The construction of fake news

How the crisis in Crimea is framed and lessons for the future

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28 February 2018

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Preface

This thesis is the final product of the master program Human Geography with the specialization: Conflicts, Territories and Identities. I have attended this program with great interest. After my bachelor in journalism I wanted to specialize as a conflict journalist. It is with great memories that I will remember the Radboud University, the masters, professors and fellow students. With this thesis I demonstrate what I have learned from at the university and show my specialization as a conflict journalist. Since my childhood I have been fascinated by Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The buildings and statues, the atmosphere and the society differs from the well-known western world. In line with my fascination, choosing a research topic in Eastern Europe seemed fitting. The challenges surrounding Crimea and the war in the Donbass appealed to my interest. I followed the reporting of this news topic very closely. The situation worsened when flight MH17 crashed in the Donbass. This incident struck me so much that I used it as subject in my bachelor thesis. Academic literature and news reports about Ukraine are aspects that I have already extensively researched. The courses followed in this program, such as Geopolitics of Borders and State Building and Conflict Management in the Caucasus, also featured Ukraine. Throughout the whole year, I was able to delve deeper into academic literature about this war and Ukraine, resulting in this thesis.

Finally, and most importantly, I want to express my appreciation and gratitude to many people: first, to professor Henk van Houtum for supervising and guiding me through this thesis. Secondly, I also thank my classmates Nick Daniel, Dirk van de Ven and Liza Veens for their help in not only my thesis but my entire time at Radboud University.

Marvin Hop

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Summary

Media plays an important role in the daily life of the general public. It provides people with information regarding events from all over the world, thereby influencing global standards like the economy, global trade, national interests and conflict. In areas of conflict performing journalism is sometimes under a lot of pressure because it is not always possible to verify the news. Certain parties have interest in bringing news that it could benefit them, in winning that conflict. The aim of this research is to get an insight into framing during a conflict. To this end, the research question is as followed:

How do the Russian Federation, Ukraine, NATO, the European Union and the United Nations frame their interest during the shift of power of Crimea?

This question discusses the shift of power of Crimea. Since February 2014 there have been clashes between the pro-European Union (EU) side and the pro-Russian side of the Ukrainian citizens on Crimea. The autonomous parliament of Crimea voted to hold a referendum and chose to be part of the Russian Federation (RF). This resulted in a conflict between Ukraine and the RF in which the Russian Federation eventually had soldiers on the ground in Crimea who fought with the Ukrainian soldiers on the battlefield.

The research question is answered by conduction a framing analysis. Two countries and three organizations are investigated: the RF, Ukraine, the EU, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the United Nations (UN).

The first step was to determine the political agenda of each party by analysing each organization's press releases posted on the internet. The second step was to select three different newspapers for the framing analysis: The New York Times, Rossiyskaya Gazeta and the Fakty I Kommentarii. The third step was to perform a framing analysis.

The outcome of the framing analysis showed, that there is framing taking place by all the parties in all the newspapers. Each party frames its interests the way its suits the party the best according to their beliefs and agenda, resulting from the press releases. The Russian Federation has an interest in having and keeping Crimea part of the Federation. By the use of fierce tactics and a specific tone of war the frame that Crimea is better off with the Russian Federation. Ukraine has an interest in taking Crimea back and frames its interest as victim of war. NATO wants peace and security. It frames its interest by siding with Ukraine. The European Union has interest in stability and peace. Its frames its interests by condemning the Russian Federation and by siding Ukraine. Final, the UN had interests in stability and peace. Its frames its interest as party for negotiations.

Conducting journalism in an area of conflict can be very hard. Journalists have to rely on multiple sources in creating their own story. They have to check how other journalists write about the same story thus journalists can create a common understanding or an intersubjective truth. If this is the case, journalists can create a polynarrative to make sure that they are not spreading fake news. This is important because the conflict between Ukraine

and the Russian Federation about Crimea is far from over. Meaning that framing still takes place

With this conclusion a final recommendation is made to journalists to use this polynarrative to stop the spreading of fake news. For further research it could be interesting to conduct a framing analysis on the Donbass region. To see if it shows similarities with the Crimean conflict.

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Acronyms

EU:	European Union
FK:	Fakty I Kommentarii
NATO:	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
NYT:	New York Times
OSCE:	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.
RG:	Rossiyskaya Gazeta
RF:	Russian Federation
UN:	United Nations
UK:	Ukraine
US:	United States

1 - Introduction

On March 17, 2014 the acting president of Ukraine Oleksandr Turchynov said, *"The Kremlin is afraid of the democratic future which we are building, and this is the reason for their aggression … but we will never accept the annexing of our territory"* (CNN, 2014). One day later the President of the RF, Vladimir Putin, addressed the State Duma, the Russian Parliament and other political entities. He stated, *"Everything in Crimea speaks of our shared history and pride … the overall basis of the culture, civilisation and human values that unite the peoples of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus"* (Kremlin, 2014). These two reports are widely spread by different news agencies and show two opposite reactions from two different interests, framed according to different perspectives regarding the shift of power in Crimea (Mankoff, 2014).

The examples of these news reports are being called the story of the creation: selection, gathering, making, framing and reporting of the news and making it more salient to create a certain reality (Entman, 1993). It is doubtful that people can believe the mainstream media because some news outlets have been changed, altered or falsified to benefit a certain group or government (p50-52). It is difficult to investigate framing in isolation because it is rooted in the larger context of media analysis. Getting insight in framing can explain much regarding the way the media presents the news to an audience (Scheufele, 1999, p104). Framed news can cause a shift in public opinion and can put a certain party in a bad position, especially in an area of conflict or in an area where there is a lack of legal protection for journalists, preventing them from asking questions freely (Carruthers, 2011, p1-3). Case studies are effective ways to investigate this phenomenon of framing (Creswell, 2013, p1-3; Dimitrova and Strömback, 2005). For this case study the Crimean conflict between Ukraine and the RF is highlighted (Mankoff, 2014). Following the case study, this thesis focusses on how different newspapers frame certain interests of different parties to benefit those interests in the Crimean conflict.

Fake news

All different newspapers, websites, television networks, radio channels and social media sources show their own interpretation of an event which makes it difficult to believe one truth. This is strengthened by the fact that some countries have state-controlled television networks (Pridham, 2014, p53-54). In such cases, the media have an interest is portraying or maintaining parts of a story the way the government would like to see them. As a result, state media, even independent news sources, have highlight certain news aspects which could be questionable. In the theoretical background of this thesis, I argue that it is important to not believe fake news, which is sometimes difficult to recognize; rather people must look to the party or organization that says it is telling the truth and claim that they are telling the truth.

In the Crimean crisis there are certain parties who are battling against each other. These parties benefit from spreading fake news because doing so helps them achieve legitimization, respect, justification – or even may help them win an election or war. At this moment there is a big debate in the United States regarding whether fake news spread by the RF has influenced the presidential election (ONI, 2017). This is an important reason for why this thesis is relevant.

This thesis warns both the general public and journalists about this 'information war' of fake news (Khaldarova & Pantti, 2016, p3; Norris, 1995; O'sullivan & Heinonen, 2008, p357). This work shows how different parties involved in the Crimean crisis have utilized fake news, thus

revealing that it is important to not always believe what is said in the news. It also provides ways for journalists to ensure they do not become victims to fake news or the spreading of it. To strengthen the statement that we must not believe fake news, I want to reveal the intersubjective assumptions of the reality of this news in the Crimean crisis.

In global society battles are being fought not only on a certain battlefield but globally. A conflict goes viral when the mainstream media, internet and social media spread fake news and incorrect information (Severin & Tankard, 2010).

Objective and questions

This thesis constitutes critical research on how different countries frame the shift of power in the Crimean peninsula. It adds new insights regarding how framing has worked in recent history and provides some ways for readers to be aware of such framing. The research objective is to get insight into the extent to which different interests (from the RF, Ukraine, NATO, the EU and the UN) are being framed during the shift of power in Crimea. The main question of this research is the following:

How did the Russian Federation, Ukraine, NATO, European Union and United Nations frame their interest during the shift of power of Crimea?

To answer the main research question, three sub-questions were developed:
1 What were the interests of the different parties?
2 How did the parties express their interests in the reporting of the newspapers?
3 How does the outcome of the analysis relates to the literature?

Thesis outline

In chapter 2 the background of the Crimean conflict is highlighted, including geopolitical differences, tensions in Kiev and the Donbass and a chronological summary of main events that have shaped the conflict. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework of the research. The main theories of Foucault (1973), Bourdieu (1996) and Goffman (1974) are highlighted and give insight into the basis of framing. Furthermore, chapter 3 will discuss truth-seeking and explains how the media is being used as instrument of war. It defines two core concepts, framing and interest, and explains their place in the theoretical framework. Chapter 4 gives insight into the methodology used to determine the interests of the parties involved and how the news reports of the framing analysis are determined. Chapter 5 presents the empirical insights gathered through the methodology from the previous chapter. The insights of the press releases resulted in the coding used in the framing analysis, so the framing analysis reveals how framing takes place. In chapter 6 the results of this framing analysis are described for each newspaper. In chapter 7 the results of this analysis are reflected to the core theories of information war, truth-seeking and framing in general. I argue why journalists and the reading audience must not believe fake news. Instead, they should examine the party who is claiming a truth and compare that stories with other media to see where it matches and differs. It will provide ways for journalists to deal with framing and interest in a conflict area. This is followed by the general conclusion of this research in chapter 8. Chapter 9 provides an evaluation and recommendations for further research.

Relevance

This study raises awareness of framing and of the situation in Crimea and the problems with conducting journalism. Framing has an impact on journalists who seek the truth of a story. When reporting for television, internet or a newspaper, journalists have to make choices that could be perceived as certain frames which impact the general public and its interpretation of that story (Dimitrova & Strömback, 2005).

In recent years the tension in Ukraine has increased, resulting in an ongoing, fragmented and complex war that can impact the geopolitical situation of both Ukraine and the RF. It also impacts the European Union and NATO (Bebler, 2015; Treisman, 2016, p47). In 2014 the governmental power of the Crimea peninsula shifted from Ukraine to the RF, an action known to many Western countries as annexation. Nevertheless, the RF considered it the retaking of what it considers lost land. Even today there is still unrest between Crimea and the international community (Biersack & O'Lear, 2014; Grant, 2015; Paul, 2015). On February 15, 2017 the President of the United States, Donald Trump stated, "*Crimea was TAKEN by Russia during the Obama Administration,* (CNN, 2017). This statement resulted in a new wave of media reports about Crimea making this still an active conflict.

This thesis adds value to the existing media and framing debates, because there has not been a study that specifically investigates framing of interests in a conflict area. There has been much research of framing and interests and about power and framing, such as Entman (1993), Foucault (1980) and O'sullivan and Heinonen (2008), which form a strong basis for this research. On the other hand, there is also many studies based of conflicts for example, geopolitics (Biersack & O'Lear, 2014), legal arguments (Grant, 2015) and the consequences of the retaking of Crimea (Paul, 2015). However, these studies do not mention framing or media aspects.

Different empirical insights were expected from this research. For example, it was hypothesized that a certain kind of framing would occur in the RF, but an entirely different kind would occur in the UN or NATO. A primary goal of this research was to provide ways for journalists to conduct objective and truthful journalism in an area of conflict.

The underlying scientific challenge of the role of the media in conflict is addressed by this thesis. Thussu and Friedman (2003) see three key narratives of media when reporting conflicts: as critical observers, publicists and the surface in which reporting of war is imaged and executed. They assume that journalists are independent in their work and are expected to tell the truth (Thussu and Friedman, 2003, p4-5). Different researchers have concluded that newspapers of different countries have their own identity and that they report news in different ways (Dekavalla, 2010; Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999). This means that there is a high possibility that all modern newspapers could provide stories that are framed (O'sullivan and Heinonen, 2008, p358). This research is theory-based, meaning that it can add certain academic value to the existing literature (Creswell, 2013).

While reporters are expected to report the news as neutrally as possible, there are many reasons why such neutral news in under pressure. For example, the identity of a newspaper can create news that is reported in different ways, such as another perspective or a certain

political bias. This kind of framing is strengthened by other research that has delved deeper into framing. For example, Dimitrova and Strömback (2005) conducted a framing analysis of two newspapers from Sweden and the United States. They concluded that the United States newspaper, which relied on military and governmental sources, had a much fiercer tone of war and that there are different ways for a newspaper to cover war, depending on the countries itself (p399). The underlying issue is that people trust that reporters from conflict areas tell the truth, but that it may be misplaced. Sometimes the story can be influenced to live up to the identity of the newspaper, thus becoming the victim of framing. This gives insight and adds social value to the overall debate of annexation and the way newspapers are involved with it. It is important to mention that the events in Crimea happened in 2014, so all the literature concerning geopolitics is recent, making this thesis up to date and based on fundamental geopolitical, conflict and social theories.

2 - Tensions in Crimea

This chapter provides the background and context of how the situation of Crimea has changed during the transition of power from Ukraine to the RF. Furthermore, it presents the history of Crimea, Ukraine and the Euromaidan movement, which resulted in the shift of power in Crimea. This is important because the current conflict is rooted in the history between Crimea, Ukraine and the RF.

History of Ukraine

The current situation of Crimea is grounded in history. Ever since the Russian Empire, the state of Crimea has been contested (Dawson, 1997). The small peninsula that extends from Ukraine into the Black Sea is home to around two million people and the size can be compared to Belgium or Slovenia (Onuch, 2014). In the time of the Soviet Union, both Ukraine and Crimea were part of this union. Under Nikita Khrushchev, Crimea was transferred from the Russian Socialist Republic to the Ukraine Socialist Republic in 1954 as a gesture of friendship. It stayed in this position until 1991. On August 24, 1991 Ukraine declared its independence from the Soviet Union, becoming an independent country. Crimea, which was still part of the Ukraine Socialist Republic, also became independent and was provided with great autonomy inside the Ukrainian Republic (Mankoff, 2014, p60-63). In January 1991, before Ukrainian independence, the people of Crimea held their own referendum to decide whether they wanted to be an autonomous republic or an oblast inside the Republic of Ukraine (Pridham, 2014, p53-54). The inhabitants of Crimea, which consisted of a majority of ethnic Russians and a minority of Ukrainian nationals and Crimean Tatars, voted to be an autonomous republic with its own legislation and government inside the Ukrainian Republic (Onuch, 2014, p44-45; Pridham, 2014, p53-54).

