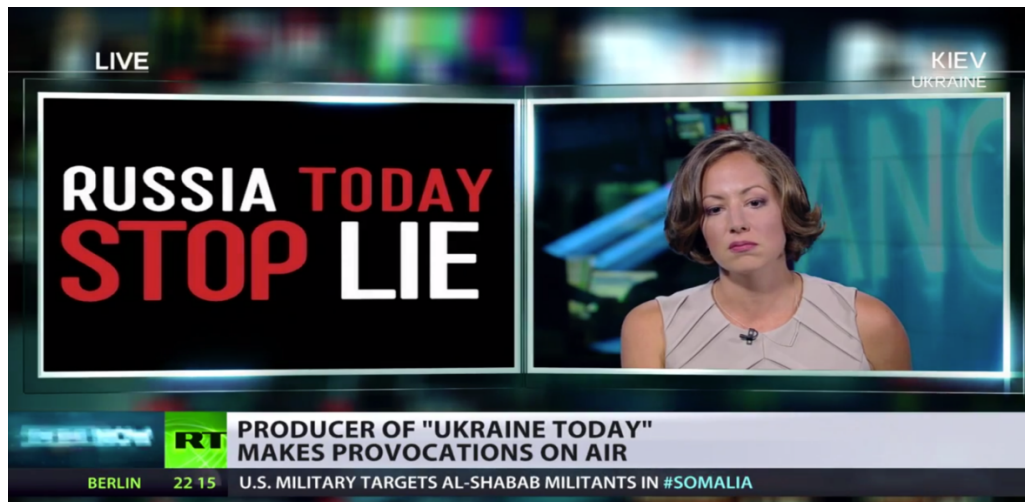


# Strategically constructing news content

*A study into frame building by RT and Ukraine Today*



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## **Abstract**

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of September 2014 an agreement was signed on a ceasefire and the launch of a political process to resolve the Ukrainian crisis and the fighting in eastern Ukraine. The news coverage on this agreement; the Minsk Protocol, is clearly constructed differently by Russian government-funded international news network RT and Ukraine Today, a Ukrainian-based private international television channel. RT and Ukraine Today strategically frame their broadcasts in the moments leading up to, during, and following the signing of the Minsk Protocol. This research will firstly focus on the organizational and structural factors of both media systems. A frame analysis will furthermore be conducted to reveal the set of frames that RT and Ukraine Today have employed to map out how particular frames have dominated the representation of the signing of the Minsk. Throughout the history of Russia and all its territorial changes news coverage has often been framed as leaders have never shunned the use of censorship and propaganda, making this case and the current Ukrainian crisis both scholarly and socially relevant.

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## § 1.1 Russia Today vs. Ukraine Today

*“Russia Today offers dialogue, Ukraine Today shuts the door”* headlines a clip posted on YouTube on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September of 2014 by the Russian government-funded international news network RT (formerly Russia Today). The accompanying text to the video of RT’s program *In the Now* states: *“In the Now* invites executive producer of Ukraine Today TV for an honest debate, but she chooses to twist it into a troll farce. She now claims we cut them off, watch the video and you decide.”<sup>1</sup> Ukraine Today, a Ukrainian-based private international television channel has posted their own version of the same video titled *“Ukraine Today attacks Kremlin propaganda live on Russia Today,”* with the accompanying text: *“Ukraine Today executive producer Tetyana Pushnova called on Russia to halt its information war against Ukraine during an appearance on Russia Today live on Tuesday before the Kremlin propaganda channel pulled the plug.”*<sup>2</sup>

This incident serves as an example of the tense relationship between the two networks, and as an example of the relationship between the Russian and Ukrainian media in general, especially after the outbreak of the Ukrainian crisis at the end of 2013.<sup>3</sup> During this time, Russian state media were accused of reporting “half-truths and distortions but also to direct lies in their description of Ukrainian authorities and protesters.”<sup>4</sup> Simultaneously, the Kremlin has accused both Western and Ukrainian media of whitewashing both the actions of the newly installed government, and the Euromaidan protest movement as essentially peaceful.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> RT, “Russia Today offers dialogue, Ukraine Today shuts the door,” YouTube video, 2:07, posted September 2, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iE5jK0A1TcM>.

<sup>2</sup> Ukraine Today, “Ukraine Today attacks Kremlin propaganda live on Russia Today,” YouTube video, 1:52, posted September 2, 2014, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NtV\\_Y7PGpUI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NtV_Y7PGpUI).

<sup>3</sup> Richard Balmforth, “Kiev protesters gather, EU dangles aid promise,” *Reuters*, December 12, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-idUSBRE9BA04420131212>.

<sup>4</sup> Oleg Sukhov, “The Media War Behind the Ukraine Crisis,” *The Moscow Times*, March 11, 2014,

<http://www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/the-media-war-behind-the-ukraine-crisis/495920.html>.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

## § 1.2 Russia-Ukraine relations

Russia and Ukraine have shared over a 1,000 years of tumultuous history.<sup>6</sup> Today, Ukraine is one of Russia's biggest markets for natural gas exports with a crucial transit route to the rest of Europe, and home to an estimated 7.5 million ethnic Russians that mostly live in eastern Ukraine and the southern region of Crimea.<sup>7</sup>

The first independent Ukrainian state was declared in Kyiv in 1917, at the end of World War I.<sup>8</sup> However, the new country was invaded by Poland, and incorporated into the Soviet Union by Moscow's new Bolshevik government in 1922.<sup>9</sup> In the 1930s, mass executions and a famine killed up to 10 million people in Ukraine. Millions of Russians and other Soviet citizens were imported to repopulate the coal- and iron-rich east, resulting in many ethnic Russians in Ukraine.<sup>10</sup>

In 1991, before the disintegration of the Soviet Union, more than 90 percent of Ukrainians voted to declare independence.<sup>11</sup> Since then, Russia has continued to meddle in Ukraine's political affairs. For instance in 2004, the Kremlin backed the pro-Russian candidate Viktor Yanukovich.<sup>12</sup> Yanukovich did not come into power, but made a comeback in 2010 as elected President of Ukraine.<sup>13</sup>

In November 2013, Yanukovich canceled the association deal with the European Union. This marks the beginning of the Ukrainian crisis, as the decision brought hundreds of thousand people to the streets.<sup>14</sup> The so-called Euromaidan protests began as pro-Europe demonstrations but soon turned against the perceived corruption in the country.<sup>15 16</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Theunis Bates, "Ukraine's fraught relationship with Russia: A brief history," *The Week*, March 8, 2014, <http://theweek.com/articles/449691/ukraines-fraught-relationship-russia-brief-history>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Balmforth, "Kiev protesters gather, EU dangles aid promise," *Reuters*, December 12, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-idUSBRE9BA04420131212>.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> David M. Herszenhorn, "Facing Russian Threat, Ukraine Halts Plans for Deals with E.U.," *The New York Times*, November 21, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/22/world/europe/ukraine-refuses-to-free-ex-leader-raising-concerns-over-eu-talks>.

Subsequently, Yanukovich was driven from office in during the February Revolution of 2014 by pro-Western demonstrators.<sup>17</sup> Ukraine's decision not to sign the agreements was seen as a victory for president Putin as he regarded the plans a serious threat.<sup>18</sup> After a new pro-EU regime was installed in Kyiv, protests by pro-Russians in east of Ukraine began and eventually led to a violent conflict in the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts of Ukraine, raising tensions between Russia and Ukraine once again.<sup>19</sup> These tensions have also become evident in the media coverage of the Ukrainian crisis.

### § 1.3 Framing of the Minsk Protocol

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of September 2014 an agreement was signed on a ceasefire and the launch of a political process to resolve the Ukrainian crisis and the fighting in eastern Ukraine.<sup>20</sup> This agreement, the Minsk Protocol, was signed by the representatives of Ukraine, the Russian Federation, the Donetsk People's Republic and the Luhansk People's Republic.<sup>21</sup> The Minsk Protocol and its aftermath were covered extensively in both RT's and Ukraine Today's news bulletins. However, the content is clearly constructed differently by both networks. This phenomenon is the starting point of my research. As RT and Ukraine Today are strategically framing their broadcasts and using different frames in the moments leading up to, during, and following the signing of the Minsk Protocol, it is interesting to study the processes that might have lead to the creation of these frames.

According to Dietram A. Scheufele, the majority of research on framing has not determined *how* media frames are formed and which types of frames result from this process.<sup>22</sup> The term that describes the process best is *frame building*.<sup>23</sup> According to

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Howard Amos, "Ukraine crisis fuels secession calls in pro-Russian south," *The Guardian*, February 23, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/23/ukraine-crisis-secession-russian-crimea>.

<sup>20</sup> "Chairperson-in-Office welcomes Minsk agreement, assures President Poroshenko of OSCE support," *OSCE*, September 5, 2014, <http://www.osce.org/cio/123245>.

<sup>21</sup> "Ukraine ceasefire agreement signed in Minsk," *CCTV America*, September 5, 2014, <http://www.cctv-america.com/2014/09/05/ukraine-ceasefire-agreement-signed-in-minsk>.

<sup>22</sup> Dietram A. Scheufele, "Framing as a Theory of Media Effects," *Journal of Communication* 49, no. 1 (1999): 115.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

Scheufele, the key question in debates relating to frame building is: what kinds of organizational or structural factors of the media system, and which individual characteristics of journalists have impact on the framing of news content?<sup>24</sup> My research is guided by these key questions referring to *frame building*. To delineate my research, I have opted to focus on the underlying organizational and structural factors of both RT and Ukraine Today, and not to examine the individual characteristics of journalists of both media systems (see chapter 3). Against the background of these underlying factors I will examine the creation of frames by RT and Ukraine Today. I will pose the following research question: “How do RT and Ukraine Today frame news content around the time of the signing of the Minsk Protocol?”

To structure my research, this question is divided into two sub-questions:

- “What are the organizational or structural factors of both media systems?”
- “Which frames have been employed in the creation of news bulletins?”

RT and Ukraine Today provide interesting examples to use for the purpose of this research. As mentioned before, most existing research on framing focuses on the impact of organizational restraints, values of journalists, and expectations about audiences on news form and content. However, few studies have examined how media frames are formed. Furthermore, the news content regarding the signing of the Minsk Protocol is not the only content that has been framed by Russia and Ukraine throughout the history of Russia and all its territorial changes. According to historian Peter Kenez, Russian leaders have never shunned the use of censorship and propaganda, making this case and the current Ukrainian crisis both scholarly and socially relevant.<sup>25</sup> According to Kenez, Russian censorship is as old as educated public opinion.<sup>26</sup> It contributed a great deal to determining the character of the press in Russia, as the Soviet press came into being in a historically unprecedented situation.<sup>27</sup> One of the unusual elements was the attitude of the leaders of young Soviet

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Peter Kenez, *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917-1929* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985): 22.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 35.

Russia towards indoctrination.<sup>28</sup> As a result, the Soviet state was more permeated with propaganda than any other state, arguing that the simple people had to be protected from subversive ideas.<sup>29 30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 23.



## Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

### § 2.1 Framing

The concept of “frame analysis”, or framing, was first introduced in 1974 by sociologist Erving Goffman. Goffman expresses that people imply one or more frameworks in their response to a particular event.<sup>31</sup> This primary, taken-for-granted framework helps them to interpret “what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene.”<sup>32</sup> He argues that there are two distinct primary frameworks: natural and social frameworks.<sup>33</sup> Natural frameworks identify occurrences that Goffman sees as undirected and unguided, whereas social frameworks provide background understanding for events that incorporate some form of agency.<sup>34</sup> Social frameworks can be described as “guided doings” with motive and intent involved.<sup>35</sup>

Robert M. Entman articulated that framing from a media perspective can be seen as follows:

“to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.”<sup>36</sup>

Dietram A. Scheufele argues that research on framing is characterized by theoretical and empirical vagueness.<sup>37</sup> He states that scholars have operationalized framing in combination with other concepts such as agenda-setting and priming which has resulted in studies referring to agenda-setting, priming and framing without differentiation.<sup>38</sup> Scheufele

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<sup>31</sup> Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Cambridge, MA, US: Harvard University Press, 1974): 21.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Robert M. Entman, “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm,” *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (1993): 52.

<sup>37</sup> Dietram A. Scheufele, “Framing as a Theory of Media Effects,” *Journal of Communication* 49, no. 1 (1999): 103.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 104.

has therefore systematized the fragmented approaches to framing in political communication and integrated them into a comprehensive model classifying previous approaches to framing research along two dimensions: the type of frame examined (media frames vs. audience frames) and the way frames are operationalized.<sup>39</sup>

Gaye Tuchman defines media frames as follows: “The news frame organizes everyday reality and the news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality.”<sup>40</sup> In her work on the construction of reality in news media she identifies media frames as dependent variables.<sup>41</sup> According to Scheufele, her study provides support for the assumption that organizational structures or media and work routines of journalists have an impact on the way news stories are framed.<sup>42</sup>

## § 2.2 Frame building

Scheufele furthermore argues that although there have been several studies on the impact of factors like organizational restraints, professional values of journalists, and expectations about audiences on news form and content, this research hasn’t determined *how* media frames are formed or the types of frames that result from this process.<sup>43</sup> He expresses therefore that research should address the processes that influence the creation of changes in frames by journalists.<sup>44</sup> He states that the term *frame building* captures these processes best.<sup>45</sup> The key question in debates relating to frame building is: what kinds of organizational or structural factors of the media system, and which individual characteristics of journalists have impact on the framing of news content.<sup>46</sup> Jenny Kitzinger also discusses the fact that researchers have often focused on content and effects almost to the exclusion

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<sup>39</sup> Dietram A. Scheufele, “Framing as a Theory of Media Effects,” *Journal of Communication* 49, no. 1 (1999): 103.

