established, has not yet been recovered.

Another widely-covered incident occurred last year, when Asiana Airlines Flight 214 pilot crashed into the seawall just short of the landing strip at San Francisco International Airport, prompting the fuselage to drag across the runway as it disintegrated in a fire. Three people died as a result of the incident – the first fatalities in the history of the model, which is regarded as very safe in the industry.

Currently, about 1200 modifications of Boeing-777 are operated worldwide.

“A Boeing-777 is an extremely reliable piece of machinery. Modern planes don’t just crash with no reason,” pilot and aviation expert Yury Karash told RT. *“Let us recall how a Ukrainian missile downed a Russian TU-154 aircraft ten years ago. I can’t completely exclude the possibility the Boeing-777 was also hit by a missile.”* *“I don’t know who could’ve shot it down. But I can allege that it most likely was the Ukrainian armed forces: simply because its military – anti-aircraft defense, in particular – are, unfortunately, unqualified. As judging by the overall state of the Ukrainian armed forces, insufficient attention has been paid to their training,”* he added.

Stronger Sanctions on Russia, at Last

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD JULY 29, 2014

After lengthy and difficult deliberations, the European Union [agreed on Tuesday](#) to a new and higher level of sanctions against Russia, including the closing of European capital markets to Russian state banks, an embargo on new weapons sales and the transfer of sophisticated oil drilling technology.

The United States followed suit shortly with measures meant to match the Europeans' and further added a Russian shipbuilding firm to the list of companies banned from doing business with Americans.

These punitive and carefully orchestrated actions go considerably beyond any previous sanctions. They are designed to exact a heavy price from President Vladimir Putin, and deservedly so. Russia's behavior since the downing of a Malaysian jetliner with the loss of 298 lives has been a string of lies and a sharp escalation of direct involvement in the Ukrainian fray.

Russia, Mr. Obama [said](#), "is once again isolating itself from the international community, setting back decades of genuine progress. It didn't have to come to this. It doesn't have to be this way. This is a choice that Russia, and President Putin in particular, has made." Compounding the case against Russia are public charges by the United States that Russia has violated a fundamental arms control accord, the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty, by testing a prohibited ground-launched cruise missile. According to a [report in The Times on Tuesday](#), Mr. Obama conveyed the finding to Mr. Putin on Monday. So far, there has been no public response from Moscow. The I.N.F. treaty, signed in 1987, bans testing, producing or possessing such missiles with a range of 300 to 3,400 miles.

Economic sanctions are a flawed and double-edged weapon, but, short of armed force, they are the only tools at the disposal of the West to make President Putin and his revanchist-ruling clique understand that breaking the rules of international behavior carries a cost, and, further, that there can be no business-as-usual when Russia carries out armed aggression against a sovereign state while enabling proxies in eastern Ukraine who shoot down an unarmed passenger plane.

Europe's readiness to strengthen its earlier response — which has consisted mainly of restrictions on individual Russians — and to join the United States in striking at the Russian economy shows that Europe's leaders have now grasped the magnitude of Mr. Putin's threat. It shows also a commendable willingness to confront

that threat despite the difficulty of coordinated action by 28 European Union members, Europe's heavy dependence on Russian natural gas, and the potential cost in lost jobs and contracts.

This change of view makes all the more troubling France's continued determination to deliver at least one of the two Mistral-class warships it is building for Russia for 1.2 billion euros, or about \$1.6 billion. The Mistral is not heavily armed, but it is a serious military asset as a forward command post and helicopter carrier. It is, in short, a formidable weapon, and the very idea that France is building two for Mr. Putin at this time is deeply troubling.

President François Hollande of France and other French officials have reacted angrily to American and British calls for the deal to be suspended. Prime Minister David Cameron of Britain has been especially sharply assailed in France for criticizing the French while keeping Britain's doors open to Russian oligarchs who park a lot of their loot in London. Certainly Britain cannot be exempt from making sacrifices in any future round of sanctions; nor Germany, with its extensive exports to Russia, nor any other European Union member. But financial sacrifice is one thing; arming Russia is another. That is what the French should focus on at this juncture, not the supposed slights of their allies.