Euromaidan

The issue leading to the shift of power in Crimea began in 2014 when the Euromaidan protest emerged in Ukraine (Onuch, 2014, p1-3). The Euromaidan was a period of unrest between November 21, 2013 and February 23, 2014 (BBC, 2014). The unrest started because the people of Ukraine had to decide whether they wanted more European integration or more integration with the RF (Pridham, 2014, p54-58). The people of Ukraine were provided with two options: a pro-EU course in a form of an association agreement with more economic and political cooperation with the EU or strengthening ties with the RF (Pridham, 2014, p54-58). On November 21, 2014, when pro-EU Ukrainian citizens were informed that the signing of the association agreement was suspended, they started a small protest in Maidan Square in central Kiev (Bebler, 2015). In the following months clashes emerged between riot police and protesters, resulting in many injuries and deaths (Mankoff, 2014, p57). President Victor Yanukovych refused to sign the association agreement with the EU and instead sought closer ties to RF on February 18, 2014. This immediately resulted in a massive protest by the pro-EU citizens of Ukraine, demanding that he sign the agreement with the EU. Mankoff (2014) states that about 200,000 protesters came together at Maidan Square in Kiev. About 77 protesters were shot dead, and Parliament voted to impeach president Yanukovych, who fled Kiev on February 21, 2014 (p55).

Crimea

On February 23, 2014 pro-Russian demonstrations emerged in Crimea in reaction to the pro-EU demonstrations in Kiev (BBC, 2014). This was the beginning of the Crimean crisis that lasted until March 18, 2014 (Onuch, 2014, p46). In the next five days there were clashes between the pro-EU side, consisting of the Crimean minorities of Ukrainians and Crimean Tatars, and the pro-Russian side, consisting of the majority ethnic Russian-speaking inhabitants of Crimea. They demonstrated in the peninsula's capital, Simferopol, and the main port city Sebastopol, which also houses a major Russian naval base that is home to the so-called Black Sea Fleet of the Russian Navy adding another layer of complexity of this crisis (Onuch, 2014, p46). Pridham (2014) mentions that on February 26-27, 2014, anonymous military forces seized the Supreme Council of Crimea, the Council of Ministers and the Crimean parliament building. Because these forces seemingly appeared from out of nowhere, they are referred to as the 'little green men'. They took away the Ukrainian flags and replaced them with the Russian flag (Pridham, 2014, p58-60). The autonomous Parliament of Crimea came together in an emergency session and voted to end the Crimean cabinet and replace the prime minister with someone from the Russian Party (Biersack & O'Lear, 2014). The Parliament also voted to hold a referendum regarding whether the people of Crimea wanted to be part of Ukraine or part of the RF. Image 1 shows a map if Crimea. It shows its place inside Europe and shows which part of Ukraine is governed by the autonomous Parliament of Crimea.

Image 1: Map of Crimea and its place in Europe. Source: Wikimedia Commons / Maximilian Dörbecker, 2017

On March 14, 2014 the referendum took place. Of all the voters in Crimea, 95% voted for independence from Ukraine (Bebler, 2015). The Republic of Crimea was thus formed, and it declared itself an independent state. It asked the RF if Crimea could be part of its country. On March 18, 2014 the treaty of accession was signed in Moscow (this happening is also referred at the front page of my thesis) (Mankoff, 2014, p60; Onuch 2014). This treaty was signed by president Vladimir Putin of the RF, the new prime minister of the Republic of Crimea, Sergei Aksyonov, the chairman of the state council of Crimea and the chairman of the city council from Sevastopol (RT, 2014).

Afterwards, numerous other events increased the tension between Ukraine, Crimea and the RF (Biersack & O'Lear, 2014; Grant, 2015).

Aftermath

Pridham (2014) and Mankoff (2014) mentioned that there were certain consequences after the shift of power in Crimea. For example, the ruble was introduced as the official currency and all Ukrainian property became Crimean and eventually Russian. The Moscow time zone was entered turning all clocks an hour in advance. All people in Crimea were given Russian passports and Russian companies started to invest in Crimea. Furthermore, all Ukrainian military personnel were evacuated. The Ukrainian army sabotaged electricity, water and gas on which the agriculture of Crimea heavily depended. Ukraine also boycotted Russian products, gas stations and movies, and all cross-border public transportation was stopped (Mankoff, 2014, p60-65; Pridham, 2014, p54-58). Currently only four countries in the world recognize Crimea as independent, and there are still tensions between Ukraine, the RF and Crimea (Bebler, 2015; Biersack & O'Lear, 2014). At the same time the Crimean crisis took place, unrest also emerged in the eastern part of Ukraine, also known as the Donbass. This includes the regions Donetsk and Luhansk. After the shift of power in Crimea, separatist movements also wanted independence for these parts of Ukraine. A massive Russian military presence was detected near the Ukrainian border. On July 17, 2014 flight MH17 from Malaysia Airlines was shot down near the Ukrainian-Russian border. It was on route from Amsterdam to Kuala Lumpur. All 298 passengers died (Onuch, 2014). The context of the Donbass is important because it returns in the news reports during the framing analysis.

3 - Theoretical background

This chapter provides insight into the main theories used in this research. These theories were used in the framing analysis and provide more insight into understanding framing and interest.

Framing

Fundamental for research about framing is Goffman (1974). In order to understand how the framing debate has evolved in the recent years, it is important to get insight into its origins. Goffman (1974), who first introduced the concept of framing, states that everything that happens in life is being interpreted to better understand it. This interpretation is a frame, and it can help people to create their own reality (p21-22). Goffman (1974) makes a distinction between two kinds of framing: primary and secondary framing. The primary includes framing of people's everyday experiences – for example, at home, work or in nature. Such framing makes ordinary things, which could be experienced as meaningless, meaningful (p21-22). Within primary framing Goffman (1974) makes a distinction between natural-framing and social-framing. Natural-framing refers to the fact that not all things are interpreted, such as a chair or a tree. Goffman (1974) states about this, *"It is seen that no wilful agency casually and intentionally interferes that no actor continuously guides the outcome"* (Goffman, 1974, p22). This means that some framing can be neutral, that there are no positive or negative sides to this natural-framing.

On the other hand, social-framing is not neutral. According to Goffman (1974), it is possible to influence social-framing by honesty, tactics, taste and various other methods to determine the outcome of an event. Social-framing can be adapted and therefore interpreted, guided in different ways or even blocked. For example, Goffman says, *"An example of a guided doing would be the newscast reporting of the weather*" (Goffman, 1974, p22-23). A news agency decides for the public how the news is broadcasted (Bourdieu, 1996). The people who are watching the news interpret the weather forecast in their own way. They can, for example, take an umbrella with them when it is going to rain. Goffman (1974) adds that social framing always includes rules; otherwise people could not function in a society. He gives an example of traffic rules. Without them it would not be possible to drive properly. Thus a society needs to create rules in order to function (Goffman, 1974, p24).

Framing is just one part of the wider journalistic field which is important to understand because framing is embedded in a wider structure of news and media (Benford & Snow, 2000; Kellner, 2003, p270). Bourdieu (1996) was the founder of thinking about media, journalism and television. In his book *On Television* (1996) Bourdieu connects two key concepts of that wider structure: media and politics (p2). First the concept of media, this connection is important because politicians determine the interests of countries, which are then reported and spread by the media (Kellner, 2003, p55). It is in a journalist's interest to produce a unique and independent story (Bourdieu, 1996, p2). Journalists want to make such reports as simply as possible so that they can be aired quickly and so that people are willing to watch it and understand it (Bourdieu, p8). Second the concept of politics, Bourdieu states that politics has a major influence on journalism by controlling, censoring and intervening in a rather invisible way to achieve its own agenda (Bourdieu, p15-18). Therefore, it can affect what the audience is thinking, and it can encourage the audience to act. About this Bourdieu says, "*Television enjoys the de facto monopoly on what goes into the heads of a significant part of the*

population" (Bourdieu, 1996, p18). It creates a certain reality effect, a social construction to mobilize individuals and groups.

Bourdieu's (1996) points about television also apply to radio, newspaper and internet reporting (Dimitrova & Strömback, 2005; O'sullivan & Heinonen, 2008). Different media-outlet in combination with audience ratings, credibility and competition, puts journalists under pressure to seek truth. The media, therefore, needs to reposition itself in order to compete. They do so in a number of ways, such as creating stereotypes, a different agenda, a new conception of news – more extraordinary, symbolic or cynical. In other words, journalists themselves have their own interests and frame the news accordingly. They try to maintain high audience ratings with a profitable earning model (Sutton, 1992, p2-8; Thomas, 1993, p115). This is another reason why this research is so important. Because it gives insight in how journalists operate. Another pressure comes from the government. It can influence the media with economic and juridical sanctions. In countries that have a so-called 'free press' such pressure is not an option, but in other countries the press is under pressure by different powerful parties, resulting in a major impact on media (Bourdieu, 1996, p69; RSF, 2017). The power of telling a story shifts from the media to the government. As a result, the media can lose its objectiveness and can start producing stories that contain fake news (Bourdieu, 1996, p70-73; Khaldarova & Pantti, 2016, p4).

Defining framing

As mentioned in the chapter Introduction, newspapers, radio stations, television broadcasts and social media tend to report the news in their own way for a target audience within broader society (Buns, 2003, p32; Luyendijk, 2006). The media bases its reports on reporting from the ground, press releases, speeches from leaders and official government documents (Bell, 1991, p84-85). Thomas (1993) points out that journalists of different media outlets use different words, verbs and the use of active or passive voice in order to influence how the story is perceived with the targeted audience (p115). The choices of words are very important. Sutton (1992) says, "*The words chosen by any speaker or writer help to crystalize his or her thoughts, and subsequently steer that person's perceptions"* (p3). The use of all these aspects to tell the story to the audience is an example of framing (p3-4).

While there has been extensive research done regarding framing, the definitions and the ways of using the term vary, thus resulting in an academic debate about framing. Benford and Snow (2000) call framing "*an active processual phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction"* (p614). They mean that framing is done consciously by a person to create a kind of reality. Scheufele (1999) mentions that framing is surrounded by a theoretical and empirical vagueness because of the lack of a theoretical model that underlines and conceptualizes framing research (p103). The lack of this model was expressed by Entman (1993) who considers framing a scattered conceptualization. Finally, Lakoff (2010) argues that framing is telling the truth as we see it (p75). All these researchers highlight different aspects of framing. As a result, I have created my own interpretation of framing based on those theories to minimize misunderstanding. In this thesis framing is defined as the following:

A process of communication in which information is being transferred that is influenced, altered or constructed to present a certain problem or issue which may benefit the sender of the information.

This definition is a combination of the different theoretical approaches of the previously mentioned researchers including Benford and Snow (2000) who are talking about a process. Lakoff (2010) talks about telling the truth how we see it, meaning that it is structured or altered. In addition, aspects of communication theory also have a place in this definition. For example, Goffman (1974) mentions that an agent (the sender) can guide an outcome (p22). This aspect is also highlighted by Bourdieu (1996), who connects this to the relationship between journalism and politics (p6).

Process of framing

Elaborating on the process of communication as described in the definition of framing, Scheufele (1999) has mapped the process of framing. He proposes a four-step method to understand framing: One first builds a frame, based on the interests one wants to communicate. In other words, a government or a journalist can create a frame that suits its parties interest. For example, the RF could frame its battle, or a journalist could create news according to how she would like to see it. Secondly, one determines the audience who receives the frame. For example, the Russian Federation communicates to Crimea that it is part of the RF, or it sends a small release to people from a certain village to make sure they vote "yes" to the Crimean referendum. The third step constitutes the effects on the person who receives the frame. For example, in the case of the village voting "yes" for the referendum, the effects of the frame occur to individual people who act or change something. Fourthly, the frame returns to its creator when the sender of the frame determines whether the frame needs to be adapted or changed. This change could happen because a journalist or country has not achieved its interest yet. There could also be pressure from a newspaper to change a frame. After the fourth step, the steps repeat with the frame being sent to the selected audience again. Thus, framing is a constant process which does not stop and does not show any signs of stopping (p114-118). While looking into the framing of interests, it is important to remember that parties frame their own interests – a two-way process of both framing others and framing themselves. So when repeating a frame, a party also repeats the way it is placing itself in a situation for example, as a victim or as a saviour. This process (of framing) is especially important in a conflict because countries can use their power to achieve their framing interests (p115). The following image shows the process by a schematic view. Within this table it is shown that how this process works and it elaborates once more the importance of the ongoing process.