<sup>40</sup> Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: The Free Press, 1978): 193.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Dietram A. Scheufele, “Framing as a Theory of Media Effects,” *Journal of Communication* 49, no. 1 (1999): 110.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 115.

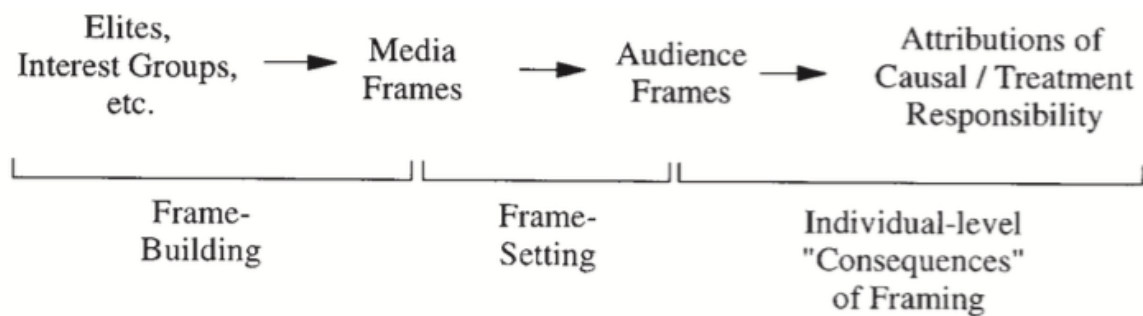
<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

of attention to the wider political and social contexts.<sup>47</sup>

To examine the way that RT and Ukraine Today are strategically framing news content around the time of the signing of the Minsk Protocol, I will use the theory of *frame building* by Scheufele. To demarcate my research, I will focus on determining which frames have been employed in the creation of news bulletins by RT and Ukraine Today. I will provide background and context by defining what the organizational and structural factors of both media systems are. In the field on framing research I will therefore focus on the first part of the chart: Elites, Interest Groups etc. and how certain media frames are created.



An overview of framing research.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Eoin Devereux, ed., *Media Studies: Key Issues and Debates* (London: SAGE Publications, 2007): 138.

<sup>48</sup> Dietram A. Scheufele, "Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication," *Mass Communication and Society* 3, no. 2-3: 307.

## Chapter 3: Methodology

### § 3.1 Political-economy analysis

The frames employed by RT and Ukraine Today can be seen as social frameworks, as they provide understanding on the events around the time of the signing of Protocol. To answer the question “What are the organizational or structural factors of both media systems?” I will conduct a political-economy analysis, using Long and Wall’s theory.<sup>49 50</sup>

According to Long and Wall, it is important to consider the implications of the different responses by different forms of media organizations to the economics of the environment in which media organizations operate.<sup>51</sup> The political element of the term “political economy” relates to the way that economic markets are managed and whether they are supported or hindered by the policies and attentions of elected politicians.<sup>52</sup> Political-economy analysis investigates the conditions under which media institutions and organizations are formed and work, as well as the incentives and constraints under which they operate.<sup>53</sup>

To examine the economics of the environments in which both RT and Ukraine Today operate, and what the implications of this are, I will explore the four aspects of the development of the Russian and Ukrainian media landscapes, the purpose of both networks and the ownership and funding of both RT and Ukraine Today. The analysis of these four underlying factors will help to reveal the establishment of the frames that have been used by RT and Ukraine Today. As sources of context I will use both RT’s and Ukraine Today’s website.<sup>54 55</sup> I will also use several scientific research articles on both Russia’s and Ukraine’s media markets in Post-Soviets conditions. These articles are mainly focused on media and political persuasion, transparency and financial ownership.

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<sup>49</sup> Paul Long and Tim Wall, *Media Studies: Texts, Production, Context* (Welwyn Garden City: Taylor and Francis, 2014).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> “RT,” accessed October 2016, <https://www.rt.com>.

<sup>55</sup> “Ukraine Today,” accessed October 2016, [uatoday.tv](http://uatoday.tv).

### § 3.2 Frame analysis

To then further analyze which frames have been employed in the creation of the news bulletins I will conduct a frame analysis. For this analysis I will use Jenny Kitzinger's theory on framing.<sup>56</sup> I will conduct the analysis on the short news bulletins regarding the signing of Minsk Protocol that RT and Ukraine Today have broadcasted between the 1<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of September 2014. I will analyze a total of approximately sixty minutes of material, consisting of multiple short news bulletins by both networks. After conducting the frame analysis to reveal the particular set of frames that RT and Ukraine Today have used, I will attempt to identify key discursive cues associated with these different frames.<sup>57</sup> Once I select the particular frames with the discursive cues connected to them I will be able to map out how particular frames dominate the representation of the situation by RT and Ukraine Today.<sup>58</sup> Key questions I will ask during the analysis are: "How is the problem defined?" "How are key players portrayed?" "Who is represented as responsible?" and "What solutions are proposed?"<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Eoin Devereux, ed., *Media Studies: Key Issues and Debates* (London: SAGE Publications, 2007).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 140-141.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

## Chapter 4: Results political-economy analysis

### § 4.1 Historical development of the media landscape in Russia and Ukraine

After the fall of Communism and the collapse of the USSR, media pluralism became a reality in Russia. However, this was almost immediately threatened by economic crisis.<sup>60</sup> During the 1990s, using media resources as political weapons became more common as financial vulnerability was the key factor to limiting journalists' ability to shape editorial policy independently.<sup>61</sup> Media outlets were forced to turn to corporate sponsors or political patrons as their economic survival was threatened.<sup>62</sup> During the first years of president Putin's administration, he retained support from the majority of the population, whereas public trust in the media was low.<sup>63</sup> His media policies were directed against corrupt "oligarchs."<sup>64 65</sup> He brought their channels under state ownership and censorship, as television was the only way to get his message across while retaining full control of that message.<sup>66</sup> There was no substantial institutional opposition to the reassertion of state power over the media through these policies, since both houses of parliament supported the president.<sup>67</sup>

According to different scholars and journalists, the March 2000 presidential elections emphasized the power of the state within the Russian media landscape as it was hypothesized that the well-organized media campaigns by the state-owned television played crucial roles in achieving the electoral results.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> David Wedgwood Benn, "The Russian Media in Post-Soviet Conditions," *Europe-Asia Studies* 48, no. 3 (1996): 471.

<sup>61</sup> Laura Belin, "The Russian Media in the 1990s," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 18, no. 1 (2002): 154.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 155.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Julia Ioffe, "What is Russia Today?" *Columbia Journalism Review*, September 2010, [http://www.cjr.org/feature/what\\_is\\_russia\\_today.php](http://www.cjr.org/feature/what_is_russia_today.php).

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Laura Belin, "The Russian Media in the 1990s," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 18, no. 1 (2002): 155.

<sup>68</sup> Ruben Enikolopov, Maria Petrova, Ekaterina Zhuravskaya, "Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia," *American Economic Review* 111, no. 7 (2011): 2.

Since Putin has been in power, there has been a decline in the coverage of dissent.<sup>69</sup>

Similarly to the media landscape in Russia, much of the early Ukrainian public relations dealt with political consulting.<sup>70</sup> The coverage of Ukraine's political crisis of 2000-2001 showed patterns of propaganda and hidden manipulation, thus "distorting the deliberative process."<sup>71</sup> Problems within the Ukrainian media market include political dependence of the media, the lack of specialization of journalists and lack of trust and knowledge among reporters and editors regarding media relations.<sup>72</sup>

Like other countries in the region, the changes that have taken place in the post-Communist society of Ukraine were expected to lead to the creation of independent and democratic media.<sup>73</sup> The formation of this developed and pluralist media sector has proven to be difficult, however, as it is not free of control or pressure from political or economic interests.<sup>74</sup> Since president Yanukovich came into office in 2010, there has been a shift in political coverage as the performance of power holders is either covered positively or not covered at all.<sup>75</sup>

Following this general description of the historical development of Ukrainian and Russian media after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, a more specific look will be taken at the purpose, ownership and funding of both RT and Ukraine Today.

#### **§ 4.2 The purpose of RT and Ukraine Today**

RT was launched by the Russian government as part of a PR campaign to "improve its image in the eyes of the world," when state news agency Novosti became the main

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<sup>69</sup> Laura Belin, "The Russian Media in the 1990s," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 18, no. 1 (2002): 153.

<sup>70</sup> Katerina Tsetsura and Anastasia Grynko, "An Exploratory Study of the Media Transparency in Ukraine," *Public Relations Journal* 3, No. 2 (2009): 2.

<sup>71</sup> Olga Baysha and Kirk Hallahan, "Media framing of the Ukrainian political crisis, 2000-2001," *Journalism Studies* 5, no. 2 (2004): 233.

<sup>72</sup> Katerina Tsetsura and Anastasia Grynko, "An Exploratory Study of the Media Transparency in Ukraine," *Public Relations Journal* 3, No. 2 (2009): 3.

<sup>73</sup> Natalya Ryabinska, "The Media Market and Media Ownership in Post-Communist Ukraine: Impact on Media Independence and Pluralism," *Problems of Post-Communism* 58, no. 6 (2011): 4.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 10.

instrument for image improvement.<sup>76</sup> According to RT, the channel “provides an alternative perspective on major global events, and acquaints an international audience with the Russian viewpoint.”<sup>77</sup> RT started with a staff of 300 journalists, of which 70 were non-Russian.<sup>78</sup> The channel has been heavily criticized for broadcasting conspiracy theories to legitimize Russian policies, “slanted reportage,” and assaults on Western institutions.<sup>79 80</sup>

Ukraine Today was launched by Ukrainian oligarch Igor Kolomoyskyi, majority shareholder of 1+1 Media Group.<sup>81</sup> Kolomoyskyi was appointed governor of the industrial Dnipropetrovsk region, where he used his wealth to create new and well-equipped “volunteer” battalions to compensate for “the inadequacies of the Ukrainian Army,” becoming a key political player in March 2014.<sup>82 83</sup> As a result, he has been a valuable ally to the Kyiv government, alone among the oligarchs credited with taking action against separatism in the east.<sup>84</sup> According to Ukraine Today, the channel’s “primary focus is on Ukrainian current affairs, (...) Russian relations with Europe and America, the defense of European values in both Ukraine and within the EU itself, and the challenges of nation-building in the 21st century.”<sup>85</sup> Media executive Oleksandr Tkachenko stated right after Ukraine Today’s launch on August 24<sup>th</sup>, 2014: “We have witnessed a large-scale information war conducted by Russian state media. We believe that we can respond to it.”<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Julian Evans, “Spinning Russia,” *Foreign Policy*, December 1, 2005, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2005/12/01/spinning-russia>.

<sup>77</sup> “About RT,” *RT*, <https://www.rt.com/about-us/>.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Casey Michel, “Putin’s Magnificent Messaging Machine,” *Politico Magazine*, August 25, 2015, <http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/08/putin-rt-soviet-propaganda-121734>.

<sup>80</sup> Ilya Yablokov, “Conspiracy Theories as a Russian Public Diplomacy Tool: The Case of *Russia Today* (RT),” *Politics* 35, no. 3 (2015): 301-315.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> Sophie Pinkman, “Watching the Ukrainian oligarchs,” *The New Yorker*, April 2, 2015, <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/watching-the-ukrainian-oligarchs>.

<sup>83</sup> Valentyn Ogirenko, “Ukraine leader fires powerful oligarch Kolomoisky as regional chief,” *Reuters*, March 25, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-oligarch-idUSKBN0ML0CG20150325>.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> “Ukraine Today TV goes to battle in ‘information war’,” *BBC News*, August 26, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/monitoring/ukraine-today-tv-goes-to-battle-in-information-war>.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*



### § 4.3 Media ownership

Media ownership in East European countries can be seen as a useful indicator of the levels of media freedom and pluralism as strong and developed media markets are essential for the political independence of the media.<sup>87</sup> According to Jonathan Becker, it is argued in several theories (Sparks, Reading, Downing and Nordenstreng) that the Russian and East European media development is a confirmation of the malevolent influence of commercial or private capital on media.<sup>88</sup> According to this view, the power of the state and the power of private capital have a negative effect on the health of Habermas' public sphere.<sup>89</sup>

Russian press under Putin can be understood as a neo-authoritarian media system, tolerating pluralism, but limited when issues are of central importance to the regime.<sup>90</sup> Under a neo-authoritarian system, some elements of a democratic mass political media system are tolerated, giving it the appearance of democratization.<sup>91</sup> However, state-owned media have limited autonomy, and key positions are linked to political loyalty.<sup>92</sup>

Ukrainian media resemble the media in "advanced" new democracies in some respects, but the ownership concentration and commercialization of the media exposes an underdeveloped media market that can be directed to the interests of governments and political elites.<sup>93</sup> Interesting about the Ukrainian media system is the unfinished privatization of the media, the continued existence of state-owned media outlets, and the predominance of the oligarchs and financial magnates with good political connections in the media industry, who are most prominent media owners in Ukraine.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Natalya Ryabinska, "The Media Market and Media Ownership in Post-Communist Ukraine: Impact on Media Independence and Pluralism," *Problems of Post-Communism* 58, no. 6 (2011): 10.