At this point, it appears likely that France will go ahead with the delivery of the first Mistral, the Vladivostok, in October. But Mr. Hollande has left open the possibility of at least delaying the second one, which is due for delivery late next year. One warship less may not hurt Mr. Putin as much as economic measures that shrink his economy and hurt his cronies, but a decision by France to suspend the deal would encourage other European countries to accept whatever sacrifices future sanctions might entail. It would also make a powerful statement about Western resolve not to appease Mr. Putin — and about French honor.

SANCTIONS

EU adopts broad economic sanctions against Russia

The EU has for the first time adopted new sanctions against Russian oil companies, banks and defense firms over the Kremlin's support of separatist violence in Ukraine. Similar measures from the US could soon follow.

European Union governments imposed broad economic sanctions against Russia on Tuesday, intending to strongarm Moscow into reducing its [role in the conflict in Ukraine](#).

Aimed at [Russia's energy, finance and defense sectors](#), the new measures will include an arms embargo, a ban on exports of some sensitive technologies and a ban on the sale of bonds and equities by state-owned Russian banks in European capital markets, diplomats in Brussels told reporters.

The sanctions, designed to make Moscow's support of pro-Russian rebels in eastern Ukraine uneconomical, are expected to come into force on Thursday.

Shortly after the EU's announcement, US Secretary of State John Kerry said Washington was also drawing up its own round of fresh sanctions against Russia. A White House spokesman said the US' response could be unveiled later in the day on Tuesday.



US Secretary of State John Kerry said he had discussed the Kremlin's role in Ukraine with his Russian counterpart, Sergei Lavrov.

"We have made it clear that additional sanctions and additional costs could be imposed on Russia," spokesman Josh Earnest said.

A 'strong warning'

After months of hesitation, the EU finally issued what the body's president, Herman Van Rompuy, hoped was a "strong warning" that would make Russia reconsider its current course.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel said the decision to impose sanctions was "inevitable" after European leaders repeatedly made clear to Moscow that its annexation of Crimea and financial and material support to Ukrainian separatists were unacceptable.

"It is now up to the leadership in Russia to decide whether they want to go the way of de-escalation and cooperation," Merkel said in a brief statement. "The EU sanctions can be reviewed but further steps are also possible."



A piece of wreckage is seen at the crash site of the Malaysia Airlines Flight MH17 in Ukraine.

Businesses take a tougher stance

While the measures approved go beyond the EU-wide asset freezes and visa bans the bloc had imposed until now on confidants of Russian President Vladimir Putin, European diplomats noted that eight more names had also been added to that list. Those earlier measures had also targeted companies and other entities believed to have either facilitated or profited from the fighting in Ukraine.

Many EU countries have [close economic ties with Russia](#), a reality that had made Brussels reluctant to come down too heavily on Moscow.

However, the [alleged downing of Malaysia Airlines flight MH17](#) by pro-Russian rebels using a Russian-made surface-to-air missile persuaded major business lobbies, notably in Germany, to come out in favor of tougher economic sanctions.

That support made it more politically feasible to push harsher sanctions to the top of the EU agenda.

Putin's last chance

Speaking to reporters after meeting with Ukraine's new foreign minister, Pavlo Klimkin, Kerry said he had raised the issue of Moscow's role in the Ukrainian conflict in a Tuesday phone call with his Russian counterpart, Sergei Lavrov.

"The Russians and their so-called volunteers are continuing to ship arms and funds and personnel across the border," he said. "We see this. There is clear evidence of it."



The US State Department released satellite images that it said back up its claims that rockets have been fired from Russia into eastern Ukraine.

He was referring to satellite imagery released over the weekend of Russian artillery firing into Ukraine from across the border.

Such images, as well as reports that international investigators are being prevented from accessing the site where the Malaysian airliner went down more than a week ago, have driven Western relations with Russia to their lowest point since the Cold War.

The United States has indicated that there has been "no shred of evidence" that Russia is willing to lend the international community a hand in ending separatist violence in Ukraine, but Kerry did suggest that Putin still had the chance to reverse course and avoid a new round of punitive action from Washington.

cjc/kms (AFP, Reuters, AP)

EU sanctions: Moscow disappointed by EU's inability to act independently of US

Published time: July 30, 2014 14:22

Edited time: July 30, 2014 15:48

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AFP Photo / Georges Gobet

Tags

[Arms](#), [Banking](#), [EU](#), [Economy](#), [Finance](#), [Politics](#), [Russia](#), [Sanctions](#), [Ukraine](#)

Moscow is disappointed by the EU's inability to act independently from Washington's dictation in the international arena, the Russian Foreign Ministry said in response to the new package of sanctions.