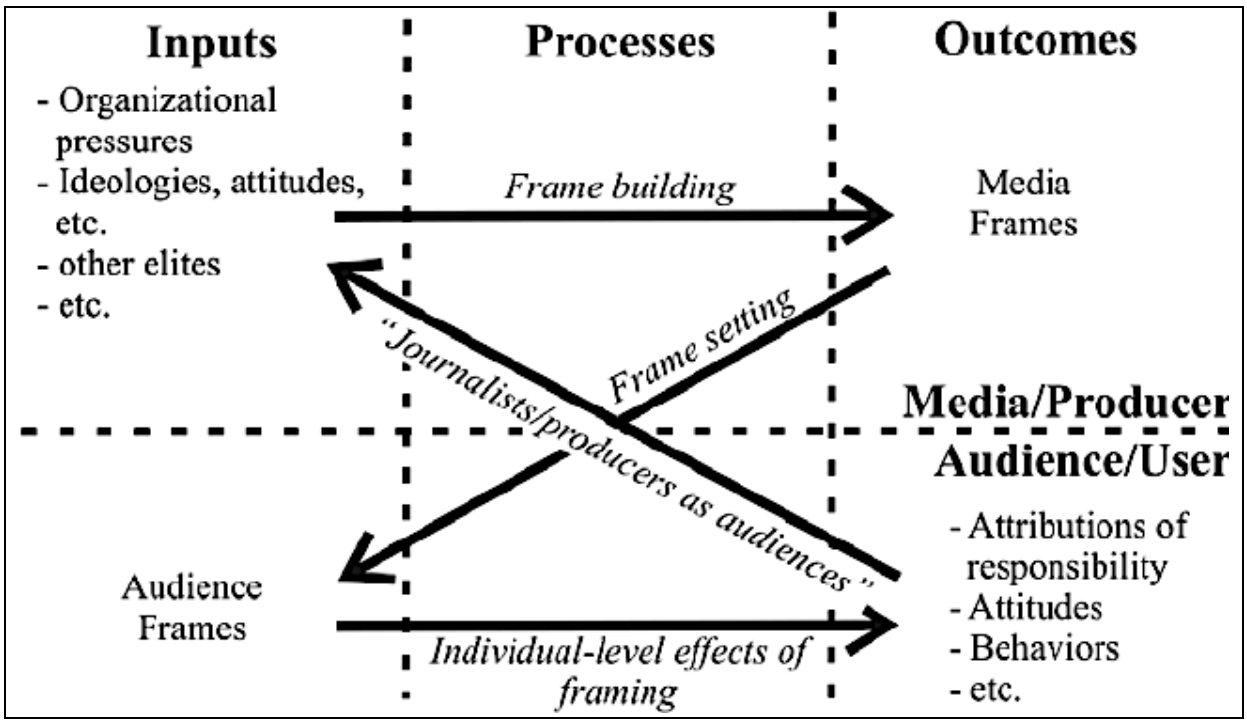


Image 2: Schematic view of the framing process (Scheufele, 1999, p115).

Power of media

Those in power have the opportunity to frame certain reports or interests (Entman, 1993; Kellner, 2003; Luyendijk, 2006). Through media it becomes possible to see who has power in the world and who does not. Media also help in identifying those who have power to use force and violence against a group of people, such as soldiers of another country or even against journalists. Some media outlets legitimatize that power and use it as a tactic to show to less powerful people that they must obey (Kellner, 2003, p2). This is confirmed by Baudrillard (2010), who adds that perhaps it is even more dangerous is when news that did not happen is presented as real news. The next picture illustrates an interesting note, that Forbes magazine named President Putin of the RF the most powerful person of 2016 (Forbes, 2016). Meaning that it is hypothesized that the RF will frame their reporting on a certain way that it will benefit its country the best.

Image 3: President Vladimir Putin of the Russian Federation. Source: (Kremlin.ru, 2017).

In the case of the RF and Ukraine, a hegemonic society can add new, complex dimensions to the conflict because both have equal power making it harder to achieve victory (Baudrillard, 2010). This brings me to the third main theory that is the foundation of this thesis from Baudrillard (2010). He mentions in his book *The Agony of Power* (2010) how he sees power relations in the world. In his opinion, the world is changing from a domination to a hegemony; there is no single country that has power over another, such as the United States or the RF. People live in a world in which all countries are both hostile and allies in a global society. After hegemony is reached there could also be a negative reaction (Baudrillard, 2010). According the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everybody is equal (UN, 1948). However, the fact that some parties within countries and between countries do not feel equal results among other things in terrorism, irony, mockery and the oppression of human values (Baudrillard, 2010). Countries, therefore, have to innovative sources to win; the use of media is a good example of such innovative sources (Dimitrova & Strömback, 2005). Baudrillard (2010) sees a circle in the way power relations is expressed. Western countries demand that non-Western countries follow this hegemonic view, giving them access to global markets. Because everything is about the market, goods and trade, a country can become so dependent on it that it essentially becomes a hostage. As a result, Baudrillard questions whether the world would be better off with domination (Baudrillard, 2010).

Power relations relate directly to media and framing because power enables a government to determine truth, which is one type of framing. Foucault (1973) mentions the concept of the regime of truth in his book *Discipline and Punish* (1973). He presents the formation of a new penal system (p30). He explicitly does not use the term 'truth' but 'regime of truth' because truth is embedded in a given power structure or regime. Foucault (1973) later argues that truth is produced and altered by multiple actors that have power, meaning that every society has its own regime of truth and that truth is created. This means that certain parties have the power to define truth for others; governments can essentially construct truth (p112). With a state-run media, for example, such altered truth can be spread to the general public. In different types of societies there are different kinds of truths and different mechanisms which

determine that truth (Pridham, 2014, p53-54). Another example of this can be seen on the list of the World Press Freedom Index, which shows where journalists can perform free journalism. The list shows that free journalism in the RF and Ukraine during the Crimean conflict faced significantly increased pressure than in stable, conflict-free countries with more freedom of press (RSF, 2017). In later work Foucault (1976) argues that the most important political problem is "*trying to change our political, economic, institutional regime of the production of truth"* (p113-114). Meaning that governments can use the mass media to supress and mislead people to believe in everything they are shown. In such a scenario, the few benefit by showing things to the many (p253-255). In other words, the misleading referred to by Foucault (1976) is called framing by Bourdieu (1996).

Misleading of truth can eventually lead to new conflicts in which the truth of governments is contested. There are many international organizations, such as the UN, who have set up many guidelines and agreements to create global standards. They have created common agreements regarding definitions, for example, of human rights, definitions of truth and peace (UN, n.d.). Despite those common agreements some disagree. For example, philosopher Rorty (1979). He questions truth and argues that a representation or reflection of the reality around us. He argues that there is no truth but that there is one reality and that everybody is experiencing and interpreting it in their own way (Rorty, 1979). Many people would agree that a house is a house, that that is the truth. If someone would argue that a house is an apartment building, there would be a difference in people's truth. When looking at different people's interpretations, there is a new dimension to truth because a person's interpretation of a house could truly be that he sees it as an apartment building. Rorty (1979) argues that the highest attainable truth is agreement between people about a certain claim or reality. He says that people can try to justify claims of truth but that it is not possible to talk about truth itself (p183). Wijnberg (2017) expands on Rorty (1979) by saying that truth is a social construct with a social group embracing that truth. Different social groups do therefore create different realities and different reality groups living next to each other can be described as culture (Wijnberg, 2017, the answer: more facts section, para. 1). If governments create truth and actively pursue them, it can put those social groups against each other and increase the dividing leading to friction or conflicts.

Journalism under pressure

The internet puts journalism under pressure because of the speed at which news and information spread in the modern day (O'sullivan & Heinonen, 2008, p362). Especially in the global world were the main source of information is the internet (p358). Often news from a major press agency, such as Reuters, AFP or AP, is used and spread again. Sometimes news outlets do not have time to check and double-check the news to make sure it is true (Buns, 2003, p32; Lotan et al., 2011). In fact, Luyendijk (2006), who was a correspondent in the Middle East, argues that it is almost impossible to discover the truth as a foreign correspondent and that a journalist can only report about the facts given from an authoritarian regime (p66). He says: *"Before I became a correspondent I thought news was about what is important in the world, … news is what differs from everyday life, an exception on the rule"* (p44). In response to Luyendijk (2006), Hoogstraten and Jinek (2008) claim that it is certainly possible to pay attention to subjects a journalist describes as important. They say that journalists can give a daily update about their findings that creates a clear image in time.

They do recognize that *"It is naïf to think that a journalist can discover the ultimate truth"* (foreign journalism section, para. 2).
Combining those theories with Goffman (1974), it makes sense to argue that journalists themselves also frame and select the news according to the agency they work for. It is possible to alter or simplify news stories to better appeal to a certain audience. Luyendijk (2006) acknowledges this in his book*: "I tried to write articles that break the image of Arabic people as creeps … such parts disappeared to the opinion-page who, according to a reader survey are barely read"* (p46). This disregard for truth is because journalists benefit from telling the news the way they would like to see it or from modifying their storytelling to better meet the expectations of that newspaper's audience. Therefore, truth is both created and reproduced.

In addition, truth has come under pressure because of its earning model and advertising needs (O'sullivan & Heinonen, 2008, p357). There are so many news sources that consumers have a wide choice of consulting, for example, multiple websites or television networks. That makes is harder for website to earn money. This is mostly done by advertising sales and making news for a targeted audience. These goals affect how the news is selected, gathered and framed (O'sullivan & Heinonen, 2008, p357; Entman, 1993).

The aspects of speed (O'sullivan & Heinonen, 2008, p362), not discovering the ultimate truth (Luyendijk, 2006, p44), selection of news and framing of the journalists themselves (Goffman, 1974, p46) and governments creating truth (Foucault 1973) can all contribute to creating fake news. Oates (2014) says that fake news takes the form of propaganda entertainment. Furthermore, it has aspects of scandalous material, blame and denunciations, which could mislead or take things out of its context (Oates, 2014 in Khaldarova & Pantti, 2016 p3). As a result of this fading distinction between real and fake, Wijnberg (2017) warns that when social groups no longer agree regarding reality, they also lose hold of that reality, thus endangering the existence of society.

Interests

Behind all these power and cultural struggles is the competition of interests to ensure that one society is better than another. Huntington (1993) mentions that conflicts occur not because of economic or ideological reasons but because of cultural ones. While nation states are the most powerful actors in the global society, major conflicts occur between nation states and between different cultures within or outside those states (p22-23). Huntington sees a significant problem with the West and similar countries. He calls this problem the *"West and the rest",* meaning that non-Western countries will try to become part of Western countries (p47-48). This reveals that there is a debate going on concerning how to deal with the interests of countries. Bourdieu (1984) sees culture as the main motive of how people interact in daily life and which manners they tend to use. These manners were made, developed and shaped over many years, resulting in certain habits and ways of thinking. When a certain group of people in a certain area use these manners, they become part of a culture. While some areas only have one culture, others have many cultures, resulting in many identities (p1-2). The more identities the more countries are prone to a clash of civilizations. It is inevitable because non-Western cultures have fundamental differences that have developed for hundreds of years (Huntington, 1993).

Because of global society, cultures have much more interaction, thus causing the differences to be much more visible (Huntington, 1993). The economic aspect, already mentioned by Baudrillard (2010) and Foucault (1973), causes clashes because of dominance by certain cultures (p23-26). Such dominance is mentioned by Foucault (1973), who says that no society can survive without power. He means that, when cultures clash, there is a power struggle following that clash and that different parties have interest in that power. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1996) says that it is possible that media could be used to create a so-called reality effect in which people believe what they shown. In this way, entire cultures can be set up against each other creating a bigger clash (p21). The ideas of Rorty (1979) and Wijnberg (2017) suggest that the media could be used to create or alter truth or claims of truth, thus creating new social groups in a conflict. This name of this truth creating varies in different fields, from framing to censorship to denial.

The clash of civilization theory of Huntington (1993) is widely criticized. For example, Fox (2002) mentions that the Huntington's classifications are too hard to operationalize. Secondly, that Huntington's (1993) mentioning of an ethnic conflict, reflecting on the Crimean crisis. In Crimea there is an ethnic minority, the Ukrainian people and the Crimean Tatars, but there is no ethnic conflict in Crimea. Only differences between RF and Ukraine. The clash is rather between politics and economy which are interwoven to culture, which eventually can lead to cultural battles. (Fox, 2002, p415-534; Mankoff, 2014; Pridham, 2014).

Interests are central to this thesis; it is important to select one definition to make sure there are no misunderstandings. This definition contains aspects of Baudrillard (2010), Huntington (1993) and Foucault (1976), who say that the few can benefit from the many (p255). I have created my own definition to ensure that there is no misunderstanding about interest. In this thesis interest(s) is defined as the following:

A value that is so important that it can benefit or give an advantage to a person or governmental organization.

A clarification of this definition comes from Moravcsik and Nicolaïdis (1999) who mention that there are certain benefits that people or organizations will use advantages to make arrangements that suit them the best (p60-62).

Information war

The framing and interest in this research are part of the bigger issue of modern conflicts (Severin & Tankard, 2010). For example, framing and fake news are used as instruments in the conflict between the RF and Ukraine (Onuch, 2014). As already mentioned in the section on relevance, the battle between the two countries emerged when the RF took over the power of Crimea (p44). This was not only a battle over the world map but also a battle in the media – a so-called discursive battle.

This discursive battle is fought with fake news and by framing different events of the war. It is the result of a changing battleground and instruments used for wars or conflicts. With the use social and mass media, a new kind of conflict is being battled inside the media. As a result, it is possible to argue that the newspapers are an instrument of war (Norris, 1995; O'sullivan &

Heinonen, 2008, p357). This already happened in the Second World War with newspapers (Dimitrova & Strömback, 2005).

The news is created by different parties who have their own national history books. Meaning that happenings, ideas and ideologies over a number of years have shaped countries to their own identity (Dawson, 1997). In the case of Crimea, both Ukraine and the RF have different places in history and they have their own opinion of the peninsula (Onuch, 2014). The lens through which news is reported is different in both countries. According to Ukraine, Crimea is part of their country while the RF argues that Crimea is part of its country from a historical perspective. Both countries show a nationalistic view from that historical perspective. They both put a claim on Crimea (Biersack & O'Lear, 2014; Pridham, 2014).

Elaborating on the idea of different histories and history books, Foucault (1980) mentions that history can be used not only for knowledge but also for strategy and tactics – as an instrument of battle (p61). This is strengthened by Murphy (1990), who argues that claims of territory are based on ethnic, strategic, economic considerations and historical justification (p531). It seems logical to assume that the two countries frame the conflict differently in their newspapers because they have different historical justifications for their actions (p530-531). It is difficult to determine at which moment the content of their history books about Crimea diverged. It may be in 1991 when Crimea shifted to the Ukraine or perhaps in 2014 when the power shifted to the RF. (Pridham, 2014).