<sup>88</sup> Jonathan Becker, "Lessons from Russia: A Neo-Authoritarian Media System," *European Journal of Communication* 19, no. 2 (2004): 141/149.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>93</sup> Natalya Ryabinska, "The Media Market and Media Ownership in Post-Communist Ukraine: Impact on Media Independence and Pluralism," *Problems of Post-Communism* 58, no. 6 (2011): 5

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

## § 4.4 Funding

According to the *New York Times*, the Russian government invested more than \$100 million into Russia Today in 2008.<sup>95</sup> In 2013, *Der Spiegel* even argued that since 2005 the Russian government had increased the channel's annual budget more than tenfold to \$300 million in order "to break the monopoly of the Anglo-Saxon mass media."<sup>96</sup> RT's budget covers the salaries of 2,500 employees worldwide, with no fear of budget cuts as Putin has issued a decree forbidding his finance minister from taking such steps.<sup>97</sup> According to *Der Spiegel*, the Moscow leadership views the funds going to the channel as money "well-invested."<sup>98</sup> RT, however, calls itself an autonomous nonprofit organization, and states that they do not take orders from the Kremlin.<sup>99</sup> In response to accusations of RT being state-run, RT mentions on their website how several other international media outlets also receive grants from the government.<sup>100</sup> In the article "What is Russia Today and Who is Paying the Bills?" Simonyan's claim that Western news is inherently biased, is considered.<sup>101</sup> It is argued that although RT may be funded by the Kremlin and be guilty of pro-Putin bias, there seems to be evidence that their competitors aren't "objective saints of journalism either."<sup>102</sup> An anonymous RT reporter has argued that the Kremlin line is enforced the way it is everywhere else in Russian television: by the reporters and editors themselves.<sup>103</sup> He says: "There is no censorship per se," (...) "But there are a lot of young people at the channel, [who want to] to please the management. You can easily guess what the Kremlin wants the

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<sup>95</sup> Stephen Heyman, "A Voice of Mother Russia, in English," *The New York Times*, May 18, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/18/arts/television/18heym.html>.

<sup>96</sup> Benjamin Bidder, "Russia Today: Putin's Weapon in the War of Images," *Der Spiegel*, August 13, 2013, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/business/putin-fights-war-of-images-and-propaganda-with-russia-today-channel-a-916162.html>.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> "Is RT state-run?" RT, last modified June 17, 2011, <https://www.rt.com/usa/rt-government-broadcasting-radio/>.

<sup>101</sup> Christian Sager, "What is Russia Today and Who is Paying the Bills?" *BrainStuff*, March 15, 2014, <http://www.brainstuffshow.com/blogs/what-is-russia-today-and-who-is-paying-the-bills.htm>.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> Julia Ioffe, "What is Russia Today?" *Columbia Journalism Review*, September 2010, [http://www.cjr.org/feature/what\\_is\\_russia\\_today.php](http://www.cjr.org/feature/what_is_russia_today.php).

world to know, so you change your coverage.”<sup>104</sup>

After Ukraine Today was launched, independence from government and owner interference was promised.<sup>105</sup> The channel would however, like RT, have an editorial slant.<sup>106</sup> The network itself stated that the launch of Ukraine Today served more of a social purpose rather than business interests.<sup>107</sup> However, at the time of the launch in 2014, the 1+1 Media Group had an 11 percent market share within the country and Kolomoyskyi’s personal fortune was believed to be worth around \$4 billion.<sup>108</sup> Kolomoyskyi is one of a handful of powerful oligarchs who emerged in the early years after Ukraine's independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 and secured control over large sections of the economy, including areas such as energy, banking and media, and became a key political player behind the scenes.<sup>109</sup> <sup>110</sup> Editor-in-chief Peter Dickinson would not discuss the funding of Ukraine Today at the time of its launch.<sup>111</sup> However, Kolomoyskyi reportedly contributed \$5 million to another project of his; Jewish News One.<sup>112</sup> Ukraine Today started with 10 journalists who were all former Jewish News reporters, mostly stationed in Ukraine, making their resources significantly smaller than RT.<sup>113</sup>

After conducting a political-economy analysis on four organizational and structural factors, the next chapter will present the results of a frame analysis on the frames employed by both media systems.

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Alison Langley, "Ukraine Today aims to clarify Russian media misinformation," *Columbia Journalism Review*, August 27, 2014, [http://www.cjr.org/behind\\_the\\_news/ukraine\\_today\\_russian\\_media.php](http://www.cjr.org/behind_the_news/ukraine_today_russian_media.php).

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> "1 plus 1 Media Group shuts down Ukraine Today project," *Interfax-Ukraine*, accessed on December 28, 2016, <http://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/393324.html>.

<sup>108</sup> Alison Langley, "Ukraine Today aims to clarify Russian media misinformation," *Columbia Journalism Review*, August 27, 2014, [http://www.cjr.org/behind\\_the\\_news/ukraine\\_today\\_russian\\_media.php](http://www.cjr.org/behind_the_news/ukraine_today_russian_media.php).

<sup>109</sup> Valentyn Ogirenko, "Ukraine leader fires powerful oligarch Kolomoisky as regional chief," *Reuters*, March 25, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-oligarch-idUSKBN0ML0CG20150325>.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 5: Results frame analysis

### § 5.1 Employed frames

To answer the question “Which frames have been employed in the creation of news bulletins?” I conducted a frame analysis on the selected material. I was able to identify several key discursive cues associated with different frames employed in the news bulletins. I specifically looked for words with powerful cultural resonances, which could be placed within the frames.<sup>114</sup> In Kitzinger’s theory on frame analysis different aspects of a text which might be examined to identify key ‘cues’ are mentioned.<sup>115</sup> To demarcate my research, I mainly focused on the type of language used, on the labels, definitions and explanations that were employed, how different characters and groups were described, who was invited to comment and on the responsibility that was assigned and the solutions that were proposed by both RT and Ukraine Today.<sup>116</sup> I also found several emotional appeals, historical associations and metaphors. After I identified the frames with the cues connected to them, I was able to map out how particular frames are dominating the representation of an issue by RT and Ukraine Today.<sup>117</sup>

### § 5.2 Days prior to the signing of the Minsk Protocol

In the first three days of September, both RT and Ukraine Today frequently reported on the possible presence of Russian troops on Ukrainian territory and the upcoming 2014 Wales Summit of NATO.<sup>118</sup> In RT’s news bulletins I identified the “false Ukrainian accusations”-frame. The network, in response to the allegations of the involvement of Russian troops, labels these allegations as *Western concerns* and uses Russia’s Foreign Minister Lavrov statements’ to clarify that there will be no military intervention as Russia

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<sup>114</sup> Eoin Devereux, ed., *Media Studies: Key Issues and Debates* (London: SAGE Publications, 2007): 140-141.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 141-142.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>118</sup> “Wales Summit Declaration,” *North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, last modified September 26, 2016, [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_112964.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm).

insists on a *peaceful solution to the tragedy*.<sup>119</sup> They frame the possible presence of Russian troops as mainly a Ukrainian problem caused by these false accusations. By using language such as *alleged intervention, accuses or suspicions about Russia's involvement in the Ukrainian crisis* they are denying the Western and Ukrainian accusations.<sup>120</sup> Additionally, I also found the “politically-correct Russia”-frame. By using words such as *peaceful solution to this tragedy* and *political approach* they are framing Russia, as a key player within the conflict, to be making a political or civic effort on the resolution of the situation, while implying that other key player Ukraine is doing the opposite by claiming that *Kyiv continues to inflict heavy artillery in residential areas in South-Eastern Ukraine*.<sup>121</sup> The West is also framed as a responsible key player within this “politically-correct Russia”-frame.<sup>122</sup> It is stated that Ukraine’s *Western partners have been blindsided* as, according to Foreign Minister Lavrov, *everything Kyiv says and does, finds their full support*.<sup>123</sup> Within this frame, RT proposes the solution of making progress with the Ukrainian president by mentioning president Putin has described Ukrainian President Poroshenko *as a man who could be talked with*.<sup>124</sup>

In Ukraine Today’s news bulletins, I identified the “Russian aggressor”-frame. The network frames the possible presence of Russian troops by labelling Russia as the aggressor responsible for the *increasing tension* and define it as *Russia’s military intervention in Ukraine*.<sup>125</sup> The Kremlin is portrayed as having reacted *with fury* over the plans announced by NATO to establish a 4,000-strong rapid-reaction force in Eastern Europe in response to *the increasing threat to European security from Russia*.<sup>126</sup> In addition, I also found the “internationally-backed Ukraine”-frame. Ukraine Today not only framed NATO as a key player, labeling joint military exercises in Ukraine to be *a sign of support for the country*, but also describing the former Soviet Republics as fellow sufferers of the Russian regime, and

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<sup>119</sup> RT, “‘There’ll be no military intervention in Ukraine’ – Lavrov,” YouTube video, 1:56, posted September 1, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=73KSqGKmQT0>.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ukraine Today, “Russia Slams NATO: NATO plans rapid reaction force to counter Kremlin invasion threat,” YouTube video, 1:14, posted September 2, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=63EldpJdvql>.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

labeling the Baltic states as NATO's allies against Russia.<sup>127</sup> Within this frame, Ukraine Today's news bulletins are predominately focused on NATO's new package of sanctions against Russia and the overall security in Eastern Ukraine that is discussed at the Summit.<sup>128</sup> In many of the news bulletins Western leaders are framed as allies by mentioning how Western leaders *harshly condemn Russia's aggression* in the conflict and pledge that NATO will protect allies *who fear they will be Moscow's next target*.<sup>129 130</sup>

In RT's news bulletins on the possible consequences of NATO's involvement in the Ukraine crisis, furthermore, I found three different frames. Firstly, the "stance against Russia"-frame in which several guest experts and correspondents discussed the situation in which *NATO's propaganda machine* and several Western countries are framed to be the reason for the continuation of the conflict.<sup>131 132 133</sup> RT's correspondent argues that a *hardened confrontational East-facing stance against Russia* had been taken by the NATO and that before the Summit had even began, *a clear posture against Moscow* was set to develop.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, he stated that *blaming Russia for the Ukraine crisis appeared to be among the top priorities* and that although new sanctions were imposed, this still didn't *ease up Western leaders' rhetoric*.<sup>135</sup> Secondly, the "doubting the Ukrainian government's legitimacy"-frame in which the possibility of a full NATO membership for Ukraine is dismissed as *akin to lunacy* by RT's guest expert William Engdahl.<sup>136</sup> Engdahl is introduced by RT as a *geopolitical analyst*, but also turns out to be an avid supporter of the theory that it is "the ultimate goal of the US to take resources of Africa and Middle East under military

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Ukraine Today, "NATO Troops in Ukraine: Military alliance to hold joint military exercises in western Ukraine," YouTube video, 1:03, posted September 3, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9F9SaNpy2MU>.

<sup>129</sup> Ukraine Today, "Obama Backs Ukrainian Army: US President calls on NATO to support Ukraine's military," YouTube video, 0:44, posted September 4, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CDrl6xb7DIA>.

<sup>130</sup> Ukraine Today, "NATO Backs Ukraine: New sanctions against Russia to be announced on 8 September," YouTube video, 0:33, posted September 6, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rVJz3GGIVS4>.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> RT, "E.Ukraine offensive went bad, too late for Donetsk, Lugansk 'special status,'" YouTube video, 4:18, posted September 10, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GQmtEQXPQ90>.

<sup>133</sup> RT, "Ukraine's full NATO membership idea 'akin to lunacy,'" YouTube video, 4:22, posted on September 3, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzK4d66Laoo>.

<sup>134</sup> RT, "NATO summit pushes alliance East in tough stance on Russia," YouTube video, 3:20, posted on September 6, 2014, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zAZ9N\\_-CjwY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zAZ9N_-CjwY).

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

control to block economic growth in China and Russia, thus taking the whole of Eurasia under control.”<sup>137</sup> Within the frame, he argues that there is a deep split between Poroshenko’s fact and (Prime Minister) Yatsenyuk, who he describes as *the golden boy of Victoria Nuland of the State Department and neo-Conservative hawks in Washington* by mentioning how Poroshenko’s business interests lie in the East of Ukraine, thus creating more doubt to the legitimacy of the government.<sup>138</sup>

Thirdly, a frame of “Ukrainian destruction” is employed. RT’s news anchor does not respond to any of Engdahls’ statements but does inquire about whether or not Western opinion could be influenced by the fact that the OSCE is *going to see for itself the destruction in the Donbass region*.<sup>139</sup> Subsequently, Engdahl discusses *human destruction on an unimaginable scale*, and compares the *Ukrainian destruction* to the Nazi’s in WWII.<sup>140</sup>

Lastly, through the statement *Western partners believing everything Kyiv says or does* the “false Ukrainian accusations”-frame is continued as it is believed that Ukraine is spreading faulty Intelligence to justify the NATO sanctions on Russia.<sup>141</sup>

In these days prior to the signing of the Minsk Protocol, RT has already employed five different frames, whereas Ukraine Today only employed two frames.