[Moscow: US will feel 'tangible losses' from 'destructive, myopic' sanctions](#)

"We feel ashamed for the European Union who, after long searching for a unified voice is now speaking with Washington's voice, having practically abandoned basic European values, including the presumption of innocence," the Foreign Ministry said in a statement Wednesday, a day after the EU adopted a new round of economic sanctions against Russia over the Ukrainian crisis.

The EU's adoption of new anti-Russian sanctions on July 29 demonstrates its lack of political will in general, as well as a lack of determination to resolve the Ukrainian crisis, the Foreign Ministry said.

The union of 28 member states continues to *"blindly ignore"* the reasons behind the tragic developments in southeast Ukraine, where dozens of civilians are dying every day as a result of Kiev's military operation, and hundreds of thousands people have had to flee the country, the ministry said.

"A huge region is on the verge of a massive humanitarian catastrophe," Moscow said, adding that the developments are largely a result of the decisions by the EU, who support the current Kiev government.

In Russia's opinion, the EU has given Kiev *carte blanche* for its actions in eastern Ukraine and in effect approved Kiev's portrayal of a punitive operation against its own people as *"a reasonable approach to operations to restore law and order."*

[Kiev's bloody eastern Ukraine campaign LIVE UPDATES](#)

"It appears that the EU is ready to suffer serious economic costs for the sake of implementing questionable geopolitical schemes – which are, in fact, not their own schemes," the ministry said.

The Russian and EU economies, Moscow said, are *"communicating vessels"* and Brussels' new sanctions will also have an impact on the EU economy.

Russia also pointed out that *"sectorial sanctions"* contradict the World Trade Organization's rules. Additionally, financial limitations may have a negative impact for EU banks working in Russia.

Moscow also said it was bewildered by the decision to ban trading weapons and military equipment with Russia and that is while similar limitations have recently been lifted for Ukraine.

"Unlike Kiev...Russia is not taking part in the military conflict in Ukraine," the Foreign Ministry said.

Article 12. The Moscow Times

Ukraine Welcomes Latest Round of U.S. and EU Sanctions Against Russia

- Reuters
- Jul. 30 2014 11:34
- Last edited 11:34



Gary Cameron / Reuters U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Ukraine's Foreign Minister Pavlo Klimkin (L) deliver statements and hold a news conference at the State Department in Washington.

Ukraine's foreign minister has welcomed U.S. and European sanctions on Russia and pledged Kiev would not attack cities now controlled by pro-Russian separatists in its drive to re-establish control over its territory.

Minister Pavlo Klimkin supported the convening of a new international conference to end months of violence in eastern Ukraine and said he had discussed the idea with U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry earlier Tuesday.

Speaking at Ukraine's Washington embassy, he said ultimately only a political solution would end the conflict, in which pro-Russian forces hold a large swathe of territory near the border, including the cities of Donetsk and Luhansk.

"We will not attack such cities," he said, because it would trigger human losses. The Ukrainian authorities, he said, would regain control of the cities "through the political process, not by attacking those cities."

Intense fighting on Tuesday between Ukrainian government forces and rebels killed dozens of civilians, soldiers and rebels as Kiev pressed on with its offensive to defeat the revolt.

Shells hit the center of Donetsk, a city with a pre-war population of nearly a million. Residents fear they will be trapped between the fighting forces after Ukrainian troops pushed rebel units back toward the city.

Klimkin, who had two days of talks in Washington, including a meeting with U.S. Vice President Joe Biden, said he was returning to Kiev on Tuesday night "with a clear

message that both the U.S. and the EU simply speak with one voice supporting Ukraine."

He said it would have been "practically unimaginable" three or four months ago that the European Union would have agreed sectoral sanctions on its major trading partner Russia.

"The key point for me here is commitment to Ukraine, commitment to a united, democratic and European Ukraine."