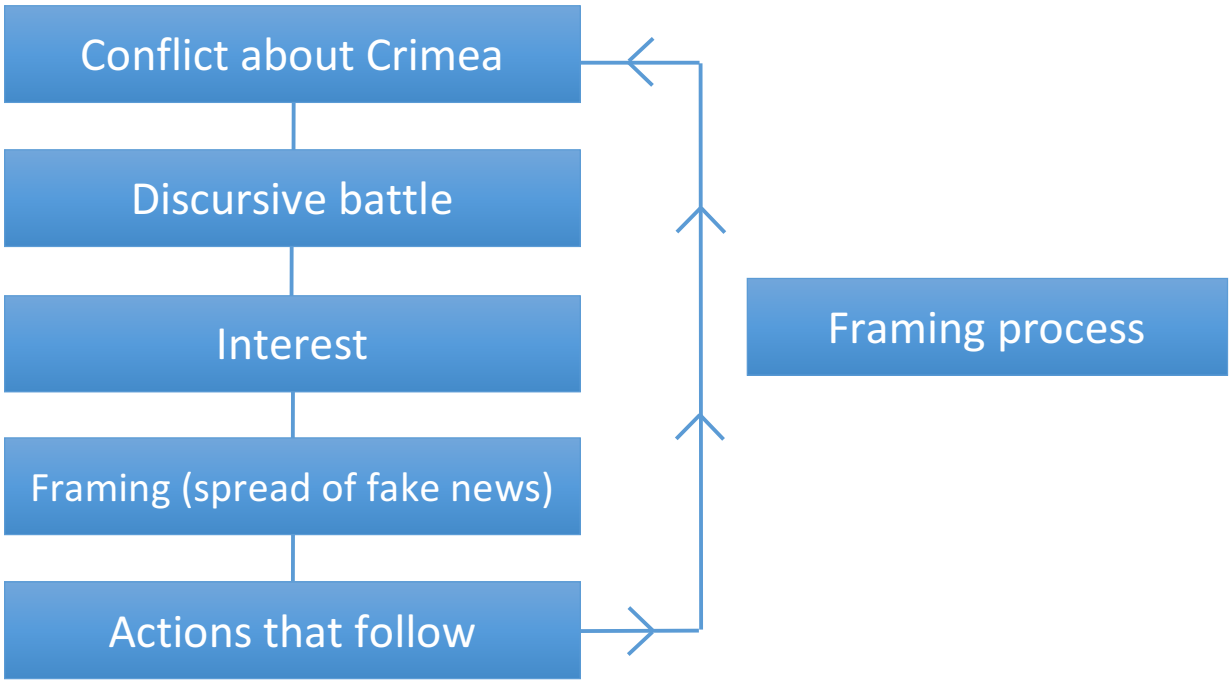
A relevant aspect of this information war pertains to who has the power to tell the stories in the newspapers. The RF has a state-controlled newspaper, the Rossiyskaya Gazeta, which has power to make sure that journalist write stories the way the government would like to see them (RG, n.d.). Ukraine and the United States, on the other hand, do not have a state-controlled newspaper, and journalists can write more freely and critically. Have state-controlled or free press is important in a conflict where the press is always under pressure. makes it hard to report the truth. Journalists and editors tend to rely on government sources which are at the location of the conflict (Dimitrova & Strömback, 2005). When one party in a conflict has more power, it is much easier for that party to frame certain aspects of the news for their own advantage in order to win the conflict.

On the other hand, the other party has to rely on a source which has the power to frame a news report which creates differences in the news coverage. This is evident, for example, through the research of Dimitrova and Strömback (2005), Luyendijk, (2006) and Norris, (1995).

When a reporter does not perform objective and honest journalism in an area of conflict, he can cause a divide between people, creating a perception of 'us versus them'. This is one manifestation of social identity theory, in which a group of people seek to find negative aspects of another group to enhance their self-image, thus creating a social categorization which can result in racism and stereotyping (Perdue, et al., 1990). Examples of the Second World War show that this happened with the Jewish people who were persecuted, thrown out of their homes and systematically killed (Dimitrova & Strömback 2005). This reflects on the section Journalism under Pressure in chapter 3, because not only governments can create truth; journalists are can do so also when they are not able to verify a story.

Conceptual model

This research is based on the preceding theories, which provide one clear theoretic background. This research has its place in both the field of journalism and for conflicts with the use of key concepts from those fields: framing and framing process, interest and discursive battle.



Graphic 1: Conceptual Model

As Graphic 1 shows, the first step is the conflict between Ukraine and the RF about Crimea. This conflict is being fought by this two parties in the discursive battle. Both parties want to win and therefore use the media to frame and achieve their interests. Afterwards, those framed interests result in effects, and actions follow. These actions, then, are framed (thus can become fake news) and are used to achieve victory in the conflict about Crimea. The result is a cycle that continues as long as neither side in the conflict achieves victory. The following chapters focus specifically on the steps of discursive battle, interest and framing.

4 - Defining the news reports

It is important to give an insight how the framing analysis is taking place. This chapter presents the methodology of the analysis which was conducted. It explains how the interests were determined and how the analysis took place.

Press releases

Two countries and three organizations were investigated regarding how their interests are framed in the media. The two countries are the RF and Ukraine, both of which are involved in the conflict

The first organization being investigated is the EU, which represents 28 countries in Europe including four countries bordering Ukraine and five bordering the RF (European Union, n.d. A). The second is NATO, a political and military alliance between 28 countries, including the United States, and 21 countries that are also part of the EU (NATO, 2016a). NATO has partnerships with Ukraine and the RF. The last organization is the UN. Consisting of 193 member states, including Ukraine, RF, all EU member states and all NATO allies, it has the objective of promote co-operation between nation states and was founded in 1945 after the Second World War to prevent another war (UN, n.d.).

All five organizations provide online press releases on their websites with reactions to different events in Crimea. First, it was decided to analyse releases between January 1, 2014 and December 31, 2014. A search was conducted with the word 'Crimea' in order to locate relevant releases. This first filtering included reports about the weather which were not relevant for the research because they did not show any correlation with conflicts that are the topic of this research. Press releases relating to the weather were removed. This resulted in a total of 396 press releases. That year the effects of the Maidan movement became visible, the shift of power in Crimea took place, the war in the Donbass occurred, the shooting of MH17 happened and some of the aftermath became clear as described in chapter 2.

Countries	Website of press releases	Number of releases
RF	http://en.kremlin.ru/	98
Ukraine	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en	209
UN	https://www.un.org/press/en	15
EU	http://europa.eu/geninfo/query/index.do	59
NATO	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/press_releases.htm	15
Total releases		396

Table 1: Press releases of different countries.

All consulted releases are placed in appendix A.

The next step was to determine the interests of all the parties in the releases. After reading the press releases, I identified sentences which reflected an interest. Next, in vivo coding was added in Atlas.ti, a widely used academic coding program, with the name of that interest, assigning a label to a data segment. Further investigation of the in vivo quotations showed

certain matches and similarities in which different interests came up much more often than other interests. When all the releases were analysed, several in vivo codes showed similarities. I then created certain groups and clusters from the codes in an attempt to narrow down the interests to codes that would be useful in the framing analysis. This has led to the outcome of nine interests described in the conclusion of chapter 5.

These interests are described in chapter 6 with different indications from the coding. Screenshots are placed in appendix C.

News sources

After determining those interests, the next step was to determine which media to consult for the framing analysis. In theory all media could be consulted, but this research focuses on three newspapers as a lens for the framing analysis. Therefore, a selection had to be made between television, radio, internet and newspapers. This thesis investigates the internet reports that represent three different newspapers: Rossiyskaya Gazeta, Fakty I Kommentarii and the New York Times. It was possible to retrieve these resources from their websites and to confirm that the reports are from each of the newspapers. Below, there will be a more extensive explanation of these three newspaper. Image 4 shows a random front page of the three newspapers which were consulted in this research to better present the image of each newspaper.

The New York Times	Rossiyskaya Gazeta	Fakty I Kommentarii
		

Image 4: Front page of the three newspapers

Rossiyskaya Gazeta

The first newspaper is Rossiyskaya Gazeta (RG) (Russian: Российская газета, English: Russian Gazette). The reason for choosing a Russian newspaper is because power over Crimea shifted from Ukraine to the RF. A Russian newspaper provides insights into the Russian side of the Crimean conflict. The RG is the biggest state-run newspaper, and it frames news reports in a certain way. The paper is in Russian, so I translated it into Dutch and then performed the analysis.

Fakty I Kommentarii

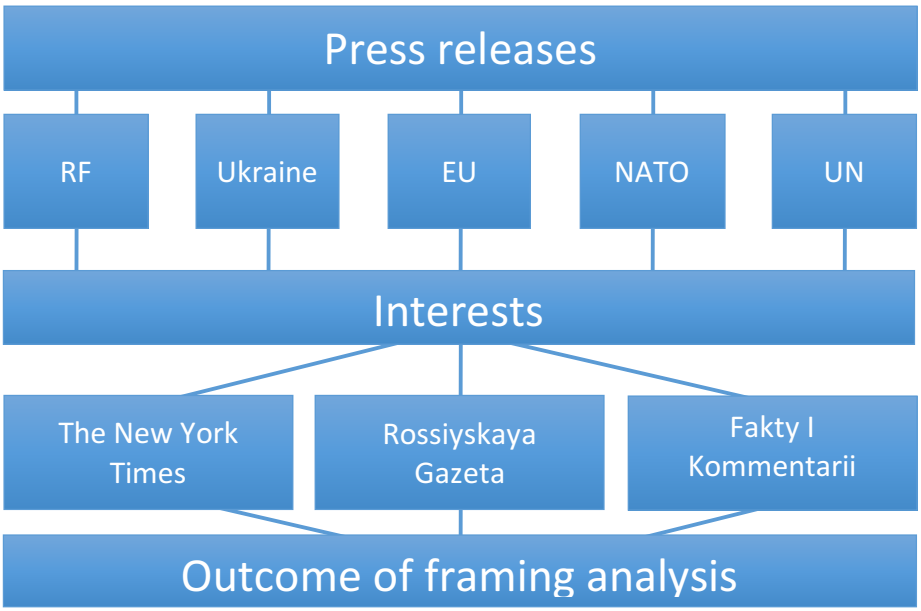
The second newspaper is Fakty I Kommentarii (FK) (Russian: Фактьı и комментарии, English: Facts and Comments). This daily newspaper has the largest circulation in Ukraine (Newsbase n.d.). Because Ukraine is one of the two countries in the Crimean conflict, it is logical to analyse a Ukrainian newspaper. The director of the newspaper, Viktor Pinchuk is the son-in-law of former Ukrainian president Leonid Kumcha. Pinchuk and his newspaper are likely pro-Ukrainian because Pinchuk lost all his Russian businesses and assets because of the shift of power in Crimea (Fakty, n.d.; Forbes, 2017; ONW, n.d.)

The New York Times

The third consulted newspaper is the New York Times (NYT), and it represents the EU, NATO and the UN. The United Sates, headquarters of the UN and also part of NATO (NATO, 2016a; UN, n.d.), is the home country of the New York Times. The United States is geographically distant from Europe and Crimea and is also not a member of the EU. Conducting a framing analysis on a newspaper that is farther away and not directly affected by the conflict could give an interesting perspective

Determining news reports

The next step was to select the news reports to determine a total population to create an overall framework of this research. The events that lead to the takeover in Crimea started in November 2013 and March 2014. However, the reports between those dates did not give a good picture of the situation because the Crimean takeover happened in March 2014. Because the dates analysed fall between February 1, 2014 and April 31, 2014, one can clearly follow events leading to the takeover and its aftermath. Not only does this make it possible to perform a valid analysis, it also provides a suitable number of reports to investigate in the framing analysis. After identifying reports relevant to Crimea, all the news reports were uploaded into Atlas.ti and coded. Graphic 2 shows a schematic view of the steps taken to conduct this part of the framing analysis.



Graphic 2: Schematic view of analysis.

The following table presents key figures of all the consulted newspapers. All consulted news reports are listed in appendix B.

Newspaper	Country of origin	Political colour	circulation	Reports about Crimea
The New York Times	United States	Liberal	571,500	368
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	Russian Federation	Government-oriented	160.000	460
Fakty I Kommentarii	Ukraine	Tabloid	200.000	686
Total				1514

Table 2: Key figures of the newspapers (Fakty, n.d.; The New York Times, 2017; RG, n.d.).

5 - Empirical results regarding interests

This chapter presents the interests of the five different countries and organizations. After analysing the press releases in chapter 4, the next step was to determine their interests. The interest matrix shows how the five parties position themselves in the conflict. As a resulted, I created coding mechanisms for the framing analysis (see chapter 7). The conclusion of this chapter answers the first sub-question: *What are the interests of the different parties?*

The number after example sentences of the releases corresponds with the given number in appendix A: Reports of Interests.

United Nations

An analysis of the releases from January to December 2014 reveals that the UN took a moderate position in the conflict and desired a solution. The release from March 1 mentioned different times that it is "*gravely concerned"* about the situation of Crimea (1). The secretary-general called for *"the full respect for and preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity"* (1). This shows that the UN saw Crimea as part of Ukraine. They desired dialogue and de-escalation as a diplomatic solution to the crisis (2). The UN positioned itself as a partner in negotiation, peace and security for all parties. Furthermore, some reports expressed concerns of the UN but did not show a very clear interest. It is possible to conclude that the UN would not have benefitted as a result of the unrest between Ukraine and the RF. Their interest was in de-escalation to resolve the conflict peacefully.

Image 5: United Nations General Assembly in session. Source: Wikicommons / Basil D Soufi, (2011)

Russian Federation

When analysing the reports of the RF, two themes stand out: how the RF spoke about its interests and how it identified and spoke about Crimea as part of the RF. The reports appealed to the shared history of the RF and Crimea many times. The RF mentioned that its history goes back many years, that Crimea had always been part of RF and that it officially was again (20). Another aspect was the appealing to the citizens of the peninsula and the Russian citizens that were living there (15). The RF created a sense of *'us',* the Russian Federation, *'versus them',* Ukraine. A third tactic was the constant reminder that Ukraine was not a functioning country (18). Report (25) mentioned clear security issues in which Crimea, as part of RF, had to defend itself. The RF said "*that because of (western) aggression by NATO, EU and UN, the RF has to defend Crimea against aggression".*

In report (27) president Putin said: *"Regarding economic development: of course, the economy of Crimea is not as developed now as it could be. I fully agree that potentially Crimea can generate significant revenue …"*. In addition to this, there are many releases which included constant small references to the fact that the RF would benefit from the economy of Crimea (27, 35, 38, 43). Furthermore, in report (104) president Putin said, *"They* [the West] *defend the interests of their states just like I am trying to do the same in the interests of this country"*.