### § 5.3 The signing of the Minsk Protocol

On September 5<sup>th</sup>, both RT and Ukraine Today report that a ceasefire is in place in East-Ukraine.<sup>142 143</sup> In RT’s news bulletins, the “Russia is not part of the conflict”-frame is employed. For example, RT reported that president Putin had not agreed earlier on a

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<sup>137</sup> “Arab Spring is about controlling Eurasia,” RT, last modified November 12, 2011, <https://www.rt.com/news/arab-engdahl-us-africa-273/>.

<sup>138</sup> RT, “Ukraine's full NATO membership idea 'akin to lunacy,' YouTube video, 4:22, posted on September 3, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzK4d66Laoo>.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ukraine Today, “Ukraine Ceasefire Agreed: Ukrainian officials sign deal with Russia and Kremlin-backed insurgents,” YouTube video, 0:20, posted on September 5, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qcihVbgLM24>.

<sup>143</sup> RT, “Kiev, East Ukraine militia agree on ceasefire,” YouTube video, 1:51, posted on September 5, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OG5uOqdGkSM>.

ceasefire as Russia was not a party to the conflict.<sup>144</sup> Within the frame it is stressed that the Donetsk People's Republic and the Luhansk People's Republics are *self-proclaimed*, and are not backed by the Kremlin.<sup>145</sup> Furthermore, only the Ukrainian army is framed as responsible for the conflict. According to RT's news anchor, *Ukraine's military crackdown on anti-government fighters* had been continuing for five months, making the timing of the announcement of a ceasefire peculiar.<sup>146</sup> On that same day, RT's correspondent is shown reporting from the small town Ilovaysk in the Donetsk region, stating that the village was devastated by *Ukraine's military campaign*, again stressing that Russia was not involved and that the Ukrainian army is responsible for the *devastation* of different villages, hereby employing the "Ukrainian destruction"-frame at the same time.<sup>147</sup> Within the "Russia is not part of the conflict"-frame, RT consistently label the rebels of the Donetsk People's Republic and the Luhansk People's Republic as *anti-government fighters*. The fighters are followed and interviewed on their mission, stressing the absence of the Russian troops.<sup>148</sup> RT also mentions that they are winning back most of the territory, to indicate that the territory was already theirs, and has not been invaded by Russian troops.<sup>149</sup> Again the "doubting the Ukrainian government's legitimacy"-frame is used by RT when arguing that the Ukrainian government cannot be fully trusted, as they might use the timing of the ceasefire to rearm and regroup.<sup>150</sup>

In the news bulletins by Ukraine Today, I identified the "Russian aggressor" frame again. Right before the signing of the ceasefire, Ukraine Today broadcasted video evidence of Russians army vehicles inside Ukrainian territory.<sup>151</sup> The *huge column of Russian military vehicles* inside Ukraine is stressed and it is mentioned that international condemnation had been growing in recent days, thereby also using the "internationally-backed Ukraine"-

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<sup>144</sup> RT, "Ceasefire timing: 'Ukraine army pushed back, Poroshenko desperate,'" YouTube video, 9:15, posted on September 3, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9YTU3Ri4DY>.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> RT, "Bullets flying overhead: RT crew forced to the ground in E. Ukraine," YouTube video, 2:23, posted on September 3, 2014, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_pyE6KsgG9M/](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_pyE6KsgG9M/).

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> RT, "E.Ukraine offensive went bad, too late for Donetsk, Lugansk 'special status,'" YouTube video, 4:18, posted September 10, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GQmtEQXPQ90>.

<sup>151</sup> Ukraine Today, "Ukraine-Russia Ceasefire? Poroshenko and Putin move closer to possible peace deal," YouTube video, 0:35, posted on September 3, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uaolDaBH29M>.



frame.<sup>152</sup> During a frontline report, it is even stressed that Ukrainian forces are redeployed to combat the *Russian army invasion*.<sup>153</sup> Within the “Russian aggressor”-frame, rebels of the Donetsk and Luhansk People’s Republics are labeled as *Kremlin-backed insurgents* and wounded soldiers of the Ukrainian army as *victims of the Ukrainian war for Independence*, invoking a historical association of Ukraine being dominated by other nations and becoming independent from Russia in 1991.

After the signing of the Protocol, both RT and Ukraine Today report on the immediate cessation of fire and demilitarization of the area.<sup>154</sup> <sup>155</sup> Ukraine Today continues the “Russian aggressor”-frame and speaks of *illegal fighters* that will be removed from the East.<sup>156</sup> RT continues the “doubting the Ukrainian government’s legitimacy”-frame as one of RT’s guest analyst argues that if the leaders of the *coup* that took power in Ukraine had really wanted to bring the people of the East with them they would have offered federalization much earlier, yet have only *provoked* the people in the East by appointing two billionaire oligarchs to govern the Eastern provinces and changing the Russian language law.<sup>157</sup>

In the broadcasts during the signing of the Minsk Protocol RT has continued using two out of the five frames that were employed earlier, while adding one new frame, making these particular broadcasts focused on bringing doubt to legitimacy of the Ukrainian government and army. Ukraine Today consistently uses the two frames that were used earlier, hereby still focusing on Russia as the responsible actor in the conflict.

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<sup>152</sup> Ukraine Today, “Russian Tanks in Ukraine: Sky News films Russian vehicles inside Ukrainian territory,” YouTube video, 1:33, posted on September 4, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JM26b6arkzk>.

<sup>153</sup> Ukraine Today, “Frontline Report from East Ukraine: Ukrainian forces redeploy to combat Russian army invasion,” YouTube video, 1:53, posted on September 5, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MEnxvslikqU>.

<sup>154</sup> RT, “Kiev, East Ukraine militia agree on ceasefire,” YouTube video, 1:51, posted on September 5, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OG5uOqdGkSM>.

<sup>155</sup> Ukraine Today, “Minsk Ceasefire Deal Explained: Ukrainian public skeptical of 12-point peace plan,” YouTube video, 1:53, posted on September 8, 2014, Minsk Ceasefire Deal Explained: Ukrainian public skeptical of 12-point peace plan.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> RT, “E.Ukraine offensive went bad, too late for Donetsk, Lugansk 'special status,' ” YouTube video, 4:18, posted September 10, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GQmtEQXPQ90>.

## § 5.4 The aftermath of the signing of the Minsk Protocol

During the ceasefire, RT continues the “doubting the Ukrainian government’s legitimacy”-frame by reporting that sporadic shelling by *pro-Kyiv mercenary gangs* might be threatening the *shaky* ceasefire, but that it seems to be holding.<sup>158</sup> They also state that additional troops have been deployed to the city of Mariupol and that the situation is tense, as both the Ukrainian soldiers and the *anti-government fighters* are holding onto positions that they held onto prior to the ceasefire going into effect, but despite the fragility, it is still holding.<sup>159</sup> <sup>160</sup> Ukraine Today meanwhile, maintains the “Russian aggressor”-frame and frames a more skeptical perspective on the ceasefire. They report that *Kremlin-backed fighters* and Russian soldiers continue to shell government troops near Donetsk Airport, *despite Ukraine’s army strictly holding their fire*.<sup>161</sup> <sup>162</sup> Ukraine Today also mentions how Russia's state-controlled media appears to have inadvertently exposed *Kremlin-backed insurgents using Ukrainians as human shields*, indicating that the *fragile* ceasefire is struggling to hold.<sup>163</sup>

The tables below give an overview of all employed frames by RT and Ukraine Today between the 1<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> of September of 2014. I found a clear dissimilarity in the amount and variety of different frames used by both networks. RT’s news bulletins show an alternation of six different frames, employed on different days, while Ukraine Today’s bulletins show a continuous use of only two frames over the course of ten days. Interestingly, RT’s and Ukraine Today’s frames are evidently in line with their purpose. RT’s “false Ukrainian accusations”-frame, “stance against Russia”-frame and “Russia is not part of the conflict”-frame can be seen as providing the international community with the Russian

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<sup>158</sup> RT, “Sporadic shelling in E. Ukraine threatens fragile ceasefire,” YouTube video, 4:13, posted on September 7, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F5qCO1NNGk>.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> RT, “Ceasefire holds in E. Ukraine despite sporadic clashes, accusations,” YouTube video, 1:56, posted on September 8, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JGMF-5K6UMk>.

<sup>161</sup> Ukraine Today, “Frontline Report from East Ukraine: Ukrainian forces redeploy to combat Russian army invasion,” YouTube video, 1:53, posted on September 5, 2014,

<sup>162</sup> Ukraine Today, “Ukraine Ceasefire Breached: Shelling in Mariupol and Donetsk shatters the shaky truce,” YouTube video, 0:49, posted on September 7, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=atEhth8eyPw>.

<sup>163</sup> Ukraine Today, “RT Exposes Insurgent Human Shield Tactics: Russia Today shows grad attack from residential area,” YouTube video, 1:06, posted on September 8, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xaA0l6l9cY8>.

perspective, while the “politically-correct Russia”-frame, the “doubting the Ukrainian government’s legitimacy”-frame and the “Ukrainian destruction”-frame can be seen as frames employed to counterbalance the “the Anglo-Saxon domination of global television news.”<sup>164</sup> Ukraine Today’s goal was to broadcast Ukrainian affairs, while also focusing on the “Russian relations with Europe and America and the defense of European values in both Ukraine and within the EU itself,” by using the “internationally-backed Ukraine”-frame.<sup>165</sup> Furthermore, as the channel was partly launched to respond to the *large-scale information war conducted by Russian state media*, the “Russian aggressor”-frame is employed to achieve this objective.

<b>Frames RT</b>	Days prior to the signing of the Minsk Protocol	The signing of the Minsk Protocol	The aftermath of the signing of the Minsk Protocol
False Ukrainian accusations-frame	X		
Politically-correct Russia-frame	X		
Stance against Russia-frame	X		
Doubting the Ukrainian government’s legitimacy-frame	X	X	X
Ukrainian destruction-frame	X	X	
Russia is not part of the conflict-frame		X	

<b>Frames Ukraine Today</b>	Days prior to the signing of the Minsk Protocol	The signing of the Minsk Protocol	The aftermath of the signing of the Minsk Protocol
Russian aggressor-frame	X	X	X
Internationally-backed Ukraine-frame	X	X	

<sup>164</sup> Christian Sager, “What is Russia Today and Who is Paying the Bills?” *BrainStuff*, March 15, 2014, <http://www.brainstuffshow.com/blogs/what-is-russia-today-and-who-is-paying-the-bills.htm>.

<sup>165</sup> “Ukraine Today TV goes to battle in ‘information war’,” *BBC News*, August 26, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/monitoring/ukraine-today-tv-goes-to-battle-in-information-war>.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

RT and Ukraine Today have extensively covered the signing of the Minsk Protocol and its aftermath in their news bulletins. As has been noted, I found a clear dissimilarity in the amount and variety of different frames used by both networks. Correspondently, I was able to map out how these different and conflicting frames of the same events have dominated the representation the signing of the Minsk Protocol.

A lack of consensus within the scholarly debate on framing research has been reflected in the operationalization of the concept. I therefore applied Scheufele's comprehensive model on framing research to examine how RT and Ukraine Today have strategically constructed their news content. Within this model, I focused on media frames as dependent variables. According to Scheufele, these media frames organize everyday reality, as different organizational and structural factors impact the way news stories are framed.<sup>166</sup> The majority of the research on framing, however, has not determined how media frames are formed and which types of frames will result from this process. For this reason, I chose to address the underlying factors of both RT and Ukraine Today. However, as my research is solely based on secondary sources, I have not established a causal connection between these organizational and structural factors and the creation of frames.

So far, I have determined several underlying factors essential to possible further research on frame building by RT and Ukraine Today, while also establishing how RT and Ukraine Today have framed their news content.

My research does indicate an ill-disposed influence of commercial or private capital on media. The analysis of the four organizational and structural factors showed that the circumstances in both Russia and Ukraine, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, have had a negative effect on the independence, pluralism and ownership concentration of both media systems.<sup>167</sup> With state ownership limiting autonomy and dependence on political patrons within the Russian media market it is not surprising that RT was launched as a public

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<sup>166</sup> Dietram A. Scheufele, "Framing as a Theory of Media Effects," *Journal of Communication* 49, no. 1 (1999): 110.

<sup>167</sup> Jonathan Becker, "Lessons from Russia: A Neo-Authoritarian Media System," *European Journal of Communication* 19, no. 2 (2004): 141/149.

relation tool to improve Russia's image to the international community, and to counterbalance Western perspectives on Russia.<sup>168</sup> Although RT calls itself an autonomous nonprofit organization, it is likely that there is a form of indirect censorship.