Political Steps

Asked about political steps Ukraine could make, he said: "We are ready to give far more freedom but also far more responsibility [to the regions], political, economic power to communities. But it is up to Russia now to influence the terrorists." Kiev refers to the separatists as terrorists.

"It is up to Russia to take back the key leaders of the terrorists, who are all Russian citizens and have a clear connection with the Russian security services," he said.

Ukraine finalized an association agreement with the European Union last month, but Klimkin played down any suggestion that Kiev would eventually seek to join NATO, a move viewed as unacceptable by Russia. He said public opinion in Ukraine remained divided on the issue.

"Well, it's not on the agenda, and there is no political consensus and no consensus in Ukrainian society on that," he said.

He said Ukraine needed "intense interaction, intense cooperation" with the Western alliance. He added: "It's important in the sense of security and it's important in the sense of reform for our defense and security sector."

See also:

[U.S. Expands Sanctions Against Russia, Rebuffs Talk of New Cold War](#)

Appendix B Summary of Analysis

Annexation

	NYT	MT	DW	RT
Headlines	Putin Reclaims Crimea for Russia and Bitterly Denounces the West	How the West Encouraged Putin's Aggression	Putin defiantly moves forward with annexation of Crimea	Putin: Crimea similar to Kosovo, West is rewriting its own rule book
Stance on legitimacy of the event.	Annexation of Crimea is illegal (orthodoxy). US, EU, Ukraine do not recognize referendum and annexation (most of the blame falls on Putin: <i>brushed aside international condemnation</i>). The argumentation is built through heterodoxy (presentation of behavior of the other ideological group).	Annexation of Crimea is illegal (orthodoxy). It is described as <i>biting off sizable chunks of a neighboring state</i> ; the main argument: <i>Crimea has been part of Ukraine for 20 years</i>), <i>limited sovereignty</i> as a method of annexation	Annexation of Crimea is illegal (orthodoxy), since referendum is held illegally. <i>EU and US responded to the secession vote which they already dismissed as illegal and illegitimate, clear violation of international law, so-called referendum.</i>	Crimea's secession from Ukraine is legitimate (orthodoxy): <i>Putin dismissed the allegations that Russia is violating the international law. Crimea's secession is just like Kosovo's secession.</i>
Power balance as portrayed in the articles	Putin is presented as a paramount leader, he has <i>unchallenged political authority, wild popularity</i> . The escalating crisis is his responsibility. The West is going to punish Mr. Putin (<i>the annexation of Crimea carries potentially grave risks</i>). The US is portrayed more powerful, however it is not sure about the consolidated position of the West (which includes Europe: <i>It remained unclear how far the West was willing to go to punish Mr. Putin</i>). Thus, though the discourse the US attempts to convince Europe that certain measures are necessary.	Putin is criticized for his <i>exotic views</i> : Russia is engaged in permanent struggle with the West, the West is responsible for all Russia's problems. (It shows that the West is presented as powerful.) However, the article suggests that so far the West has not been positioning itself correctly towards Russia. (<i>Western states that so loudly tout their supposed observance of the rule of law, at times prefer circumventing those rules for the sake of political expediency.</i>)	Powerful and firm position of the US is described: <i>President Obama issued a sharp warning to halt its interference in Ukraine or face further isolation.</i> Position of Germany is not so clear, the position is presented as weaker: <i>Bans weren't our aim. We wanted talks and a diplomatic solution, but the clear violation of international law leaves no option but to introduce the bans.</i>	The Western partners have numerously disregarded the law in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya. They are behind any uprisings in other countries. (<i>Orchestrated colored revolutions in Europe and the Arab world cynically used the feelings of people tired with corruption and poverty.</i> Western partners exercise their power (<i>they prefer to be guided not by international law but by the right of strength.</i>) They are trying to weaken Russia and expand on its territory. (<i>They are constantly trying to corner us in retaliation.</i>)
Ideological self- and other-representation	Negative representation of Russia and Putin in particular. By description of ideology of others the article draws a contrast with the values of the US, though they are not explicitly	Negative self-representation (the mentality of people in Russia is not ready to accept democracy, people support	Presentation of the US and Russia as powerful and reactive (radical) in actions and decisions. Non-categorical, non-certain position of Germany (bans vs negotiations)	Negative other-representation (<i>Our Western partners created the Kosovo precedent with their own hands, it's good that they at least recalled that</i>