NATO

The military alliance NATO had a clear interest in the political situation of Crimea, Ukraine and the RF. There were not many press releases from NATO, which could be explained because the RF and Ukraine were both not part of the alliance. However, this does not mean that NATO was not part of this conflict because NATO was involved in the surrounding countries, which saw the RF as a threat. In 12 of the 15 reports, NATO spoke about the annexation of Crimea and made it clear that it did not accept the shift of power or recognize the takeover by the Russian Federation. Other reports condemned the RF and supported Ukraine in the crisis. Furthermore, NATO wanted a de-escalation of the conflict and called for a solution and a dialogue for both parties.

The interests of NATO are apparent in report (118): "*We will continue to provide appropriate reinforcement and visible assurance … and commitment to deterrence and collective defence against any threat of aggression to the alliance*". This reveals that its main interest was the security of the members of the alliance. This is strengthened by report (124) which stated, "*The North Atlantic Alliance binds North America and Europe in the defence of our common security, prosperity and values. It guarantees the security of its members through collective defence".* This security can result in safety and prosperity for the region, but the unrest in Ukraine and Crimea was not helping that situation (119). NATO repeatedly called for the RF to respect the territorial boundaries of Ukraine, and they have clearly chosen to side with this country (116, 118).

Image 6: NATO countries in session at the Brussels headquarters. Source: NATO, (2013).

European Union

The statements of the EU are in agreement with each other regarding how the EU interacts with the RF and Ukraine as key players in this conflict.

Like NATO, the EU often spoke about the illegal annexation of Crimea. Second they wanted the RF to respect the territorial integrity of Ukraine. These two things were mentioned in a quarter of all releases, making it apparent that the EU clearly had sided with Ukraine. Support for Ukraine is the third thing that stands out in the releases (130). The EU also mentioned what seems contradictory: both sanctions and political solutions. President of the European Council Jose Manuel Barroso said that *"A united, inclusive, stable and prosperous Ukraine can only be of benefit to all its neighbours and partners*" (139). He meant that if Ukraine was stable, the rest of the EU would be even more stable. The second interest resulting from the releases is energy, and the EU saw the RF as a threat which could negatively influence their energy (170). In other messages the economic benefits of Ukraine were mentioned, specifically that a one-billion-euro trade agreement would have been made if Ukraine had signed the association treaty (173). To conclude, the EU had interest in security for its own safety, and there was an economic interest for trade with Ukraine.

Ukraine

Ukraine published the most press releases of all countries which give insight into its interests. How closer the shift of power on Crimea took place, how fiercer the press releases and the blaming to the RF in the releases. The tone of the releases goes from reasonable and innocent to warlike and interested in military intervention (255-263).

Ukraine mostly blames the RF for the conflict. Almost half of the reports claimed that the RF was causing the conflict, was supporting the Crimean government or had annexed the peninsula. The second most frequent topic is the territorial integrity of Ukraine. These two are

frequently in the same sentence: *"Russia's actions contravene the principle of territorial integrity of our state and other fundamental norms of international law"* (254). Presenting Ukraine as a victim, they made it seem as if they could not win against the RF and that everything the RF did is unlawful. Many releases mentioned that the residents of Crimea and Ukraine would not be forgotten and that they had done everything possible to protect their citizens. Ukraine also appealed to international regulations and UN laws to condemn the supposed illegal actions of Russia against Crimea, thus creating the perception of '*us versus them*'.

In addition to those major interests, the releases also reveal an economic and military interest. First, it seemed to be very important for Ukraine to sign the association agreement with the European Union (225). It held an economic package which would have stabilized the economy of the country, which was in a downturn because of the Maidan tensions and the unrest in Crimea and the Donbass (Mankoff 2014). In addition to stabilizing the economy, the military could have been paid so that they could try to resolve the situation in Crimea and the Donbass.

When looking at the press releases, it is obvious that Ukraine blamed the Russian Federation for annexing Crimea. Just like NATO, Ukraine addressed the annexation in its releases, while the RF said that the people of Crimea wanted their own independence and to be part of the RF (25). Furthermore, Ukraine appealed many times to UN legislation (245) and clearly said it did not want to join NATO to keep stability in the country (255).

Interest matrix

After determining the interests, the next step was to create coding sequences for the framing analysis. Therefore, the results of the press releases were narrowed to one concrete interest and placed in Table 3.

Table 3 consists of two axes. The first one is the action that one country demanded of another (From->). Second is the action that one country had to take against another (Against ↓). This interaction is important because it gives insight regarding interests in the Crimean conflict. These interests were embedded in the news reports that were used in the framing analysis in the next chapter. Furthermore, this matrix gives insight into which parties had the same interests and how they together could perform action to achieve those interests.

From-> Against ↓	United Nations	Russian Federation	NATO	European Union	Ukraine
United Nations	Negotiator for peace	Unable to do anything	Support each other	Support each other	Respect of UN-law
Russian Federation	De-Escalation	Crimea always RF	Respect territory	Respect of territory	Give Crimea back
NATO	Support each other	Threat for security	Safety	Support each other	No NATO for stability
European Union	Support each other	Angry about sanctions	European defence	Stability of the EU	Support
Ukraine	Respect integrity	Accept loss of Crimea	Strengthening ties	Support agreement	Victim of annexation

Table 3: Interest matrix

The matrix shows that there were three sides in this conflict: the RF, Ukraine and the other three parties (which sided with Ukraine in the conflict). All parties except the RF, some in reasoned language and Ukraine more fiercely, mentioned that the RF had to respect the territory and the border of Ukraine because it was taken over without consent (Mankoff, 2014). Contrary to that, the RF demanded that all other parties had to back away from Crimea and that Crimea had chosen to join the RF. Between NATO and the EU there are certain similarities. They supported each other, which could be explained by the fact that most of the NATO members are also members of the EU (European Union, n.d. A; NATO, 2016a). The UN was the most neutral in the conflict and sought solutions and peace, primarily calling for de-escalation but also clearly condemning the RF for its actions. With this in mind and looking to the framing aspects of nationalism, 'us versus them', and appealing to the history, it is now possible to determine their interests.

Next to the two axes of Table 3, there is a third outcome to take in consideration. That is how the parties framed their own interests for themselves. The UN saw itself as the peace keeper by ensuring everybody was safe and providing negotiations. The RF said that Crimea had always been part of the RF and that they were not doing anything wrong. NATO wanted safety and saw itself as the preserving peace and safety. The EU sought to provide stability for the region. Ukraine framed itself as a victim because of the RF's actions. As a result of those varying interests, the framing analysis took into account three different aspects.

Table 4 provides an overview of the interests of the different countries. This overview was used to conduct the framing analysis of the news reports by creating codes.

Countries	Interest
United Nations	De-escalation and safety
Russian Federation	Economy and military
NATO	Security
European Union	Security and economy
Ukraine	Sovereignty and economy

Table 4: Interests of countries.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the framing analysis answers sub-question 1: what are the interest of the different parties?

The UN had interest in de-escalating the tensions between the RF and Ukraine and was trying to preserve peace and stability in the region. It wanted the people of Ukraine and Crimea to be safe. The RF had interest in military strengthening of the region against Western aggression. The interest of NATO was primarily security for its allies. It wanted to see a safe Europe and America. With the conflict between Ukraine and the RF, it was unable to guarantee the safety of its allies and the region. The EU had a main interest in its own security. The interests of the EU were in line with NATO, but it also wanted energy security. The association agreement with Ukraine could also give a big economic impulse to the union. Finally, Ukraine wanted to keep sovereignty of its own territory saw the seizure of Crimea as

a violation of its territorial integrity. The conflict had a major impact on the economy which went into a downfall. The signing of the agreement and the end of the conflict could help the economy improve.

6 – Empirical results of the framing analysis

In this chapter I determine how the different interests appeared in the media by analysing the three newspapers described in chapter 4. First, the total number of quotations was determined from the framing analysis to gain insight into the overall picture of the framing analysis. Second, the outcome of the analysis was clustered per newspaper. Meaning that the nine interests for each of the three newspapers, gives a total of 27 key outcomes which answer sub-question 2: how did the newspapers express these interest in their reporting?

The number after example sentences of the releases corresponds with the given quotation in Atlast.ti.

Total Quotations

Table 5 shows the total number of quotations from the different newspapers and how many times a certain frame was mentioned:

Interests	New York Times	Rossiyskaya Gazeta	Fakty I Kommentarii
EU economy	233	50	36
EU safety	202	182	133
NATO security	223	80	33
RF economy	237	66	124
RF military	1435	364	1047
UK economy	126	55	162
UK sovereignty	1039	1390	1389
UN de-escalation	72	51	41
UN safety	41	19	38
Total	3055	1870	2645
Total quotations			7570
Number of reports	368	460	686

Table 5: total quotations.

The table shows that the RG has the fewest quotations and that the NYT has the most. The table shows that the most quoted subject was the sovereignty of Ukraine and that the least quoted subject was safety of the United Nations. Another interesting point is that the RG did not include quotations about the RF military as much as the other two newspapers. Finally, the NYT had the highest ratio of the number of reports to number of quotations, and the FK had the lowest. Below the quotations will be further discussed which eventually led to the outcome of the tables in this chapter.

The New York Times

This chapter shows how the five parties have framed their interests in the NYT. The main focus will be on the parties with supporting quotes from the newspaper. Starting with an overview of the key outcomes of the framing analysis in the NYT. Below the table the outcomes are further discussed.

Interests	Framing of the interest
EU economy	Dependent on gas, so the sanctions had no use
EU safety	Frightened by RF annexation of Crimea
NATO security	Alliance was very important against Russian aggression
RF economy	Was important, and Ukraine could not survive without RF
RF military	RF had annexed Crimea
UK economy	In a downfall and recession
UK sovereignty	Crimea part of Ukraine that RF had annexed
UN de-escalation	Used UN instruments to achieve de-escalation
UN safety	No specific way of framing

Table 6: Overview of the outcome from the framing analysis in the New York Times.

United Nations

There was no specific way that the UN framed its interest in the NYT. The safety interest of the UN, instead including loose quotations with no obvious agenda. These quotes, especially by President Putin, suggested that everything happening in Crimea was within UN regulations. For example, quotation 1:1526 mentioned that there was an analysis from the NYT of how president Putin justified the annexation. The secretary general of the UN did not say anything in the news reports about the UN's interest in security. The UN did actually call numerous times for de-escalation, and it used its instruments to achieve it, for example in the UN security council. This was also predicted in quotation 1:1191, which mentioned that all resolutions on Crimea would be blocked by the RF. This made Ukraine look helpless and unable to do anything about the situation while European countries and NATO were passively watching the events unfold. After Crimea left Ukraine and entered the RF, there was a UN resolution that was adopted by the General Assembly. Quotation 1:2146 said the following: "*General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to reject that annexation, a symbolic step that Western nations called a rebuke to Russia that showed its isolation."* The quotation mentioned how parties are opposed, but it is questionable whether pushing the RF in a corner helped with the de-escalation of the problem.

Russian Federation

All parties frame the RF's economy as very important. For example, quotation 1:24 mentioned that Ukraine's dependence on RF's gas was a core economic difficulty, mentioned by a reporter of the NYT. This is strengthened by quotation 1:132 which stated that Ukraine's heavy industry was dependent on Russian gas. This was also the case for the EU, so the RF had economic leverage in the Crimean crisis. The fact that all parties framed this the same way makes it likely that it is true.

The dominance of the gas, it is also the downside of the RF in its framing. Because gas is the RF's biggest leverage tool, it is also vulnerable to retaliation. If Europe could find another source of gas, the RF would have major problems with their economy. Many economic reports of the NYT and the EU mentioned that the economy of the RF would drop sharply because of

the imposed sanctions. This frame means that other four parties involved were willing to cope with the economy and that they were not frightened of the dominance of the Russian economy. In the early stages of the Crimean crisis, when the outcome was not as clear, the NYT spoke of the RF's interests in Crimea. Then, when the government buildings were seized and the soldiers arrived, it slowly became clear that the RF was involved. Later the NYT published articles that the RF was using the people for a referendum, which eventually was called *"seizure"* and *"annexation"*. The word annexation was most often used by the NYT to frame the Russian military interest in Crimea. This was also done by the four other parties. The language of all four intensified as time and events are progressed. This becomes evident when examining the difference between quotation 1:69, "*Russian flag after mysterious overnight raids that appeared to be the work of militant Russian nationalists"* and quotation 539, "*the de facto invasion of Crimea".*

The intensification and the way the RF framed the conflict gives insight into the difference between the RF and the other four parties. In many quotations, president Putin called on historic ties with Crimea and the mistake that Nikita Khrushchev, former leader of the Soviet-Union, had illegally transferred Crimea to the Ukrainian SSR, as mentioned in quotation 1:64. Another recurring reason was that president Putin had to protect the majority of ethnic Russians in Crimea against Ukrainian aggressions. He was justifying his entering of Crimea by mentioning that the Ukrainian interim government was illegitimate. The government of Ukraine will be treated later in the Ukrainian sovereignty quotations.

NATO

The first apparent framing by NATO in the NYT was a constant reminder of the alliance between its member countries and the EU. NATO shows its muscles and was actually saying that they did not have to try actions or aggression against NATO or they would retaliate – as mentioned in quotation 1:116 and 1:167. However, the problem with Crimea was that NATO could not do anything because Ukraine is not an ally; as a result, NATO had to stand on the side line watch the crisis unfold. It could not help beyond pressuring the RF to stop and to let Ukraine choose its own path. However, the quotations clearly show that NATO sided with Ukraine. There was a clear reaction from president Putin regarding NATO. He did not want the alliance to expand any further. He repeatedly mentioned that the US and the West had broken its promise because NATO would not move any further to the east.

European Union

One way of framing is that the EU, just like NATO, was merely a spectator and could not do anything to stop president Putin. As mentioned in quotation 1:311 and according to a spokesperson from the Kremlin, the EU was too low on military force. On the other hand, most countries that are part of the EU are also part of NATO, which has a high number of armed forces on European soil.