Several different frames have dominated the representation of the signing of the Minsk Protocol by RT. RT wants to counterbalance major Anglo-Saxon mass media, hence, seemingly balanced news content is created by employing different frames in a short period of time.<sup>169</sup> As a result of RT's substantial budget, all news bulletins are not only visually and technically well-constructed, but a variety of international news anchors, correspondents and guest experts are also invited to comment.

RT's news content, however, is not solely focused on acquainting the international audience with the Russian viewpoint, but particularly directed at putting Russia in a good light, choosing not to cover certain issues within the conflict by shifting attention to other subjects of concern for Russia.

Ukraine's media system's susceptibility to pressure from political or economic interests can be related to the launch of Ukraine Today by key political player oligarch Igor Kolomoyskyi. The channel was not specifically created to provide an alternative perspective on global events or to acquaint the international community with the Ukrainian viewpoint, but rather to respond to the "large-scale information war conducted by Russian state media" after Russia *invaded* Ukraine. Furthermore, the Ukrainian media market deals with a lack of specialization of journalists and knowledge among reporters and editors regarding media relations which can also be seen in the practices of Ukraine Today. As a result of Ukraine Today's presumably smaller financial resources, the news bulletins are not as well-constructed as RT's broadcasts. Furthermore, no independent reporting is done by Ukraine Today. To construct the news bulletins, video is taken from wire services such as Reuters and TSN, while the staff does the voiceovers.<sup>170</sup> Correspondently, having less influence over the available video for their news bulletins, Ukraine Today is focused on sending out a clear message while consistently using two frames that are dominating the representation of the

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<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>169</sup> Benjamin Bidder, "Russia Today: Putin's Weapon in the War of Images," *Der Spiegel*, August 13, 2013, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/business/putin-fights-war-of-images-and-propaganda-with-russia-today-channel-a-916162.html>.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

signing of the Minsk Protocol. Unlike RT, Ukraine Today does not create the idea of balanced news content by only employing these two frames. The channel is solely focused on Ukrainian affairs, especially with regard to the Russian relations.

My completed research indicates the malevolent influence of commercial and private capital on media, and provides background and context to the construction of the different and conflicting frames employed, by addressing several underlying factors. A drawback, however, is the absence of primary sources. In effect, proving causality between the organizational and structural factors and the creation of frames by RT and Ukraine Today is not possible. Furthermore, due to practical limitations I have been unable to give a complete overview of all underlying factors, whereas other analyzed underlying factors could be traced in more extensive research. Overall, this research strengthens the idea that commercial and private capital impact media, and has provided a starting point for further research on frame building and the processes that influence the creation of frames.

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## Appendix

### Transcript RT and Ukraine Today

RT

#### 1. 'There'll be no military intervention in Ukraine' – Lavrov - 1 September 2014 (1.57)

**News anchor:**

“While Russia’s foreign minister has addressed Western concerns about Russia’s alleged involvement in Ukraine, Sergey Lavrov was speaking to aspiring diplomats, at the Moscow State University of International Relations.”

“Our RT’s Irina Galushko was listening in and joins us now: “Uh Irina, what exactly did Lavrov have to say?”

**Galushko:**

“Well he mentioned a number of issues, or course, uh, most of them actually had to do with Ukraine, obviously this being the pressing topic at the moment. But, one of the most particularly interesting moments was when the foreign minister mentioned, uh, the accuses, or suspicions about Russia’s involvement in the Ukrainian crisis.”

**Lavrov (translated):**

“There will be no military intervention. Russia insists on a peaceful solution to this tragedy, this crisis. Everything we do is aimed at a political approach, but unfortunately our Western partners have been blindsided. Everything Kyiv says and does, finds their full support.”

**Galushko:**

“As a matter of fact, that echoes what Russian president Vladimir Putin has said in an interview to Russian media that was aired just on Sunday. Uhm, the Russian president also went on to say, that, uhm, while Kyiv continues to inflict heavy artillery in residential areas in South-Eastern Ukraine, the West stays silent. But, otherwise, the Russian president has indicated that there could be some progress made when it comes to talks with Ukrainian president Poroshenko whom, as Putin said, is a man who could be talked with. And of course, he also mentioned, uhm, Kyiv’s, uhm, he also mentioned that, uhm, more consultations about the, uhm, the nature and the state and the status of the South-Eastern of Ukraine should be held, before any concrete steps, of course, he made towards resolving

the crisis in South-Eastern Ukraine.

**News anchor:**

“Irina, thank you very much. Irina Galushko reporting for RT International.”

**2. Donetsk, Lugansk ready to remain part of Ukraine, seek special status - 1 September 2014 (1.34)**

**News anchor:**

“Breaking news this hour, because anti-government leaders in Ukraine’s Donetsk and Lugansk regions have announced a list of negotiating points, which they will present to Kyiv’s government at today’s talks in Belarus. Let’s get more now on this from RT’s Paula Slier. Uh, Paula, from what we now, they are not asking for independence, are they?”

**Slier:**

“No, they are not asking for independence, as you say, representatives of the Lugansk and Donetsk region are meeting with the Ukrainian authorities, in what many see as possibly the first step in what could be a long-term process for a long-standing peace deal. Now, they recognize Ukraine’s sovereignty. There is no intention to see this country fall apart, but rather keep it intact and they have put forward a list of demands. These include an end to the Ukrainian army military operation that has been on the go for the better part of half a year. They want to see their fighters and political prisoners receive amnesty. They want an official status for the Russian language, and if you remember, it was exactly the opposite of this that caused people to go to the streets in the first place. They are also asking for a special territorial status. They want special economic status, which essentially means closer cooperation with Russia, and they’re also asking for special military status, which essentially means recognition for their fighters. This list of demands comes as the anti-government fighters continue with their offensive here in the east of the country.”

**3. Bullets flying overhead: RT crew forced to the ground in E. Ukraine - 3 September 2014 (2.24)**

**News anchor:**

“These aerial images show the remains of a village in the Donetsk region in eastern Ukraine.

Devastated by Ukraine's military campaign. At least 1500 people used to live there. Now, as you can see, it's empty and houses lie in ruins. Nearby villages and towns are still being bombed, despite anti-government forces pushing the army out. RT's Paula Slier followed the fighters on one of their missions."

**Slier:**

"We're with the anti-government fighters in the outskirts of the town of Ilovaysk. We're travelling to where they think there might still be Ukrainian soldiers hiding."

"We are walking through a field here. We are following the anti-government troops. Now, this part of the town is supposed to be clear of the Ukrainian army. But, they're coming just to check that there is nothing, no soldiers, hiding here, or mines on the ground."

"Okay, there's, there's firing right now. So we are lying in the field here and the bullets are going over us. You can still hear it. Right next to us. We're just, we're just going to keep down. So let's just stay down and... ah, shit. Okay, you heard that explosion. There's explosions going right over us. We are going to stay on the ground. You can hear some of the ... the firing coming from behind us and ... some of it is in front of us."

"Since August, these anti-government fighters have actually been winning back most of the cities here, in eastern Ukraine.

(Asks question to fighter): "what did you find there?"

**Fighter (translated):**

"We saw an armed vehicle belonging to the Ukrainian military entering our territory. We did not invite them here. We want to live freely on our own land. There are no Russians here, and there never were. There is only the local population to defend themselves. Do you see any Russians or Chechens here?"

**Slier:**

"We are on our way back. The guys say it was a successful mission and it is just a matter of time before not only the entire town of Ilovaysk and its surrounding areas, but indeed the whole of eastern Ukraine, is in their hands. Paula Slier, RT; on the outskirts of Ilovaysk."

#### **4. Ceasefire timing: 'Ukraine army pushed back, Poroshenko desperate' - 3 September 2014 (1.19)**

##### **News anchor:**

“Breaking news this hour on RT International. President Putin’s spokesperson has stressed that the Russian and Ukrainian presidents have not agreed on a ceasefire, as Russia is not part of the conflict. Now, it comes after Kyiv announced a permanent ceasefire in the east of Ukraine. It is believed that the two leader discussed the issue over the phone. The self-proclaimed Republics in the east say they’re ready to sit down and open dialogue, if Kyiv does stop its, uh, military assault, its so-called “anti-terror operation”. Ukraine’s military crackdown on anti-government fighters has been continuing for five months, but Ukraine, Kyiv has now announced a permanent ceasefire. And here is a tweet from the Ukrainian president confirming the news. Petro Poroshenko says: “As a result of my telephone conversation with Russian President we reached an agreement on a permanent ceasefire.”

“The violence in the east of the country has taken a heavy toll on the people there. According to a report from the UN Refugee Agency, since the start of the conflict, more than 700,000 Ukrainians have fled the fighting to Russia. On top of that, there are more than 100,000 displaced inside the country. Many of their homes were destroyed by the army’s indiscriminate artillery fire on the towns and the cities in the east of Ukraine.

(...)

#### **5. Ukraine's full NATO membership idea 'akin to lunacy' – 3 September 2014 (4.23)**

##### **News anchor:**

“So let’s go live to, uh, geopolitical analyst William Engdahl and author of “Full Spectrum Dominance”, thanks very much for coming onto the program again. What steps could Kyiv be referring to, do you think?”

##### **Engdahl:**

“The steps in regard to what exactly?”

##### **News anchor:**

“They backtracked on their earlier statement of, uh, a ceasefire saying that they’re now putting forward steps for a possible truce.”

**Engdahl:**

“Well, it’s ... it’s very unclear at this point. I think that there’s a deep split, cleft, between Poroshenko’s fact and Yatsenyuk, who is the, uh, the golden boy of Victoria Nuland of the State Department and neo-Conservatives in Washington, and I think that the more the situation in East-Ukraine develops into a catastrophe for the demoralized Ukrainian army forces that are trying to, uh, destroy the place, ethnic cleanse it, the more that that happens, that they aren’t successful, the more that this split between Poroshenko and Yatsenyuk, the prime minister, is going to manifest itself, and how that plays out is very unclear at this point. I don’t hold much weight by any of the steps that Yatsenyuk, when he is talking about full NATO membership for Ukraine, something that is akin to lunacy in my book.”

**News anchor:**

“Why is there this big division, do you think, in the Ukrainian government?”

**Engdahl:**

Well, I think, it’s the fault lines run on different interest factions. Poroshenko’s business interests lie very much in the East of Ukraine, and the agenda of the provi-sector, the Interior Minister, and certainly of the neo-conservative hawks in Washington, is to create a, and this is the only interpretation possible since March of this year, to create such a destruction in the Eastern Ukraine as to destroy the economic relationship between Russia and, especially Germany, but Russia and the European Union, and that is the major goal. The other thing I think is that the very powerful interest, the, uh, the invested interest behind the US military industrial complex, behind the Wall Street banks, see this as the only way to save the dollar system from complete collapse and the diminution of American power globally. Because this is a, uh, do or die, life and death thing for this Western elite and Washington, and also in London, around Cameron.”

**News anchor:**

“Do you think, William, as we are running out of time, one last question: do you think the Western opinion could be influenced at all by the fact that the OSCE is going to see for itself the destruction in the Donbass region. Do you think what they’ll say after seeing that first-hand could change opinion at all?”

**Engdahl:**

“I would hope so, because the pictures that I have seen are just devastating. It’s human destruction on an unimaginable scale. The Nazi’s during WWII didn’t achieve anything more complete than what I’ve seen from the Kyiv, Ukrainian destruction of East-Ukraine. I don’t think, however, that the propaganda machine driving this from NATO, from Washington, is such that reality doesn’t intrude on their propaganda, it’s just a pilotless drone of lies, and, uh, deceptions, that are just coming from Washington, coming from London, and we need some voices of sanity and reason. They are beginning to come out, in Mearsheimer’s article in Foreign Affairs, and the retired Intelligence Officers’ open letter to Merkel from Washington, uh, these are signs, Merkel is being lied to on faulty Intelligence, fake photos and so forth, that are being presented by Kyiv, by Yatsenyuk’s government to justify severe NATO sanctions. This is stepwise a move toward WWII, and certainly toward a new Cold War, and that Europe certainly doesn’t need, and the world doesn’t need it.”

**News anchor:**

“Okay, thank you William, thanks for your thoughts on this. That’s, uh, William Engdahl, a geopolitical analyst. Thank you.”

**6. Kiev, East Ukraine militia agree on ceasefire – 5 September 2014 (1.52)****News anchor:**

“A ceasefire is in place in East-Ukraine. The agreement has been signed by representatives of the self-proclaimed Eastern Ukrainian Republics and the country’s president. RT’s Paula Slier is one of the few foreign correspondents still in Eastern Ukraine and gave us an update.”

**Slier:**

“This ceasefire agreement was signed between representatives of the Lugansk and Donetsk Republic and the Kyiv authorities. It has been welcomed from around the world and here, where I am, in Donetsk city, it certainly seems as if it’s holding. There hasn’t been any kind of artillery firing or gun fire. But of course it’s difficult to say, right now, what is the situation in other parts of the country. It was a 12-point plan, many of these items coincided with the 7-point plan that the Russian president Vladimir Putin put forward two days ago. Now, it does follow a telephone conversation earlier in the week between presidents Putin and

Poroshenko. Both leaders at that stage agreed that they were on the same page in wanting the ceasefire to come about and also in terms of how they saw it happening. Now, the Ukrainian president has called on both his Foreign Ministry and the Organization for Security and Cooperation of Europe to implement the ceasefire, and he says that he will do everything possible and impossible to make sure it happens. We certainly are also hearing from anti-government fighters, that they are laying down their weapons. But that if Kyiv does anything to break the truce, then they will be forced to take up arms again.”