	portrayed.	the regime) Negative other-representation (the West does not adhere to the rules of law; does not handle international relations well)		<i>there is international law etc.)</i> Positive self-representation (<i>In fact it was Russia that defended international law while western countries have been diminishing them</i>).
Interests	Stability (<i>last month has left American and European leaders scrambling to find an adequate response after initially clinging to hope that Mr. Putin was prepared to find a political solution; he bluntly challenged the post-Soviet order that had more or less held for nearly a quarter century</i>)	Normal, more “civilized”, more democratic course of development of Russia.	Mediation of the exercise of power by the Us and Russia. Dialogue between countries. (Economic partnership with Russia)	International prominence, restoration of the former territory.
Actions the focus is on	Escalation of the conflict: 1) <i>the conflict has moved from a political to a military phase; 2) the speed of Crimea’s annexation has been breathtaking; stealthy takeover.</i>	Russia is starting to employ typical methods used in the SU. The population supports Putin and the West cannot give a proper response to the actions of Russia.	Russia has recognized the referendum as legitimate. In response American leaders are going to Eastern Europe that are understood as threats to give a serious response to Russia’s actions. Germany <i>expresses regret at the need to impose bans.</i>	Russia blames the West for breaking the law and portrays itself as a defender of the territory that belongs to Russia historically. (<i>We stand against having a military organization meddling in our backyard, next to our homeland or in the territories that are historically ours.</i>)
Cold War rhetoric as argumentation employed to reflect the position	The given discourse argues that Russia might be entering a new period where it will attempt to gain more power and influence. (<i>Russia’s patience for post-Cold War accommodation... has finally been exhausted. Putin did not declare a new Cold War, but he bluntly challenged the post-Soviet order that more or less held for nearly a quarter-century.</i>)	<i>In a span of a few short weeks, Russia has managed to restore and Iron Curtain.</i> (The allusion is used to describe the recoil in development).		It is made clear in the article that Russia does not want to be associated with its former past. It wants to be perceived as a new powerful country. Putin said that the <i>West must stop being hysterical, restrain from the Cold War rhetoric and admit that Russia is an independent and active participant of international relations.</i>
Identical language	<i>Millions of Russians went to bed in one country and woke up abroad</i>	<i>I ended my previous column this newspaper...: I’m afraid</i>		The given argument serves as a justification for the “secession”.

<p>instances employed for expression</p>	<p>(Putin, about the collapse of the SU). It is used to present how Putin makes his case about the legitimacy of annexation.</p> <p>Putin said that the US and Europe had <i>crossed the red</i> line on Ukraine by throwing support to the new government.</p>	<p><i>when we wake up tomorrow, we will find ourselves in different country – SU. But despite my pessimism, I never dreamed it would happen so quickly</i> (Emphasized the speed of change of the country’s course, brings up fear of coming back to the same regime).</p> <p><i>Admittedly, this analysis lacks practical value when Putin has already crossed every imaginable “red line”.</i>(This sounds like a sarcastic response to Putin’s original expression found in RT).</p>	<p><i>We can’t block paths that lead to a solution in the future,</i> said Angela Merkel. This statement connotes that Germany is unwilling to take sides in the conflict.</p>	<p>Also, this discourse argues that the West has broken the law multiply. <i>(Everything has its limits, and in Ukraine our western partners crossed the red line.)</i></p> <p>The article presents Russia as willing to negotiate, and the West as a villain that prefers to exercise force. <i>(Russia’s willingness to seek dialogue and compromise was stonewalled again.)</i></p>
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Plane Crash