All parties, except the UN, mentioned that the EU was dependent on gas from the RF. Because of this dependency, it was not possible to impose strong sanctions. This gas dependency created leverage for the RF to prevent the EU from take certain punitive measures. The EU, just like NATO, wanted to intervene against RF, but it could actually not do anything. The result was that the EU mostly expressed itself in firm words and threats, such as in quotation 1965. The sanctions that were imposed were therefore only on certain Russian people that were

close to president Putin but not too close. Otherwise the RF might have retaliated with sanctions that hurt the EU. Quotation 1:741 frames this as follows: "*Europe imports 15 billion cubic feet of gas per day from Russia. This dependency has emboldened and financed the Russian government while hampering Europe's ability to respond."* To gain more insight in the EU this next image shows how the European Union was involved in the Crimean conflict. It shows all EU-members and their territories. It is clearly visible that four EU members border Ukraine and that three member states bordered the RF (European Union, n.d. B; Political Geography Now, (2016).

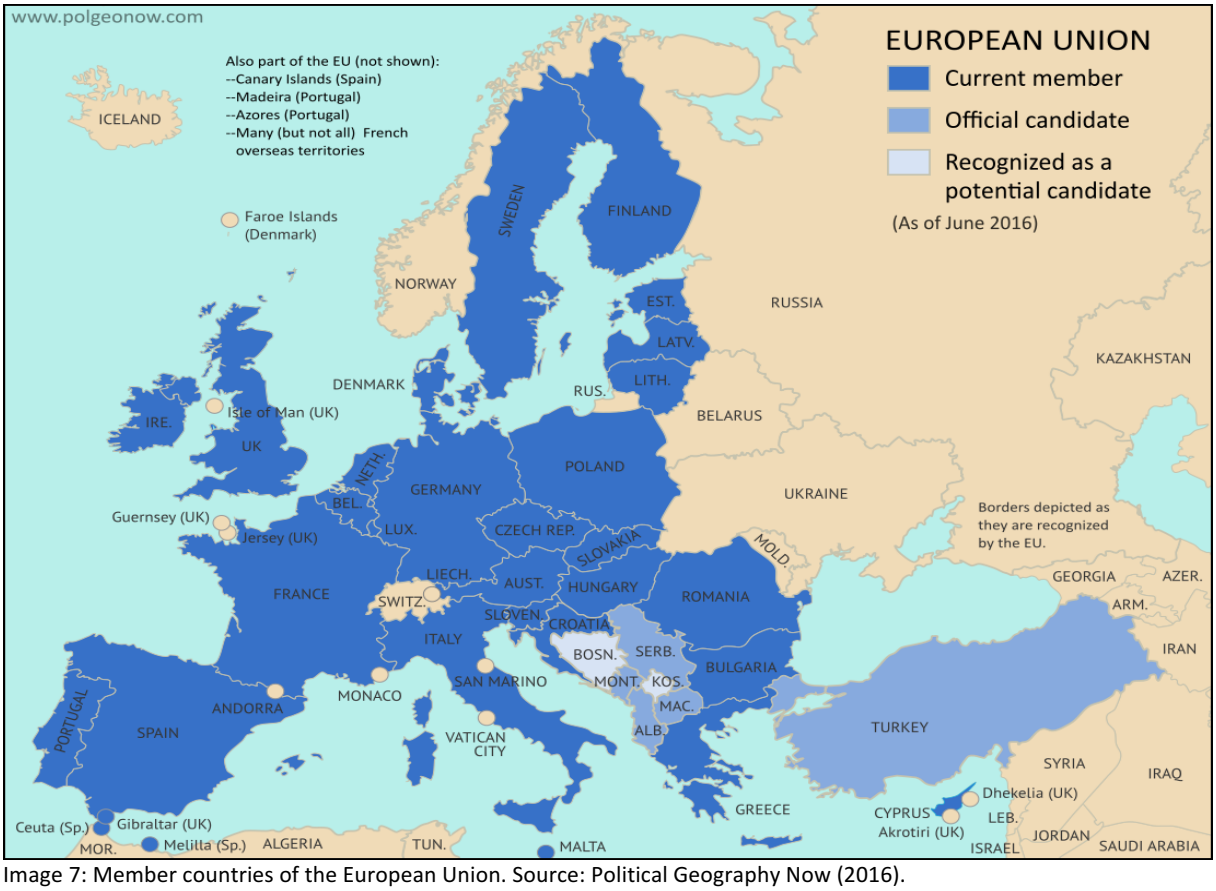


Image 7: Member countries of the European Union. Source: Political Geography Now (2016).

The EU tried to increase its influence inside Ukraine. They used different economic instruments to achieve this. For example, the signing of the association agreement showed that the EU was on Ukraine's side against Russian aggression. In that agreement there were several billion euros in economic help that Ukraine could use for its military to get Crimea back. Also Ukraine has a population of 40 million people which the EU can supply with goods and services, resulting in millions of euros being sent back in the EU economy.

Ukraine

Ukraine is framed as it is depending on other countries. The New York Times published quotations which communicate clear outcomes resulting from how the economy of Ukraine is positioned. The aggression with the RF over Crimea was not good for the Ukrainian economy. It was in a downfall and they needed money quickly. The dependency of Ukraine on the RF came out very clear in these quotations. There were multiple references to the fact that Ukrainian trade was highly dependent on the RF – on its gas and energy. That made it hard for Ukraine to put up resistance to the RF because the RF had a kind of monopoly position

on Ukraine, as mentioned in quotation 1:230. A second way the economy was framed was focusing on the unrest surrounding it. Multiple quotations mentioned that investors were retreating, that money was disappearing and that stock markets were plummeting. The result was that Ukraine became a poor investment choice. This was also what the RF wanted in order to isolate Ukraine and take Crimea and the parts in the Donbass. On the other hand, the EU saw a way to step in and to gain influence.

The sovereignty quotations were framed in a way that was opposite to the Russian military quotations. First, Ukraine calls for de-escalation of the internal situation in Crimea. Then, the situation in Crimea began, and both a pro-western and a pro-Russian side of the story emerged. The pro-Russian side saw the interim government as illegal and did not recognize it. President Putin spoke multiple times of a western-backed coupe, for example in quotation 1:1038.

The Ukrainian government repeatedly said that Crimea was part of Ukraine and not the RF and that they were ready to defend their country. According to Kiev, the referendum was a clear breach of Ukrainian sovereignty. This framing had essentially two sides: the pro-independence and the anti-independence of Crimea. There were many instruments used for that framing for example, residents, military personal and the government. There were many residents that had their own opinion about the referendum. Some wanted to be part of the RF, while others, mostly the Crimean Tatars, wanted remain as part of Ukraine. The residents all have different quotations which frames Ukraine with differing opinions and shows a divide in the country.

Rossiyskaya Gazeta

Table 7 shows an overview of the key outcomes of the framing analyses of Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Below the table the outcomes are further discussed.

Interests	Framing of the interest
EU economy	Only wants to sanction RF
EU safety	Not-functioning and not looking for a solution
NATO security	Only wants to expand and therefore sides with Ukraine
RF economy	Good for Crimean economy and sanctions have no effect
RF military	Protecting Russian people in Crimea
UK economy	Unstable economy and Crimea will benefit of being part of RF
UK sovereignty	Non-functioning country with illegitimate government
UN de-escalation	Churkin blames other parties and uses veto
UN safety	Churkin protects Russian people

Table 7: Overview of the outcome from the framing analysis of Rossiyskaya Gazeta.

United Nations

The safety quotations did not show a specific way of framing. There were many quotations in which the RG was referring to Vitaly Churkin, the Russian ambassador to the UN. He spoke a lot about protecting the Russian people against Ukrainian aggression, saying that the international community had to accept the choice of the Crimean people to be part of the RF. That stance did not recognize the new Ukrainian leaders, for example in quotation 2:473. The

de-escalation quotation gives insights in Churkin's communication. It is questionable if it really references de-escalation, but it contains framing. In quotation 2:989 Churkin reminded his Western colleagues that "*some countries are against the will of the Crimean people, but they do recognize the independence of Kosovo who declared their independence without consulting the people by a referendum"*. There are many examples in which Churkin blamed other parties than the RF, saying that the UN could not do anything to help Crimea.

Russian Federation

The RF provides a clearer difference in framing. For example, Russian banks and the government stated many times that the Crimean economy would have its best time after the annexation and that the economic welfare would increase. They stated that tourism would also increase and that more Russian people would come to the peninsula. On the other hand, when the Ukrainian and EU mentioned the sanctions, the RF responded that they would have no effect and that they only would hurt Ukraine and the EU. The RF did not care about the sanctions and framed the story for the Crimean people as everything would be successful and that they did not have to worry.

The RF military framing justified entering the Crimean Peninsula. The RF did not see the Ukrainian government as legitimate or recognize it, instead appealing that that the RF had to protect Crimea. They had to protect the Russian-speaking people on the island from the Ukrainian army who would hurt them. They had to protect the Russian language which was no longer allowed by the Ukrainian government, and they had to protect their Black Sea fleet in Sebastopol. They constantly were relying on the past by saying that Crimea always had been a part of the RF, appealing to a historical justification and the fact that there were many Russian people whom they needed to protect.

The RF used instruments, such the army, 'little green men', and the distribution of Russian passports against the Crimean people. It also appealed on historical and culture grounds which connect the RF with Crimea. The RF framed itself as the party that restored the order and stopped the fighting. As a result, the RF made it seem like the entire peninsula suddenly wanted to be part of the RF.


Image 8: Prime Minister of Italy Paolo Gentiloni with Vitaly Churkin (right). Source: Wikicommons / Luca Marfe, (2015).

NATO

In the early stages of the shift of power, NATO was portrayed as not interested in cooperating with Kiev and the Ukrainian government. Later NATO is framed by the RF that it wanted to expand to the east and that the RF would retaliate if Ukraine became part of the organization. The RF was afraid that, if Ukraine joined the EU, it would also join NATO. It did not agree with this possible decision. The RF also framed itself as a victim when NATO no longer wanted to cooperate with the RF because of Crimea. It doubted the usefulness of the organization and its members, such as Estonia and Latvia. At the end of the news reports, NATO was framed as a Western instrument for gaining more influence in Ukraine, thus trying to provoke the RF. The result was that the RF did not trust NATO and saw it as a big threat. As mentioned in chapter 3, NATO saw the RF as a threat, thus creating common distrust.

European Union

The EU quotations pertaining to economy were all about sanctions. The RF warned and threatened the EU that sanctions would have very negative consequences, as mentioned in quotation 2: 1193. The EU sanctioned many Russian and Crimean people and said that it would stop the sanctions if the RF would stop its aggression against Ukraine and the Crimean people. The RF responded by saying that it did not agree and that it would sanction people in the EU. The newspaper also referenced to other leaders who did not agree with the EU sanctions, such as the president of Nicaragua.

The safety quotations show different kinds of framing. In a number of news reports, the EU was framed as though it were supporting nationalistic Ukrainian groups to undermine the stability of Ukraine. The RF framed the EU as not helping in resolving the conflict and not wanting to help in constructing a government of national unity for Ukraine. The RF also mentioned that the EU was a puppet of the United States and only imposing sanctions and undermining the RF to please the United States. On the other hand, the EU was framed as a non-functioning entity. The RF said that the Crimea referendum was a good example for Flanders or Scotland, also wanting more independence from the country they are a part of.

Ukraine

Many quotations were similar in that the RF portrayed Ukraine as a country with an unstable economy. The people could not deal with the economy themselves and needed the help of the RF. Another clear example of framing in the quotations is the reporting about the change of the hryvna to ruble currency in Crimea. The RF framed this as the best option for Crimea that would bring great benefit and that would help the economy grow larger than ever before. Nevertheless, Ukraine said in the RG newspaper reports that the prices of products had risen significantly because of the ruble and that the people on Crimea could no longer afford to go to the supermarket.

The quotations regarding sovereignty show that the RF did not see the new Ukrainian government as legitimate and did not recognize them. Instead the RF blamed Ukrainian politicians for all the problems in Crimea and accused them of framing. A third instance of framing were constant mentions that Ukraine could not function as a country or government. They could not control their own people or govern their country. Ukraine was also framed, mostly by the RF, as not taking care of the Crimean people. The result of that neglect was that Crimea wanted to join the RF.

Fakty I Kommentarii

Table 8 shows an overview of the key outcomes of the framing analyses of Fakty I Kommentarii. Below the table the outcomes are further discussed.

Interests	Framing of the interest
EU economy	Financial support for Ukraine
EU safety	Siding with Ukraine and condemning the annexation
NATO security	Support of the territorial integrity of Ukraine
RF economy	Annexation of Crimean money and assets
RF military	Annexation of Crimea and aggression toward inhabitants
UK economy	Bad economy is the fault of RF
UK sovereignty	The annexation of Crimea is the fault of RF
UN de-escalation	UK is seeking solutions for Russian aggression
UN safety	The UN has to help in achieve peace

Table 8: overview of the outcome from the framing analysis of Fakty I Kommentarii.

United Nations

The UN is framed as an instrument for achieving peace and stability for Ukraine and for stopping the RF from taking over Crimea. Ukraine was appealing for a UN safety mission, as mentioned in quotation 3:1028, and appealing to the UN to recognize the territorial integrity of Ukraine.

The de-escalation quotations show a constant struggle between Ukraine and the RF. The UN is used as a tool between the conflict of these countries. Ukraine sought solutions to stop the crisis and sought support from the UN. Moreover, Ukraine said that the RF tried to stop them from holding in to Crimea and that the RF wants to annex Crimea – for example, in quotation 3:2056. Another aspect of the de-escalation quotations is the way representative Robert Serry

was treated when he was on mission in Crimea. He was bullied and threatened at gunpoint by what the five parties called Crimean authorities in the FK. Eventually Serry was escorted out of Crimea by these armed forces.