**News anchor:**

“Here are the main points of what the two sides agreed upon. First, is the immediate cessation of fire. Now they’ve also said all heavy machinery will now be pulled back from the front lines, and an exchange of all detainees without exception is expected to begin shortly. And last, but not least, humanitarian aid to the devastated regions has been agreed upon.”

**7. NATO summit pushes alliance East in tough stance on Russia – 6 September 2014 (3.21)**

**News anchor:**

“Although Ukraine’s fragile ceasefire has just been put in place, but new NATO plans are undermining the peace process, that’s according to Moscow. Russia’s Foreign Ministry says the announcement the bloc will hold military drills with Ukraine, is only going to raise tensions.”

“Now, the decision was made public at the ongoing NATO Summit in Wales, where the alliance also agreed to create a rapid reaction force for Eastern Europe, made out of thousands of troops. Correspondent Harry Fear now reporting on the organization’s response to its new found threat.”

**Anders Fogh Rasmussen: Secretary General of NATO**

“Today we must face the reality that Russia does not consider NATO a partner.”

**Harry Fear:**

“Before it even began, the two-day NATO Summit hosted by UK and South-Wales, was set to develop a clear posture against Moscow. Blaming Russia for the Ukraine crisis appeared to be among the top priorities.”



**David Cameron:**

“There has been a clear message sent out from this conference to Russia that what president Putin is doing is indefensible and wrong.”

**Anders Fogh Rasmussen: Secretary General of NATO**

“You will see more visible NATO presence in the East. I think that’s sends a very clear message to Moscow.”

**Harry Fear:**

“NATO committed to putting at least 4000 troops in Eastern Europe and new military equipment in countries near the Russian border.”

**Tony Gosling: investigative journalist**

“Hearing all the leaders there talking about Russia, we’re not hearing about Israel, for example, that has just conducted a massive attack against Gaza, absolutely bulldozed the entire place. I would think if they’re looking at some kind of agenda as the world police, which they seem to think they are, that would a good place to start.”

**Harry Fear**

“Day one of the Summit saw a pledge of commitment to the regime in Ukraine, including fifteen million euro’s worth of assistance”

**Barack Obama**

“We’ll increase NATO’s presence in Central and Eastern Europe. (...) To back up this commitment, all 28 NATO-allies will now provide security assistance to Ukraine.”

**Harry Fear**

“The final day of the Summit saw a ceasefire announced for Eastern Ukraine, but this didn’t ease up Western leaders’ rhetoric. An agreement was reached on the creation of a so-called spearhead force, that’ll be deployable within 48 hours.”

**Chris Bambery: political analyst:**

“I am very nervous about this rapid reaction force, because it’s seems to be very much directed at, really, at either Russia or China. Further down the road, it’s about a conventional war.”

**Harry Fear:**

“Paying for this emboldening of NATO will be no small task. The US and UK are among just a

handful of the 28 members who've been fulfilling the official recommended benchmark for defense spending."

**David Cameron:**

"Allies whose current proportion of GDP spent on defense is below this level, will hold any decline in defense expenditure, aim to increase defense expenditure in real terms of GDP growth, and aim to move toward the 2% guideline within a decade."

**Harry Fear:**

"Was the military pomp complete with fly-over and the disruption of South-Wales, which included road- and school closures, all worth it? Well, despite the anti-NATO protests its Secretary General, Obama and Cameron, got exactly what they planned. A hardened confrontational East-facing stance against Russia. Harry Fear, RT, Wales."

**8. Sporadic shelling in E. Ukraine threatens fragile ceasefire – 7 September 2014 (4.14)**

**News anchor:**

Negotiators from Kyiv and the self-proclaimed authorities in East-Ukraine are said to follow-up the agreement of the current truce, with more discussions next week. Now in a phonecall on the fragile ceasefire, the Russian and Ukrainian leaders agreed that it was holding. RT's Paula Slier is in the region's biggest city: Donetsk.

**Paula Slier:**

"Certainly from the start it was understood that it would be a very fragile peace. The Russian president Vladimir Putin spoke via telephone with his Ukrainian counterpart yesterday, and the two did agree that, although it was shaky, in most senses it was still holding. They spoke about ways that they would be able to make it more durable. One of these ways of course being cooperating in terms of humanitarian aid that is being brought by both the international community, and the Ukrainian authorities. We are also now hearing from the Ukrainian Interior Minister, that additional troops have been deployed to the city of Mariupol. Now, I have been travelling these checkpoint, and can tell you that in most of the checkpoints you still encounter both soldiers on the Ukrainian side and anti-government fighters, who are incredibly tense. They are holding onto positions that they held onto prior to the ceasefire going into effect. But certainly, the mood on the ground is one of deep

suspicion, whether or not the ceasefire is going to hold. And certainly, the more violations we keep hearing about, the more questions are being asked. About its, uh, durability.”

**News anchor:**

“A report suggests that at least one life has been claimed by renewed fighting in East-Ukraine’s port city of Mariupol. Locals say there’ve been sporadic attacks across the region. Russian monitors there have blamed pro-Kyiv mercenary gangs. Well, earlier today, Paula also visited one village in the area, where a house was hit by shelling.

**Paula Slier:**

“Here in the village of ... an hour ago, this house was hit. You can see the smoke still billowing from the roof. It certainly is a very, very fragile ceasefire and it’s not certain whether indeed it will stand the test of time. Now, some two days after that ceasefire was signed, we are still seeing shells hit residential areas like this.”

**Woman (translated):**

“There was shelling and now I’m left with no home!”

**Paula Slier:**

“As you can see the shell hit, (coughing), the roof of the house, the whole roof of the house has collapsed and it’s still burning.

“We’ve been ordered out of the area, anti-government fighters are afraid that there could be further shelling, so we’re moving out right now.”

**News anchor:**

“Right, Paula is one of the few foreign correspondents to remain on the ground in East-Ukraine. Before the milestone truce, she even reported standing right next to a grad missile launcher. Stay in touch with the latest developments following her Twitter-feed.”

“The European security watchdog which helped broker the truce along with Russia, has released details of the peace plan agreed in Minsk earlier this week. First the sides agreed to an immediate cessation of fire, and in a big concession for Kyiv, the plan also grants special status to the restive region with an early election. Local elections said to be held. Also, the truce would be observed by European monitors. Kyiv and anti-government leaders also agreed to an exchange of all detainees and to the pulling back of all military hardware. And while both sides seem committed to the roadmap, former Belgian MP Lode van Vanoost

says sporadic fighting on the ground is still to be expected.”

**Lode Vanoost:**

“This is completely inevitable giving, for example, just, just the practical matter of the lack of central command on both sides. Whether this will be a reason for the collapse of the truce, does not depend on these incidents themselves, it depends on the sincerity of both sides, to keep the truce, that’s the main element, the political element, not whether there will be incidents, there will be incidents, but if you look at the history of these kinds of truces, it’s not the fact that there will be incidents, it’s the political will behind it, that decides whether or not a truce like this will hold.”

**9. Ceasefire holds in E. Ukraine despite sporadic clashes, accusations – 8 September 2014  
(1.57)**

**News anchor:**

“The ceasefire agreement between government forces and militias in Eastern Ukraine is holding. Both have already freed hundreds of detainees. The distrust between weary sides is still causing tension. Paula Slier is in the region for us, and joins me live now.”

“Paula, it’s the longest ceasefire we’ve seen in months in the region. How solid does it look right now?”

**Paula Slier:**

“Well certainly this ceasefire does seem to be holding. Let me remind you that it was signed in effect on Friday evening. At this stage, detainees are being exchanged in Ukraine, and this in accordance with the truce. We don’t know exactly how many prisoners have been handed over, but we have heard from the Ukrainian president Petro Poroshenko some 1200 Ukrainian soldiers have been handed to Kyiv since Friday. But these numbers have been disputed. The Russian president Vladimir Putin spoke via telephone with the Ukrainian president. The two agreed that dialogue needed to continue, they updated each other on the situation. Poroshenko also said that he was boosting defense in the city of Mariupol. He made these comments after visiting the city earlier on Monday. Mariupol has been a flashpoint of violence. Sporadic incidents have occurred there since the ceasefire went into effect. We’re also monitoring the situation here in Donetsk. Now, both sides blame each

other for violations. There've been around a dozen, but again, it's very difficult to determine exactly what is the number. At the same time, there has been at least one civilian casualty in the city of Mariupol and some dozen people who've also been injured. Of course the truce is very precarious, I've been speaking to international observers on the ground, but they are satisfied that for now, it is holding, despite the fact that we have seen several flare-ups on the violence."

## **10. E.Ukraine offensive went bad, too late for Donetsk, Lugansk 'special status' – 10**

**September 2014 (4.19)**

### **News anchor:**

"Well for analysis of the Ukrainian president's statements, let's talk to World Affairs journalist Neil Clark who joins us live. Neil, good to see you there, thank you very much for your time as always. Uhm, let's talk about these statements then, because federalization is being put forward as a possible solution to the crisis, even by Kyiv's supporters, but Poroshenko is rejecting this as a possibility, why do you think that is?"

### **Neil Clark:**

"Well, he is, isn't he? And I think that, to be quite honest, when the leaders of the coup took power in Ukraine, back in February, had they really wanted to bring the people of the East with them, then they would've offered federalization then, or at least sizable autonomy. But they did absolutely opposite, they deliberately set out to provoke the people in the East. Reminder, one of the first things they did was change the Russian language law, having its official second language status in the East. Uhm, they then appointed two billionaire oligarchs to govern Eastern provinces, and they also reversed the ban on Nazi insignia. So, they did everything to actually alienate people in the East, and provoke the present crisis. It's a bit rich now, for Poroshenko to come out talking about special status. Had this been announced earlier, back in February, 2000 people's lives would have been saved, perhaps hundred thousand people are now refugees. So I think we've got to look very carefully at the motives of the Kyiv authorities. In doing this, it is quite clear that their military offensive didn't go well. That's why they signed up to this ceasefire, and the great suspicion is that they're only using this in order to rearm and regroup to launch an offensive at a later date,

that's the worry."

**News anchor:**

"Well the Donetsk and Lugansk Republics, they, uhm, are set to remain regions within Ukraine. You've mentioned it there, we've talked about the special status, as it's called, what could that mean?"

**Neil Clark:**

"Well, we don't know yet, do we? And, that's the problem. We haven't had ... any detail on this, and Poroshenko has gone back on his word on several occasions. And I'm sure that nobody in the East will want to sign up to any deal when there aren't more details, and also what that special status means, when it still means that they'll be governed by billionaire oligarchs appointed from Kyiv. And it reminds me a bit of the situation in Ireland, actually, a hundred years ago when the British authorities tried to subdue the Irish Nationalist cause by violence. Uhm, there was a war of Independence going on in Ireland, and the British used irregular forces called the ..... who committed tremendous atrocities, and of course this made the Irish, uhm, more hostile to any idea, actually, staying within the British empire. And, uhm, even though a treaty, a peace treaty, was signed with the British, like this ceasefire now, there was division in the Irish camp, and eventually of course, Ireland broke away because people by then, were so angered by the violence that was used against them, that is made them more militant. And, I think this is what we're seeing in the East of Ukraine. This measure might have been enough back in February, uhm, calling for a special status, when the coup took place, but it is now, I don't think, because the people in the East are quite, uhm, are actually more hostile to Kyiv, obviously, then they were back in February, because 2000 people have died, their homes have been shelled, people have been made refugees, and understandably, many people in the East, do not want to stay part of a Ukraine led by Poroshenko, when the current government has committed so many crimes against them."

**News anchor:**

"Briefly, what is your situation, uhm, your reading of the situation on the ground? There are reports that the Ukrainian army is massing there, but Poroshenko says it's not for an offensive, what's your interpretation of the ceasefire and how it's holding and the situation

on the ground?

**Neil Clark:**

“Of course, he is bound to say it’s not for an offensive. The suspicion I’ve had is that this ceasefire, and I hope I’m proved wrong to be honest, because obviously we want to see and end to this, but the suspicion I’ve got is that this is used tactically by the Ukrainian authorities to rearm and regroup, the war wasn’t going well for them, and that they will launch an offensive at a later date. The problem we got here is that the hawks in Washington, don’t want this crisis to be solved, that is the basic problem. They want to keep this going, for uhm, an excuse for NATO expansionism, and an excuse for more sanctions to be imposed on Russia. Because, if there is peace, it is very hard to justify sanctions on Russia. What would be the pretext? So there are some, ... serial war mangers, we could call them, the war party in Washington want to keep this going, and that is the big, big problem, and that, I think, is a big concern for all of us, who actually want to see a peaceful solution to this conflict obviously.”

**News anchor:**

“World Affairs journalist Neil Clark, thank you very much for your time, here on RT International.”