	NYT	MT	DW	RT
Headlines	Ukraine: Pro-Russia Rebels Downed Malaysian Plane	Malaysian Plane Crashes in Conflict-Torn Eastern Ukraine	Kyiv, rebels deny link to Malaysian airliner crash	Malaysian airliner crashes in E. Ukraine near Russian border, 298 people on board
Main responsibility	Pro-Russia rebels	Uncertain, the Ukrainian forces and the rebels blame each other, inexplicitly, the credibility of the rebels' voice is put in question; analytical assessment from a think tank predicts both sides blaming each other	Most likely pro-Russia rebels (accidentally)	Ukrainian forces
Degree of certainty as expressed through the language	<i>American intelligence authorities believe a surface-to-air missile brought the plane down...</i> <i>American intelligence assessments suggest it is more likely pro-Russian separatists or the Russians rather than the Ukrainian government forces shot down the plane...</i>	<i>Ukrainian authorities are not "excluding the possibility that the plane was downed"</i> (SDD). It is difficult to determine who downed the plane (<i>It will be difficult to prove the guilt of one side against the other</i>)	<i>There is speculation that the plane was shot down by an anti-aircraft missile which may have been fired from a Russia-made "Buk" system.</i> <i>...fueling suspicion that the plane might have been shot down by <u>accident</u></i>	<i>Poroshenko has not ruled out that the plane has been shot down.</i> <i>The defense forces on the ground confirmed that the plane was 'definitely shot down'</i> <i>I can allege that it most likely was the Ukrainian armed forces: simply because its military anti-aircraft defense...are unfortunately unqualified.</i>
Argumentation strategy employed to justify the stance of the article	Through the slipping to DD of Ukrainian officials; through reporting of Ukraine's findings and speech of the Ukrainian Ambassador in primary discourse; Through DD of Putin; Through reliance on data	Divided opinions of population though secondary discourse collected from social networks Through DD of the Ukrainian President and U interior minister Portrayal of the position of	Mainly primary discourse with only a few instances of slipping into Putin's, Obama's expressions and that of Russia's Emergencies Ministry Factual reporting named as blame-throwing: 1) separatists admitted being in possession of a missile system capable of such a shot; 2) Ukraine's security services	Employment of primary and secondary discourse (+SDD) for the same statements Through primary and detailed secondary discourse of DPR Secondary and primary discourse of Poroshenko and primary discourse, reporting on the speech by

	<p>provided by the American intelligence, primary discourse;</p> <p>Though presentation of facts: 1) rebels bragged about having Buk systems; 2) Russia supplied separatists with military hardware; 3) AP journalists saw a launcher that looked like a Buk missile in a town held by rebels; 4) Poroshenko said his country's forces did not shoot any airborbe targets; 5) Pro-Russia rebels claimed responsibility for strikes on two Ukrainian jets.</p>	<p>DPR through primary and secondary discourse</p> <p>Representation of factual contradictions with the official position of the rebels – through primary discourse and DD of the rebel who poster information about a downed fighter jet in a social network; (1 rebels deny involvement and blame Ukraine (reporting)+ DD; 2)factual data: insurgents captured a military base with Buk in stock; they also tweeted about it; 3) denial of rebels' involvement; 4) post of a rebel about the downing of a U fighter jet which was deleted, DD of this text on the web; 5) factual data about the military operations of the rebels</p> <p>Both secondary (analysts from Russia) and primary discourse outlining the assessments of consequences of the event for the crisis</p>	<p>intercepted phone conversations; 3) separatists denied responsibility; 4) Russian rebels posted on social network that they downed a U fighter jet at the same time as the passenger plane was downed; 5) one of Ukraine's military transport planes was shot down a few days before from a missile from a Russian territory</p>	<p>Gerashenko</p> <p>Primary and detailed secondary discourse of Russian Defense Ministry</p> <p>Slipping into DD of Russia's federal air traffic agency</p> <p>Detailed secondary discourse of a Russian aviation expert</p> <p>Factual line of argumentation: 1) DPR claims its self-defense forces do not have the missile; 2) Russia's military says none of its planes have been flying close to the border; 3) Ukraine's officials gave contradictory statements; 4)Russian Ministry provided data that Ukraine's forces are equipped with the missile; 5) DPR states that Kyiv was responsible for support for all flights over the territory; 6) the plane was downed by Ukrainian forces due to their lack of qualification</p>
Use of specific terms that assist in creation of ideologically charged ideas	Rebels, pro-Russian separatists	Pro-Russian insurgents, Russia-aligned separatists, authorities of self-proclaimed DPR, rebel leader	Separatists, rebel leader, separatist rebel authorities	Groups that are fighting Kiev's forces, opposition, representative of DPR