Russian Federation

The economic quotations show that the RF took over all the economic aspects of Crimea. The introduction of the ruble in Crimea was presented as a disgrace and illegitimate. The RF repeatedly said that Crimea would go bankrupt and that its citizens would have to pay the price that the RF had caused. Ukraine, therefore, imposed sanctions on the RF and Crimean authorities and sought approval from the EU and the United States. The reports later specifically mention against which people the sanctions would be imposed – people who were a threat to peace, stability, sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Ukraine, as mentioned in many quotations, including 3:1293. Ukraine blamed the RF for the bankruptcy and bad economic welfare of Crimea. It also said that the RF captured Crimean real-estate, government buildings and Crimean money on banks. On the other hand, the RF said about itself that everything in Crimea would be better, for example, because of cheaper gas and gasoline prices in the RF which would transfer to Crimea and because the elderly would get the better pension offered by the RF.

Regarding quotations about the military interest of the RF, Ukraine called the Russian aggression an interference in Ukrainian affairs. The newspaper reported a clear build-up in the Russian military presence. A couple of quotations mentioned that the RF had built up its army in its Black Fleet Base. There are also quotations saying that the RF had gathered its army at border crossings and along the Crimean border – followed by the sudden capture of the Simferopol Crimean parliament building. The 'little green men' show up at many places in the peninsula. This framing by the FK makes it very clear that the takeover was, like Ukraine says, staged and an attempt to annex Crimea, such as in quotation 3:258

NATO

NATO called for protecting the territorial integrity of Ukraine and Crimea. Ukraine also asked the support of NATO to protect its integrity and its sovereignty. In quotation 3:687, the FK did a survey of the Ukrainian people and asked if they wanted 'the little green men' to be neutralized with support of NATO soldiers. Furthermore, there were many quotations about Ukraine wanting to be a member of NATO. Other quotations show that NATO recognized that the RF was taking over Crimea. Quotation 3:2174 suggests more clearly that NATO sided with Ukraine by stating that the organization was stopping with its cooperation with the RF.

European Union

The EU gave financial support to Ukraine to help them deal with its suffering economy; quotation 3:560 even speaks about an amount of 15 billion euros. The quotations clearly show that the EU is trying to frame itself as supportive to Ukraine, like 3:879. Other quotations show that the RF was portrayed by the EU as at fault for Ukraine's economy being so bad.

The safety quotations show that the EU had many concerns about the Crimean crisis. The EU expressed it many times and called for de-escalation of the situation. The EU also sided with Ukraine and it condemned the RF for its seizure of Crimea.

Ukraine

The economic perspective shows that the Ukrainian economy was vulnerable. Because of the crisis, investors were leaving, and the RF was using the economy as leverage to regain influence and power in Crimea. According to Ukraine, the RF was at fault because they annexed Crimea and caused so much unrest in the region. The sovereignty quotations show that Ukraine puts itself as a victim of the annexation from the RF. Because the RF has annexed Crimea and that it is all their fault. The quotations suggest that the RF was the cause of the political crisis, responsible for the unrest on the peninsula and with no right to intervene in Ukrainian business.

Image 9: Euromaidan movement on Kiev's Maidan Square in 2014. Source: Wikimedia Commons / Nessa Gnatoush, (2013).

Conclusion

This chapter analysed how the different interests appear in the media in three newspapers in order to answer sub-question 2: how did the parties express their interests in the reporting of the newspapers?

The New York Times quotations reveal that the organization was farther away from the conflict and provided more attention to quotations by NATO and the UN which are geographically closer than Ukraine and the RF. Their reporting on the scene in Crimea showed interest in supporting Ukraine's interests and speaking about Crimea as part of Ukraine. They did not approve of the actions and interests of the RF; instead, the newspaper clearly did not recognize the annexation of Crimea as part of the RF. The RG framed Russian interests positively, speaking about Crimea as always having been part of the RF (and Empire). The RG supports the claim that Crimea had been mistakenly transferred, from a historical and nationalistic perspective. The RF had a major interest in protecting the Russian people on the peninsula, and they framed Ukraine as a non-functional country with politicians who did not know how to govern. They blamed all other parties for becoming involved in the conflict, instead of allowing it to be a private conflict between Ukraine and the RF. The FK spoke about annexation and aggression by the RF from the perspective of Ukraine, clearly blaming the RF

for intervention in their country and for the downturn of the economy. Ukraine expressed the interests of the EU, NATO and UN in a way that benefited them their conflict with the RF. Ukraine framed its own interest as being a victim of Russian aggression, which resulted in Ukraine being thrown into chaos.

In summary, the empirical results of the framing analysis show that all five parties in the three newspapers framed the Crimean crisis in their own way. However, there are two clear (battling) sides: Ukraine and the RF.

7 – Academic reflection

The next step of this thesis is to compare the outcome of the research to the main theories as described in chapter 3. This makes it possible to more fully understanding how the crisis was framed. This chapter answers sub-question 3: How does the outcome of the analysis relates to the literature?

Discursive battle

There was a clear shift in the battleground in the months that this battle took place in Crimea. As mentioned in chapter 3, there was a discursive battle between the RF and Ukraine. The outcome of the framing analysis reveals this same battle in all three newspapers. The quotations from the framing analysis show that both Ukraine and the RF were fighting this battle in the three newspapers. They blamed each other for different things, such as the fighting and killing each other's soldiers, the constant battle over the true owner of Crimea and over who owns Crimean assets. They framed this in different ways by blaming, mocking and battling each other. First, it took place on the street with the fighting of the military. However, the battle continued later when Crimea fell under Russian control: Ukrainian politicians, citizens, military leaders and opinion leaders used the media to spread their disapproval of the RF's seizure of Crimea. This is mostly apparent in the NYT and the FK. This battle is much harder to see in the RG which is clearer in pointing out how Ukraine (and Crimea under Ukraine) was not functioning. The takeover caused much friction between the two parties.

History books

The history books show that the battle shifted from the battlefield to the newspapers. As mentioned in the chapter 2, the Crimean peninsula has shifted owners a couple of times; since 1991 it has been part of Ukraine. These shifts in power created different history books for both Ukraine and the RF regarding Crimea, but also from the historical justification of who can claim Crimea as its territory. However, the quotations show that there is also a third history book: that of Crimea itself. This is clearly visible in the RG which states that Crimea made its own choice by declaring the independence from Ukraine into the Republic of Crimea and asking to join the RF in 2014. Quotations from the five parties in the RG appeal to the fact that people voted in the referendum, that Ukraine was not taking good care of Crimea and that there was always a divide between Ukraine and Crimea. Those claims are an appeal to history books of the RF from 1991. I want to keep in mind that this is only the perspective as described in the RG quotations. (Of course, both the NYT and the FK hold different perspectives on this.) The RF's appeal to history connects to Murphy (1990), who argues that the historical justification of territorial conflicts can influence the place a conflict is taking place; that place can sometimes be in the media (Murphy, 1990, p531-532). Both history and the history books can influence the way the conflict is fought. This insight strengthens the statement about that the Crimean conflict that shifted from the battleground to the newspaper. Some of the frames in this analysis are based on historical justification.

Power

Power relations become visible in governments that have the power to tell the stories their own way. The RG includes many more quotations than the other two newspapers in which people from the government are quoted. The RG and the FK had reporters all over Crimea

compared to the NYT, which had significantly fewer quotations who show that there is a reporter on scene. They rather quote from press releases and official government statements. The NYT bases their information on citizens, local NGO's, the UN and government releases from Ukraine, the RF, the EU and the United Sates. The NYT, relative to the other two newspapers, used more sources than their own journalists.

The power quotations show that the news is much harder to verify after the takeover of Crimea. At a certain point in the three analysed months, the Russian defence forces took over the Crimean television networks. As Baudrillard (2010) mentioned in chapter 3, free press is under pressure because of power relations. This control of television networks is an example that shows exactly what he means. The fact that the media was taken over raised uncertainty about the news that was being spread. In addition, there were many quotations which mentioned that the Ukrainian army could not win the battle with the self-declared and Russian forces. As a result, it seems that the party with the most guns has the power to tell the story in Crimea, in this case the RF. They took over parts over the peninsula and the news, so it became much harder to verify the stories from Crimea (Baudrillard, 2010; Entman, 1993; Luyendijk, 2006). It also works the other way around.

There were not many quotations which contested the RF forces in the RG. On the other hand, the other two newspapers clearly mentioned that they did not want to have the RF forces on the peninsula; instead, they wanted Crimea to be part of Ukraine. When reflecting this on Foucault (1973), who argues that parties have interest in power, they achieve this power through the media. This example strengthens the concept of the discursive battle because the power struggle also shows the clear line between the RG and the FK/NYT.

Us versus them

The 'us versus them' paradigm is different for both the RF and Ukraine. This is the final aspect of the information war, a group of people seeking to find negative aspects of another group to enhance their self-image (Perdue, et al., 1990, p476). The results of the quotations of the framing analysis show that this aspect was used on large scale by both Ukraine and the RF. The other three parties did not perform this aspect. This could be explained because Ukraine and the RF were fighting about Crimea, and the three other parties wanted to see a solution to the conflict. The way these two parties were performing 'us versus them' was very different. Ukraine was clearly claiming that the RF and the self-declared defence forces was entirely at fault, thus creating a persona of 'us' (Ukraine and the EU) and a 'them' (the RF). The quotations from the framing analysis show that Ukraine saw itself as a victim of Russian aggression. Although that is not fully in line with the concept of 'us versus them' (because Ukraine was not enhancing its self-image), it was still denouncing and framing the RF as the hostile invader of their country. For the RF the roles were somewhat reversed, seeing itself as the saviour of Crimea; the RF was intervening to the benefit and protect the people from Ukrainian aggression. By constantly referencing these negative aspects, the RF was creating a certain stereotype.

Controlling truth

The framing analysis reveals how parties are framing their interests by presenting different truths in the newspapers. The existence of multiple truths raises a question regarding whom to believe when looking at the outcome of the analysis.

The framing analysis shows a clear example of truth that differs: 'the little green men'. These were the first military personal that came out of nowhere and occupied key governmental buildings on the Crimean peninsula. They were differently displayed in all three newspapers by different organizations and people. In the NYT they are first mentioned as not equipped as Russian military. Ukraine called them well-armed professional gunmen. President Obama of the United States referred to them as Russian military. In the RG, vice-governor of Dnipropetrovsk oblast, Boris Filatov, called them mercenaries and offered money to anybody who could capture them. In the FK, Ukraine referred to them as Russian marines. A Simferopol resident, Nadezhda Zaviryuha, called them invaders. In this case, people disagree regarding what is truth. Everybody agrees that they were military personal, so that is the truth (O'sullivan & Heinonen, 2008).

It is very hard to determine who is speaking the truth about the example of 'the little green men'. Foucault (1973) mentions that governments have power to tell and create the truth and that they can claim a truth. Foucault's (1973) and Rorty's (1979) arguments do not take into account if the truth of a government is more important than that of an individual. The Simferopol resident might have been in the centre of certain events; it could be plausible that she is telling the truth. Then one has to verify this truth with other people to get sense of the truth. Luyendijk (2006) claims that it is almost impossible to discover the truth as a foreign correspondent and that one can only report about the facts in an authoritarian regime (p66). So connecting Luyendijk's argument to the example above, it is almost impossible to determine who the 'little green men' are.

Image 10: Little green men on the streets in 2014. Source: molbuk.ua, retrieved by Euromaidan press, (2014).

Social-media could play a part in seeking and verifying truth. In many news reports and in many quotations, there are mentions on Twitter and Facebook. The social media could be used as an instrument in verifying truth. During the Arab Spring, Lotan et al. (2011) researched the spreading of social-media in which they suggest that one needs to understand the dynamics of how information spreads among networked actors (Lotan et al., 2011, p1380). In which news from press agencies, such as like Reuters, AFP, and AP should be included (Buns, 2003, p32). Lotan et al. (2011), Luyendijk (2006) and Foucault (1973) all question truth, but one has to verify where the news comes from and the sender of information and rely on multiple sources to get a step closer to the real truth.

Fake News

In addition to understanding how different parties can control the truth, it is important to understand the difference between real news and fake news. The presence of fake news will likely never go away and is something the world must deal with, especially journalists (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017, p212-213; Wijnberg, 2017). There are agreements of what is real and what is fake, so there is a clear distinction between them (O'sullivan & Heinonen, 2008, p358). However, fake news is something that is not real, in other words non-existent. Fake news is based on lies and does not represent a common reality as mentioned by Rorty (1979) in chapter 3. In order to determine the truth, then, one must look to who is claiming the truth, instead of looking for whoever is spreading the fake news. This truth or common reality is sometimes hard to find, and journalists must sometimes put a lot of effort into retrieving it. Sometimes they will not discover the truth and have to make an assessment of what they think the truth really is (Luyendijk, 2006; Hoogstraten & Jinek, 2008; O'sullivan & Heinonen, 2008, p358; Rorty, 1979).

Journalists have to do this assessment by relying on multiple sources in creating a polynarrative of journalism. They have to check how other journalists and news media are writing about the subject in order to see where their own stories match and differ. They have to consult social media and eyewitness reports. They have to question governmental statements and have to keep in mind that news could be framed by different parties. They have to get insight into the interests of different parties. After that process, journalists get the closest to a truth, and one will know whom to believe. The different points in their story can be up for questioning and be controlled and checked again to create a common understanding/reality. Journalists and news media must never be the extension of a government but strive for neutrality and truthfulness.

Future of the conflict

This analysis of framing during the Crimean crisis makes it possible to address the future of the conflict. As described in chapter 2, the current tensions started during 2013/2014 (Onuch, 2014, p44-45). The question of to whom Crimea belongs has been contested for many years. During the Russian Empire it was part of Russia, in 1991 it became part of Ukraine and it has shifted other times in history (Dawson, 1997). As a result of those historical perspectives, it is logical that this conflict will emerge again in the future because both countries claim the Crimean territory. Only the conditions of the context in which these claims took place have changed. This context includes the UN, NATO, the EU and other actors that influence the conflict between Ukraine and the Russian Federation. Journalism, social media, globalization and the societies of Ukraine and the RF have changed over time. In 2017, about three and a

half years later, the conflict on Crimea is still very present as mentioned in chapter 1. This is even the case for the Donbass war which emerged at the same time of the Crimean conflict. Only the Donbass is still an active conflict zone, and Crimea is more silent and part of the RF. This claim is based on news reports over time and recent academic research based on this subject (Matsuzato, 2017; New York Times, 2017). The conflict is far from over. And as long as this conflict is not over, the framing of the parties will continue because they still have interests in framing as a tool for winning the war.