**Ukraine Today**

**1. Russia Slams NATO: NATO plans rapid reaction force to counter Kremlin invasion threat - 2 September 2014 (1.15)**

**Voice-over:**

“Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov says Ukraine’s plan to join NATO has undermined Russian efforts to reach a peace deal with Ukraine over the conflict in Eastern Ukraine. The Kremlin also reacted with fury over plans announced by NATO chief Anders Fogh Rasmussen on Monday to establish to establish a 4,000-strong rapid-reaction force in Eastern Europe due to Russia’s military intervention in Ukraine. Senior officials close to the Kremlin said the announcement would compel Russia to fundamentally alter its military doctrine toward NATO. Meanwhile NATO has rotated countries responsible for patrolling over the Baltics. Canada and Portugal have taken over from Poland and Britain whose fighter Jets have been

making increasingly regular fights in the region due to increasing tension with Russia over Ukraine.”

**Marijus Velicka: Lithuanian Vice Minister of National Defence (translated by voice-over):**

“Because of the Russian aggression in Ukraine the defense ability of Lithuania and all Baltic States is important because we don’t know how the situation will develop and what will happen in future so we must increase our security at the highest level right now.

**Voice-over:**

“At NATO’s Summit in Wales this week, NATO leaders are expected to agree on a longer-term plan for boosting NATO’s Eastern defenses in response to the increasing threat to European security from Russia.”

**2. Russian Invasion of Ukraine: EU prepares new sanctions against Kremlin – 2 September 2014 (0.32)**

**Voice-over:**

“The EU's next foreign policy chief, Federica Mogherini, says the 28-nation bloc will decide on a package of new sanctions against Russia by Friday. British Prime Minister David Cameron is pushing to have Russia locked out of the SWIFT banking transaction system, which would be a major blow to the Russian economy. The EU has been accused of inaction following the escalation of Russian aggression in East-Ukraine and of not doing enough to discourage Russian president Putin to pull back his forces.”

**3. NATO Troops in Ukraine: Military alliance to hold joint military exercises in western Ukraine – 3 September 2014 (1.04)**

**Voice-over:**

“Western allies are preparing to hold a joint military exercises in Western Ukraine later this month. The drills come against the backdrop of Russia’s invasion and are being seen as a sign of support for the country, which is not a NATO member. Several NATO members and partner states such as Georgia and Azerbaijan had planned to hold the exercises in July, but they were delayed until September due to planning disruptions caused by the Russian backed insurgency in Ukraine’s East. Russia’s invasion of Ukraine and increasing belligerent



behavior in the region has forced NATO to refocus its strategy toward the Alliance's former Soviet faux. NATO has boosted its troop presence in the Baltics and is expected inside on more support from European members during a Summit in Wales this week. The United States has pledged about 52 million dollars in nonlethal aid to Ukraine but has so far refused to provide weapons and other forms of military support."

#### **4. 'Russia could take Kyiv in 2 weeks': Kremlin angered by disclosure of Putin comments to EU leader – 3 September 2014 (0.35)**

##### **Voice-over:**

"More threats from Russia. Moscow says it will publish president Vladimir Putin's threat about "taking Kyiv in two weeks," claiming the remark was misinterpreted and its meaning taken out of context. Putin reportedly made the threat to European Commission president José Manuel Barroso during a conversation about Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Moscow has repeatedly denied that its soldiers are fighting in Ukraine despite hard evidence to the contrary from Ukrainian authorities, NATO, and even Russian' rights groups."

#### **5. Europe 'Failed' to Stop Ukraine War: Council of Europe blames EU institutions for conflict – 3 September 2014 (1.12)**

##### **Voice-over:**

"The Council of Europe has admitted that European institutions failed to stop the war in Ukraine. The Secretary-General of the European Human Rights body made the remarks during a joint press conference in Kyiv with Ukraine's Foreign Minister."

##### **Thorbjorn Jagland: Council of Europe Secretary-General:**

"The fact that this conflict developed is also a failure for the European institutions. Actually the European institutions were set up after the Second World War in order to create peace and to prevent new wars in Europe. But, uhm, we haven't been able to, ... to fulfill that mandate."

##### **Voice-over:**

"The Council of Europe chief said that Russia's actions in Ukraine belong in a bygone era."

**Thorbjorn Jagland: Council of Europe Secretary-General:**

“I would like to say that what is going on now in Eastern Ukraine, should not belong to the 21<sup>st</sup> century Europe, it should belong to the past.”

**Voice-over:**

“The critical comments also appear to point the blame at NATO and the European Union. Many argue that the EU and NATO’s response to the war on their borders has been hesitant, weak and divided.”

**6. Ukraine-Russia Ceasefire? Poroshenko and Putin move closer to possible peace deal – 3 September 2014 (0.35)**

**Voice-over:**

“A potential ceasefire between Ukrainian and Russian forces has moved a step closer. Ukrainian president Petro Poroshenko and Russian president Vladimir Putin held a telephone conversation in which an end to fighting in East-Ukraine was discussed. Poroshenko wrote on Twitter that the two leaders had reached an agreement on achieving a ceasefire in the Donbass. Putin’s spokesperson confirmed that both agree to a large extent but denied that Russia was party in the conflict. The talks come as new evidence shows Russian tanks deep inside Ukrainian territory.”

**7. Cameron Likens Putin to Hitler: UK PM is latest leader to compare Nazi and Russian dictators – 3 September 2014 (0.49)**

**Voice-over:**

“British Prime Minister David Cameron has compared Russian President Vladimir Putin to Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler. During a closed-doors meeting with Europe's leaders, Cameron warned against 'appeasing Putin' in the same way that the continent appeased Hitler prior to World War Two. Details of the confidential comments were obtained by Italian Newspaper La Repubblica. Cameron also said that Europe “risked repeating the mistakes of 1938, when European powers allowed Nazi leader Hitler to annex the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia. British and French appeasement then encouraged Hitler to attack Poland a year later, triggering World War Two. Putin has been compared to Hitler by a growing number of

International leaders, including US politician Hillary Clinton. The Russian president has also been dubbed “Putler” by anti-war protesters and online activists.”

#### **8. Russian Invasion to Dominate NATO Summit: Ukrainian President Poroshenko to attend Cardiff meeting – 3 September 2014 (1.17)**

**Voice-over:**

“Security is tight in the Welsh city of Cardiff ahead of this week's crucial NATO summit. Heads of state are expected to discuss the Russian invasion of Ukraine and security in Eastern Europe. The Alliance will also discuss bolstering its troop presence in the Baltics. The former Soviet Republics have become increasingly nervous about Russia’s aggression in the region. Anti-war protesters have vowed to march in the city centre on Thursday, prospect that has made some residents angry.”

**Robert Wynn: Cardiff resident:**

“Let them do it elsewhere. I don’t want to see... they anticipate a lot of nihilist and anarchists coming in tomorrow and trying to destroy the place, breaking windows like in Chicago two years ago. I don’t want that to happen to my city. They just make me furious, quite frankly.”

**Voice-over:**

“The meeting will bring together NATO’s heads of state, as well as the Ukrainian president Petro Poroshenko, the only non-NATO leader invited. Dozens of policemen were deployed around historic Cardiff Castle, where British Prime Minister David Cameron will host US president Barack Obama and other world leaders on Thursday for an official banquet.”

#### **9. Ukraine Peace Plan: Putin and Poroshenko discuss way out of east Ukraine conflict – 4 September 2014 (0.33)**

**Voice-over:**

“Ukraine's President Petro Poroshenko says he hopes a peace process for the conflict-hit east of the country will begin on Friday in Minsk, when Ukrainian and Russian representatives will meet alongside officials from the OSCE. Russian President Putin has echoed Poroshenko's hopes for progress on Friday, and has laid out a seven-step plan to end the bloodshed. However, Ukrainian Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk has rejected the plan

and says it is an attempt to deceive the international community.”

**10. Obama Backs Ukrainian Army: US President calls on NATO to support Ukraine’s military – 4 September 2014 (0.43)**

**Voice-over:**

“President Barack Obama has harshly condemned Russian aggression in Ukraine as a threat to peace in Europe and pledged that NATO will protect allies who fear they will be Moscow’s next target. Speaking in Tallin, Obama declared “this is a moment of testing” for the Western alliance to stand up to the Kremlin. The Pentagon, meanwhile, announced that 200 US soldiers would participate in an exercise in Western Ukraine starting next week. The largely symbolic move, distant from the conflict with Russian-backed insurgents, it would mark the first presence of American ground troops in Ukraine since the crisis began.”

**11. EU Sanctions Putin Over Ukraine War: Brussels prepares to punish Russia for invasion of Ukraine – 4 September 2014 (0.37)**

**Voice-over:**

“Europe is expected to widen and tighten economic sanctions this week in response to the Kremlin's invasion of Ukraine. Possible measures were approved on Wednesday and passed on to the 28 governments for approval by the European commission by Friday. There could still be changes to the proposals since several countries including Hungary, Cyprus, and Slovakia had opposed the sanctions. EU members have raised the possibility of either boycotting Russia’s hosting of the next 2018 FIFA World Cup or having Russia’s staging of the tournament canceled.”

**12. Ukraine Peace Deal: Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko expects peace plan to be signed 5 September – 4 September 2014 (1.21)**

**Voice-over:**

“Ukrainian president Petro Poroshenko says that he expects that a stage-by-stage peace plan will be signed tomorrow afternoon to de-escalate the conflict in the East of his country. A contact group composed of representatives from Ukraine, Russia, the OSCE, and insurgent

groups is set to meet in Minsk on Friday to discuss possible terms of a ceasefire. It comes following a meeting of heads of state which produced few results. The Ukrainian leader expects the group will come to a peace deal in the afternoon.”

**Petro Poroshenko: Ukrainian President:**

“According to the preliminary information, tomorrow at 2 p.m. a session of the trilateral contact group should take place. A document which prescribes a stage-by-stage implementation of the peace plan for Ukraine, should be signed there. If it is confirmed and a meeting takes place, I will address the Army General Staff leadership and order a bilateral ceasefire. We hope, that the implementation of the peace plan will be launched tomorrow. All of our partners and I are looking forward to it.”

**Voice-over:**

“Poroshenko is in Cardiff, Wales to attend a NATO Summit. The meeting is expected to focus heavily on security in Eastern Europe, as well as the Russian invasion of Ukraine.”

**13. Russian Tanks in Ukraine: Sky News films Russian vehicles inside Ukrainian territory – 4 September 2014 (1.33)**

**Voice-over:**

“Further video evidence has emerged of army vehicles in eastern Ukraine. Sky News filmed what it claims are Russian tanks and armored carriers inside Ukrainian territory. The vehicles bear the white spots used by insurgents but all other markings seem to have been removed. The report comes a day after amateur video surfaced showing a huge column of Russian military vehicles deep inside Ukraine. The video, filmed from a trolley bus, shows tanks of a kind only used by the Russian military. For nearly three minutes, the trolley bus passes at least thirteen Russian battle tanks, forty-two Russian infantry fighting vehicles, six Russian armored personnel carriers, thirty-one Russian troop-carrying-trucks and some fifteen fuel trucks. International condemnation has been growing in recent days. Last week, Barack Obama said Russian forces had been seen inside Ukraine.”

**Barack Obama, US President:**

“Russia has deliberately and repeatedly violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine and the new images of Russian forces inside Ukraine make that plain for the world

to see.”

**Voice-over:**

“That statement was reinforced by NATO satellite images, which the Alliance said, showed large numbers of Russian forces engaged in military operations in Ukrainian territory. The mounting Intelligence evidence, including eyewitness accounts by journalists and Ukrainian citizens, has made it increasingly difficult for the Kremlin to conceal its stealth invasion of Ukraine.”

**14. Mariupol Under Attack: Russian army attacks Ukrainian port city with artillery fire – 5 September 2014 (0.31)**

**Voice-over:**

“Grad rockets fired by Russian forces have hit in the vicinity of the city of Mariupol on Ukraine's southeast coast. This comes amid mounting fears of an attack on the city by Kremlin-backed insurgents and Russian troops. Residents of the city, earlier, held a peace rally, calling for the Kremlin to pull back its forces. Ukrainian troops are on high alert against an offensive which could come by land or sea. Russian forces remain in control of the nearby town of Novoazovsk.”

**15. Russian Army Attacks Mariupol: Peace deal in doubt as Russian soldiers lay siege to Ukrainian port – 5 September 2014 (0.35)**

**Voice-over:**

“Russian troops have attacked Ukrainian positions in southeastern Ukraine with heavy artillery and missile fire. The barrage on the outskirts of Mariupol coincided with declarations by Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko and insurgent leaders that a ceasefire was in the offing at negotiations Friday in the Belarusian capital, Minsk. Ukrainian leaders have so far refused to negotiate directly with the insurgent leaders, whom they have branded as terrorist stooges of the Kremlin.”

## **16. NATO Slams Moscow: Kremlin told to pull back Russian troops from Ukraine – 5**

**September 2014 (0.34)**

### **Voice-over:**

“NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen has told the Kremlin to pull back Russian troops from Ukraine and to stop supporting insurgents in eastern Ukraine. Rasmussen also called on Russia to end its illegal and self-declared and unrecognized annexation of Crimea. NATO and US officials say several thousand Russian soldiers are presently fighting in Eastern Ukraine and thousands more were deployed along Ukraine’s Eastern border with Russia.”