Sanctions

	NYT	MT	DW	RT
Headlines	Stronger Sanctions on Russia, at Last	Ukraine Welcomes Latest Round of U.S and EU Sanctions Against Russia	EU adopts economic sanctions against Russia	EU sanctions: Moscow disappointed by EU's inability to act independently of US
Stance towards the sanctions	Russia and Putin in particular needs to be punished	The article portrays the position of Ukraine towards sanctions, for Ukraine they mean consolidated support from US and EU and commitment to democratic and European Ukraine. Also , now Ukraine stops military operations on its territory in hope for political resolution of the conflict	Europe adopts sanctions against Russia over the support of the separatists. US will soon follow with its measures	Russia is not participating in the conflict in Ukraine, and EU depends on US in taking decisions, also it supports Kyiv's government, therefore does not seek to stop the conflict
How position of EU is commented upon	It took EU too long to make this step (<i>lengthy and difficult deliberations</i>) <i>Sanctions show commendable willingness to confront the threat...</i> The EU countries should be ready for economic losses (<i>Britain cannot be exempt from making financial sacrifices in any future round of sanctions, not Germany</i>) France should stop weapon trade with Russia (<i>The idea that France is building two for Mr. Putin at this time is deeply troubling</i> <i>financial sacrifice is one thing, arming Russia is another, that is what the French should focus on</i>)	A few months ago it was not real that EU would impose sanctions on its major trading partner <i>US and EU simply speak with one voice supporting Ukraine</i>	The article justifies its position on lingering with the sanctions <i>Many EU countries have close economic ties with Russia, a reality that had made Brussels reluctant to come down too heavily on Moscow</i>	<i>inability to act independently from Washington's dictation, is now speaking with Washington's voice, demonstrates its lack of political will in general, lack of determination to resolve the Ukrainian crisis</i> <i>blindly ignores the reasons behind the tragic developments, civilians are dying... as a result of Kyiv's military operation, EU, who support the current Kyiv government, EU has given Kyiv carte blanche</i>

Legitimization of sanctions	Russia is involved into another country's affairs (sharp escalation of direct involvement in the Ukrainian fray Russia carries out armed aggression against a sovereign state while enabling proxies in eastern Ukraine who shot down an unarmed passenger plane.) Russia does not participate correctly in the politics (string of lies) Russia violates law (fundamental arms control accord...)	<i>It's up to Russia to take back the key leaders of the terrorists, who are all Russian citizens and have a clear connection with the Russian security services.</i>	Annexation of Crimea and financial and material support to Ukrainian separatists were unacceptable alleged downing... by pro-Russia rebels using a Russian-made..persuaded major business lobbies, notably in Germany, to come out in favor of tougher sanctions ...international investigators are being prevented from assessing the site... the Russians and their so-called volunteers are continuing to ship arms... there is clear evidence of it	Sectoral sanctions contradict the WTO rules
How the purpose of the sanctions is described	<i>to exact a heavy price from Mr. Putin, and deservedly so to make Putin... understand that breaking the rules carries a cost striking at the Russian economy, economic measures that shrink his economy</i>		<i>intending to strongarm Moscow into reducing its role in the conflict in Ukraine designed to make Moscow's support of pro-Russian rebels in eastern Ukraine uneconomical make Russia reconsider its course</i>	EU adopted a new round of economic sanctions against Russia over the Ukrainian crisis
Evaluation of sanctions as an approach	Sanctions are characterized as a <i>punitive and carefully orchestrated actions</i> as well as <i>flawed and double-edged weapon</i> because they will lead to loss of jobs and contracts		Lobbies (mainly German) were in favor of the sanctions	<i>US will feel tangible losses... from destructive and myopic sanctions (SDD), questionable geopolitical schemes (DD) communicating vessels (SDD); sanctions will have impact on the EU economy</i>
Portrayal of Russia	<i>Putin and his revanchist-ruling clique, magnitude of Putin's threat, hurt his cronies the choice that Russia, and President Putin in particular, has made</i>	<i>Key leaders of terrorists are all Russian citizens</i>	<i>imposed until now on confidants of Russian President, Putin's last chance (subheading), suggest that Putin still had the chance</i>	<i>was bewildered by the decision to ban trading weapons Unlike Kyiv...Russia is not taking part in the military conflict in Ukraine</i>