## **17. Frontline Report from East Ukraine: Ukrainian forces redeploy to combat Russian army invasion – 5 September 2014 (1.53)**

### **Voice-over:**

“This is neither withdrawal nor retreat. The Ukrainian Army has been relocating their Task Forces to new positions as regular troops from Russia seem to be involved in the conflict. This soldier has no doubt: his adversary is in the Russian Army.”

### **Ukrainian soldier:**

“Now Russian regular troops are attacking us from Donetsk. I want to say for all the people, the individuals, they are here and we’ll keep our border and we’ll protect our country from this, uhm, this, uhm, from Russia.”

### **Voice-over:**

“Ukrainian military claims they still don’t have plans to pull their forces back from Donetsk airport, which is vital for both sides of the conflict. But the soldiers say they were engaging Russian tanks with only their small, light, weapons. These boys are playing ping pong in an empty supermarket. Their village is supposed to be recaptured by insurgent forces assisted by Russia as Ukrainians step back. This destroyed station is a good place to keep the Ukrainian position unseen from the enemy side.”

### **Andriy Tsaplienko: correspondent Ukraine Today:**

“The main road leads to Donetsk. At first glance, the situation here appears to be calm and stable but in fact, this hidden position of the Ukrainian forces is situated on the very ... of the wedge into rebel territory, so Russian forces could easily gather from two sides and surround

the position, anytime they want.”

**Voice-over:**

“Ukrainian artillery has been targeting insurgent positions in the Donetsk suburbs. The heavy shelling started as we came to this position. The soldiers ordered us to leave the checkpoint, now we’re following their convoy with two wounded soldiers, one slightly, one severely. The road here is empty already. Nobody wants to lose their life in the open air, but it’s too late. Another severely wounded soldier had died. Another victim of the Ukrainian war for Independence.”

**18. Ukraine Ceasefire Agreed: Ukrainian officials sign deal with Russia and Kremlin-backed insurgents – 5 September 2014 (0.20)**

**Voice-over:**

“A ceasefire to end fighting in east Ukraine has been signed in Minsk between the Ukrainian government and Kremlin-backed insurgents. The truce is scheduled to come into effect at 6pm local time. Present at the Minsk talks are representatives from insurgent groups, Russia, Ukraine and the OSCE.”

**19. NATO Backs Ukraine: New sanctions against Russia to be announced on 8 September – 6 September 2014 (0.33)**

**Voice-over:**

“British Prime Minister David Cameron has said that further EU sanctions against Russia will be brought into force if the Kremlin does not adhere to a peace plan in Ukraine. He underlined NATO’s full support for the ceasefire agreement currently in place between Ukrainian forces and Kremlin-backed insurgents. Cameron underlined Britain’s contribution to NATO’s new spearhead force. The four-thousand strong division could be deployed within days to protect any of the Alliance’s European member states.”



## **20. Ceasefire Holds: Poroshenko says truce lays foundation for political dialogue – 6**

**September 2014 (0.40)**

### **Voice-over:**

“Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko has said in that the ceasefire deal announced is the foundation for political dialogue and does not threaten Ukraine's territorial integrity. Appearing on BBC's Hardtalk programme, Poroshenko said he was ready to carry out full exchange of prisoners of war over the weekend. The trilateral contact group on Ukraine, Russia, Ukraine and the Organization for Security and Cooperation on Europe on September 5<sup>th</sup>, reached an agreement in Minsk on cessation of fire, troops withdrawal, exchange of prisoners, and provision of humanitarian aid.”

## **21. Cessation of Hostilities: Ceasefire holds as prisoner swap talks continue in Minsk – 6**

**September 2014 (0.37)**

### **Voice-over:**

“A tentative ceasefire is holding in eastern Ukraine after Kyiv agreed a truce with Kremlin-backed insurgents that included a pullback of weapons and the release of prisoners. The deal held out the best hope so far for an end to a five-month war that has already killed more than 3,000 people. Ukrainian government forces stop fighting at dusk on September 5<sup>th</sup>. Negotiators in Minsk are expected to further discuss agreements on prisoner exchanges and the delivery of humanitarian aid, putting more substance on the fragile outline of the truce.”

## **22. Ukraine Ceasefire Breached: Shelling in Mariupol and Donetsk shatters the shaky truce**

**– 7 September 2014 (0.49)**

### **Voice-over:**

“Kremlin-backed fighters and Russian soldiers continue to shell government troops near Donetsk Airport, despite Ukraine's army strictly holding their fire. Plumes of black smoke has been seen from downtown Donetsk, an insurgent-controlled city in Ukraine's industrial east. On Saturday night, explosions echoed across the port city of Mariupol, as Ukrainian troops and volunteer battalions protected their defensive line against Russian-backed fighters firing GRAD rockets on the city's eastern suburbs.

The renewed shelling began hours after the presidents of Ukraine and Russia acknowledged the ceasefire was largely being adhered to.”

### **23. Russian Military in Ukraine: Amnesty International says Kremlin could face war crimes charges – 8 September 2014 (0.41)**

#### **Voice-over:**

“Russia has individual accountability for war crimes in Ukraine and could be taken to the international criminal court in The Hague. That’s according to Amnesty Secretary-General Salil Shetty, who told Ukraine Today that satellite images and eyewitness testimonies provide proof of Russia’s direct support of separatists despite the Kremlin’s repeated denials. The organization’s findings add to mounting international evidence of regular Russian forces and heavy artillery crossing into Ukraine’s territory. Amnesty International observers also documented cases of killings, torture and indiscriminate shelling in Eastern Ukraine.”

### **24. Minsk Ceasefire Deal Explained: Ukrainian public skeptical of 12-point peace plan – 8 September 2014 (1.53)**

#### **Voice-over:**

“Details are now emerging of the faltering east Ukraine ceasefire deal signed in Minsk, Belarus. 12 points were agreed at the summit last Friday by negotiators from Ukraine, Russia, east Ukraine insurgent leaders and the OSCE. The plan envisages the demilitarization of the East of Ukraine. Firstly, all sides have agreed to observe an immediate end to fighting in the Donbass. The OSCE is to monitor and report on whether the ceasefire holds. A buffer zone on the Ukraine-Russia border will be created, also monitored by the OSCE. All the illegal fighters and military hardware will be removed from East-Ukraine. The deal could theoretically bring relief to those involved in the conflict. All prisoners held by both sides will be released in a so-called all-for-all prisoner exchange and amnesty for combatants who committed certain offenses will be introduced. The safety of those involved in peace negotiations will be guaranteed. The plan includes assistance for people living in the Donbass. Measures will be taken to boost humanitarian aid in the region. A program will be

introduced to revive the region's ailing economy. The deal commits to governance changes in Ukraine. An inclusive national dialogue will be held across the country. Immediate local elections are to be held in both Donetsk and Luhansk, what powers to be devolved to local government in the Donbass. The peace deal was signed by former Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, Russia's ambassador to Ukraine Mikhail Zurabov, representative for the OSCE and two militant commanders based in East-Ukraine. There's been little optimism on the ground with sporadic fighting continuing in the East and concerns over the implied concessions Ukraine would have to make in order for ceasefire agreement to become the basis for a permanent peace deal."

## **25. RT Exposes Insurgent Human Shield Tactics: Russia Today shows grad attack from residential area – 8 September 2014 (1.06)**

### **Voice-over:**

"Russia's state-controlled media appears to have inadvertently exposed Kremlin-backed insurgents using Ukrainians as human shields. A report by RT shows militants firing Grad rockets from what the reporter calls an "undisclosed location." It appears the rocket launcher is set up in a small village somewhere in eastern Ukraine. After firing several rounds, the camera shows a bush on fire near someone's home. The reporter then says it's time to leave the area, because the Ukrainian army could begin firing back.

### **Video of Paula Slier, RT:**

"We're now getting out of here, because there is the fear that missiles will start coming in, so let's get out of here."

### **Voice-over:**

"It appears the reporter and the channel didn't realize they were showing insurgents provoking an attack on a civilian populated area. The Kremlin has long accused Ukraine of shelling in residential areas, but the video shows that at least in this case it's the insurgents who are provoking a potential counter-strike on the village. The Ukrainian military has complained that insurgents have used human shields since the beginning of the conflict as a tactic to deflect blame for civilian casualties."

**26. Five Ukrainian Soldiers Killed Despite Ceasefire: Clashes continue following shaky Minsk peace deal – 9 September 2014 (0.35)**

**Voice-over:**

“Five Ukrainian soldiers have been killed since Friday's ceasefire deal with Russia and insurgents. A further 33 Ukrainian troops have been wounded since the peace agreement was signed in Minsk, Belarus. The death toll indicates that the fragile ceasefire is struggling to hold. There have been reports of attacks by Russian militants near the Donetsk airport and by the strategic coastal city of Mariupol, both currently held by Ukrainian forces. The news comes as Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov called for talks on the future political status of Donetsk and Luhansk.”

**27. Insurgents Compare Ukrainians to Nazis: Kremlin-backed fighters threaten Kyiv despite ceasefire – 9 September 2014 (0.53)**

**Voice-over:**

“Russian militant leaders in Donetsk have been celebrating the Soviet Union's victory against fascism. Several hundred people attended the event to commemorate the 71st anniversary of the city's liberation from the Nazi military.

Kremlin supporters attending were quick to make a parallel between German fascists and the current Ukrainian government. One Russian militant commander, Alexander Khryakov, said that a real ceasefire would come 'when there are no more fascists. And not just in the Donbas but in Kyiv as well’.

Those comments come as pro-Kremlin militant Alexander Zakharchenko swore and promised to 'crush' the Ukrainian government like a 'kitten'. The comments put into question the level of commitment Donetsk separatist commanders have in reaching a genuine political settlement in east Ukraine.”

**28. Ukraine United but Special Status for Insurgents: Poroshenko plan fuels ‘frozen conflict’ fears – 10 September 2014 (0.32)**

**Voice-over:**

“Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko says he will submit a draft law giving special status to

areas in east Ukraine held by Kremlin-backed insurgents. The move comes within the framework of a peace plan agreed to last week by insurgents and the Ukrainian government. A ceasefire has been in place since last Friday. Poroshenko says it is largely being observed but insurgents are constantly trying to provoke Ukrainian forces. He has stressed that according to the peace plan, there can be no violation of Ukraine's territorial integrity.”

## **29. Ukraine 'Frozen Conflict' Fears: Poroshenko proposals envisage 'special status' for insurgent zones – 10 September 2014 (1.50)**

### **Voice-over:**

“Ukraine’s President Petro Poroshenko says he will submit a draft law to parliament next week to give special status to Ukraine’s eastern Donetsk and Luhansk regions. But he is adamant that the country will not make any concessions on its territorial integrity. The proposed legislation is based on a peace plan signed last Friday in Minsk. A ceasefire which began on the same day has largely been observed as efforts continue to bring an end to five months of fighting between the Russian-backed insurgents and the Ukrainian troops.”

### **Petro Poroshenko: Ukrainian President (translated):**

“It is stated that the law of Ukraine on the temporary regime of local self-rule in some parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions clearly prescribes the status of these regions as a part of Ukraine. Next week, this draft law will be submitted to Ukraine’s parliament. And I underline that the future of peace depends on it. This law ensures a peaceful bringing of these regions back under the Ukrainian sovereignty.”

### **Voice-over:**

“Poroshenko has stressed that the plan made at last week’s meeting in Minsk does not include the federalizations of Ukraine’s Eastern territories. Poroshenko says that Ukraine is strengthening its defenses and offered new intelligence on Russia’s military intervention in East-Ukraine.”

### **Petro Poroshenko: Ukrainian President (translated):**

“I want to update on the latest information I received from our main Intelligence Directorate, that seventy percent of the Russian forces were pulled back across the border. This gives us another firm hope that peaceful initiatives have a good future.

**Voice-over:**

“Poroshenko says that although the ceasefire has largely held “the terrorists are trying all the time to provoke Ukrainian troops.”

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- het overnemen van gedrukt materiaal zoals boeken, tijdschriften of encyclopedieën zonder aanhalingstekens of verwijzing;
- het opnemen van een vertaling van teksten van anderen zonder aanhalingstekens en verwijzing (zogenaamd "vertaalplagiaat");
- het parafraseren van teksten van anderen zonder verwijzing. Een parafraze mag nooit bestaan uit louter vervangen van enkele woorden door synoniemen;
- het overnemen van beeld-, geluids- of testmateriaal van anderen zonder verwijzing en zodoende laten doorgaan voor eigen werk;
- het overnemen van werk van andere studenten en dit laten doorgaan voor eigen werk. Indien dit gebeurt met toestemming van de andere student is de laatste medeplichtig aan plagiaat;
- het indienen van werkstukken die verworven zijn van een commerciële instelling (zoals een internetsite met uittreksels of papers) of die al dan niet tegen betaling door iemand anders zijn geschreven.

Ik heb bovenstaande definitie van plagiaat zorgvuldig gelezen en verklaar hierbij dat ik mij in het aangehechte BA-eindwerkstuk niet schuldig gemaakt heb aan plagiaat.

Tevens verklaar ik dat dit werkstuk niet ingeleverd is/zal worden voor een andere cursus, in de huidige of in aangepaste vorm.

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Datum: 25-01-2017

Handtekening: 