Conclusion

This chapter connects the outcome of the framing analysis to the literature in the first three chapters of the thesis, and it gives an answer to sub-question 3: How does the outcome of the analysis relates to the literature

Key theories reflect the outcome of the analysis. These include the information war and seeking truth. Reflecting on the literature reveals that the aspects of the information war are widely applicable to the outcomes of the framing analysis. All key concepts as described in the theoretical background chapter show similarities with the outcomes of the analysis. The history books show that the battle shifted from the battlefield to the newspapers. Power relations become visible in governments that have the power to tell the stories their own way. Self-enhancing according to the 'us versus them' paradigm is different for both the RF and Ukraine. The RF uses it on the people of Crimea, and Ukraine uses it for the RF. In seeking truth, journalists have to make sure they firmly control their story before they publish it. Because fake news and conflict zones can place the truth under a lot of pressure, journalists have to determine who is claiming which truth. They have to rely on multiple sources and consider what other media are reporting about the same case in order to create their own narrative. If journalists do this, they can create a polynarrative of the story, which is the closest to the ultimate truth. Reflecting the framing analysis and the theory and looking to the future, the claim on Crimea will certainly will be contested again. This has been shown throughout history and in the news; only the context and conditions of this conflict has shifted over time. Because this conflict is far from over, there will be an interest to frame certain things, and there will be framing until it is over.

8 - Conclusion

This chapter concludes the main theoretical findings of this thesis. First the main question and the main steps of this research are discussed. Second the three sub-questions will be answered. Third the general conclusion will be given followed by a couple of recommendations.

This thesis focuses on how different newspapers framed the shift of power on Crimea in order to better understand the different interests of five major parties involved in the conflict: the EU, NATO, the UN, the RF and Ukraine. Three major newspapers were studied: the NYT, the RG and the FK, resulting in 1514 news reports that were studied by a framing analysis. Afterwards, the results are connected to the main theoretical literature around conflict research. All these steps make the answer to the main question of this research possible:

How did the Russian Federation, Ukraine, NATO, European Union and United Nations frame their interest during the shift of power in Crimea?

Interests from the press releases

In this research the interests were determined by press releases of the five consulted parties, defined by the way they talked about Crimea. Ukraine had the most releases, the RF had the second most and the other three parties did not have many releases. From this aspect alone can be concluded that this conflict was mostly between Ukraine and the RF. The outcomes of this interest analysis were put into an interest matrix in which it was possible to conclude the following interests: The UN had interest in the de-escalation of the tensions between the RF and Ukraine and was trying to preserve peace and stability for the region. The RF had interest in military strengthening and economic welfare. NATO's interest was security for its allies. The EU had a primary interest in the security of the Union and economic welfare. Ukraine wanted to keep sovereignty of its own territory and economic stability.

Insights from the framing analysis

The framing analysis show that all five parties in the three newspapers framed the Crimean crisis in their own way with two clear sides: Ukraine and the RF. Framing in the NYT provided more attention to NATO and UN quotations because they were farther away of the conflict. EU, NATO and UN supported Ukraine's interests and spoke about Crimea as part of Ukraine. The parties in the RG, on the other hand, framed Russian interests, speaking about Crimea as if it had always has been part of the RF and claiming that it had been mistakenly transferred from a historical and nationalistic perspective. The RF framed Ukraine as a non-functioning country with politicians who did not know how to govern. The FK spoke about annexation and aggression by the RF from the perspective of Ukraine, clearly blaming the Russian Federation for intervention in their country and for the downturn in the economy.

Reflecting on the literature

All key concepts, such as history books, the power to tell the story and the concept of 'us versus them' are applicable to the outcome of the framing analysis. However, this discursive battle was fought differently. There was a clear battle between Ukraine and the RF, both in

interests and in the way they talked about each other. They blamed each other for different things, such as the fighting and killing each other's soldiers, the constant battle over the true owner of Crimea and over who owns Crimean assets. They framed this in different ways by blaming, mocking and battling each other. A clear shift of the battleground was visible, first with the military fighting in the streets; later, when Crimea was under Russian control, the media was used to spread the Ukrainian disapproval of the RF's takeover of Crimea. The discursive battle aspects are also visible in the quotations. There was a historical justification from the RF to take Crimea. There is power in being able to tell a story; therefore, quotations about the same phenomenon vary in the newspapers. The narrative of 'us versus them' varies because the RF used the narrative against the Crimean people and because Ukraine it against the RF.

Framing of interests

The combination of the sub-questions leads to a final conclusion of this research. The main question of this research suggests that framing took place in all five parties. According to Foucault (1973), governments have power to tell and create the truth and to claim a truth and according Bourdieu (1996), governments can try to control and influence inhabitants by using media. Reflecting this on the discursive battle taking place in the Crimean conflict shows that governments use media as instruments to achieve victory (Dimitrova & Strömback 2005; Onuch, 2014). The sum of these theories makes it possible to conclude that framing took place. The framing analysis of the five parties shows how this happened. The RF, Ukraine, NATO, the EU and the UN framed their interests to benefit themselves the most.

Different quotations show fierce condemnation, while others embed interests in a wider structure. However, it is still possible to narrow the subjects in order to gain an overarching insight of how the five parties framed their interest. First, the five parties all framed their interest to best suit their own organizations. Therefore, in all three newspapers one can see that all five parties show similarities in their interests. When comparing the outcome of the framing analysis to the interest matrix in chapter 5, it is possible to conclude that the interests shown in the matrix show similarities with the outcome of the framing analysis. In other words, the interests of the five parties were framed in the newspapers.

In the newspapers they both frame the other parties, but they also frame themselves. The RF framed the events in a way that presented Crimea as part of the RF. It used fiercer tactics and words, essentially a fiercer tone of war. Ukraine, on the other hand, framed its interest in wanting Crimea back. It appealed primarily to international organizations and less to a tone of war. The other three parties were not directly involved in the conflict but still had reasons for framing the events. NATO had interests in peace and security. Its interests were framed in a way that sided with Ukraine against Russian aggression. The EU also framed its interests in a way that sided with Ukraine. It wanted peace, stability and prosperity for the Union, and this conflict was not helping with that goal. It also framed Russian aggression negatively and supported Ukraine. Finally, the UN had interests in stability and peace for the whole region. As a result, it framed its interests as the party for negotiations, safety and peace.

Overall, the parties framed the Crimean conflict in their own way, thus showing the complexity of this conflict and of world conflicts in general. This analysis shows that the framing was embedded inside the conflict and that it is difficult to report unbiased news. This is also the problem for many journalists. That is why journalist have to make sure they report objectively, honestly and truthfully about a conflict.

Polynarrative in journalism

The analysis of the framing shows that journalists frame their reporting, similarly to how countries do so. This is apparent in the framing analysis because news reports about the same event differ in different newspapers. There is a danger of reporting news that is not truthful – fake news. Truth is sometimes hard to find, and journalists must sometimes put forth much effort in retrieving that truth, a fact which is clearly visible in the framing analysis. Journalists and audiences must determine who is claiming the actual truth rather than focusing on who is spreading the fake news. The framing analysis reveals so many news reports that if one only looked at the fake news he or she might eventually lose an accurate sense of reality regarding what comes closest to the truth.

Journalists have to rely on multiple sources in creating their own narrative. As Rorty (1979) mentioned, there is not one ultimate truth, but the highest attainable truth is agreement between people about a certain claim or reality (p183). They have to check how other journalists and news media are writing about a subject. They have to consult social media and eyewitness reports. They have to question governmental statements and keep in mind that news could be framed differently by different parties. They have to gain insight into certain interests of different parties. Social media could also play a part in seeking and verifying truth. Knowing the positions of certain parties in the discursive battle could also help. An audience cannot expect journalists to report the ultimate truth. However, journalists can help reducing the prominence of fake news. Scheufele's (1999) conceptual model shows that framing will never stop (as long a conflict is still active) (p115). Because the Crimean conflict is far from over, the framing of interests will also not stop. This means that journalists and consumers of media will be confronted with framed news again and again. There are also journalists who have their own interests in telling a story the way it suits them the best. This may be because there is no ultimate truth, and facts are not necessarily neutral, as described by Luyendijk (2006) and Wijnberg (2017). An audience, therefore, has to be aware when reading about a conflict and should also rely on multiple sources to see similarities in reporting. As a result of doing so, an audience can reach a common reality.

Journalists have to create a polynarrative. When they have their own story and compare it to how other journalists write about the same phenomenon, they can see where their own stories match and differ. By doing so, they create a common understanding with each other. This is not easy all the time because journalists experience pressure and power from countries (including militaries) and are not always able to do their work properly. When journalists are prevented from doing their work, they have to include that limitation in their reporting so the audience knows how the report is constructed. This shows honesty and objective reporting. Next to that, journalist have to use the narrative themselves to make sure they proper function because they have their own interest in the way they are telling a story. With the narrative the journalist its own interest can be supressed to achieved objective journalism Instead of seeking the truth, journalists should write about what they experience and about

countries and people who are claiming certain things. Of course this should be placed in perspective, but journalists must not place truth-seeking as their main objective (see Rorty, 1979). Journalists must try to recognize and agree about the common reality to achieve truthful reporting.

This polynarrative is important because the Crimean conflict is far from over. As long as the conflict is not over there, will be an interest in framing certain things.

9 - Discussion

This chapter includes an evaluation of this research, indicates its degree of reliability and makes some recommendations for further research.

This research does not only show how complex the Crimean conflict is but also how journalists have to deal with certain circumstances in conducting journalism. This thesis adds new empirical and scientific insights to the world of framing and ways for readers to determine if news is real or fake and why certain things in conflict areas happen.

The research provides different empirical insights. First, it reveals that the five parties in the Crimean crisis have their own interests (as described in chapter 6) and that they frame their interests, as explained in chapter 7. Those interests are very different, a fact which provides new insight into the conflict. Interests and framing provide ways for journalists and audiences all over the world to put certain events in certain context in order to understand the conflict. Moreover, the scientific insights gained from this research (as described in chapter 1) show that there is a specific role for media in conflict. This role is very visible in chapter 8, which shows that journalism is under significant pressure in conflict areas. Therefore, the concept of a polynarrative helps journalists, by encouraging them to create a common understanding and by helping them to ensure the news they report is more truthful and objective.

In addition to new insights, this research also has its limitations. Because of the conflict and current visa regulations, it was not possible for me to go to Crimea. As a result, I could not see first-hand how this conflict was developing or gain a better understanding of the complexity of the conflict in general. Speaking with journalists on scene could have provided more theoretical and scientific insights or could have enabled me to reconstruct a fake news example. Instead, all my knowledge of Crimea was based on scientific literature and news reports, which could be written with certain interests. If I could have seen first-hand how journalists were dealing with reporting on scene, it would have added another dimension to the research. Another limitation is the scale of my research, which only investigates five parties and three newspapers covering the Crimean crisis. Although this provides in-depth insight into a specific aspect of framing during the conflict, but it does not give an all-encompassing view of the framing or the conflict. As a result, it is more difficult to generalize the outcome to a wider application in both journalism and the field of conflict studies. Another limitation is the time management and therefore the scale of this research. My thesis therefore only provides a specific part of the conflict in Crimea.

A final aspect to be discussed is the framing and interest of this thesis. This research is based on much academic literature and key concepts relating to framing and interests. As a researcher, it is sometimes difficult to make sure I am not biased or inaccurately framing the Crimean crisis myself. However, this does mean that this thesis is not objective; I position myself as neutral and speak only about the shift in power. I do not speak about annexations or forced takeovers.

Recommendations

Finally, some recommendations for future research are made regarding both the conflict and framing theories.

This first recommendation is for the expansion of this research in the future because, as described in the evaluation, it only focused on three newspapers. One may gain new insight into framing and this conflict when conducting research on more papers, a specific newspaper, website information, Russian or Ukrainian social media, Twitter or Facebook. Those new insights may also result from how future researchers determine the number of news reports. Research conducted over longer than three months may result in different outcomes and insights regarding how framing works. Furthermore, a different theoretical framework could provide other insights into framing and the possible outcome. This research was mainly focused on fake news and the discursive battle. Other frameworks could provide different insights into framing and interests.

A second recommendation is the choice of Crimea. The reason for this subject is because of my own fascination and because of its impact in the region and the world. There are many other conflicts suitable for a framing analysis. For example, the war that followed in the Donbass would be a valuable research study. This could provide new insights or similarities into the changing relationship of Ukraine and the RF. Because the war in the Donbass emerged after the Crimean crisis, Ukraine could lose even more of its territory, potentially making the discursive battle much fiercer.

A third recommendation is for journalists and other media professionals. I have suggested the polynarrative as a way for journalists to ensure that they do not provide framed or fake news reports to the public. I recommend using this as starting point in their reporting. From that foundation, journalists then seek their own path in reporting and truth-seeking. When a report is done, they can reflect on whether they have a neutral and truthful report. Furthermore, I recommend that other research continues regarding this polynarrative in order to provide even more ways to pursue truth. Although journalists can never fully eliminate fake news, the polynarrative can provide a good starting point in reducing it.

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Appendix A: Reports of interests

United Nations		https://www.un.org/press/en	
1	UN	01-03-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/node/106903
2	UN	19-03-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/node/170317
3	UN	27-03-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/node/170363
4	UN	04-05-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/node/170575
5	UN	13-05-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/node/170609
6	UN	14-05-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/node/170618
7	UN	22-05-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/node/170682
8	UN	28-05-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/2014/sc11417.doc.htm
9	UN	06-06-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/node/170797
10	UN	21-07-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/node/171068
11	UN	30-07-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/node/179330
12	UN	09-12-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/2014/ga11599.doc.htm
13	UN	12-12-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/node/195610
14	UN	19-12-2014	https://www.un.org/press/en/node/196159
Russian Federation			
15	RF	04-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20366
16	RF	04-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20373
17	RF	04-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20442
18	RF	17-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20593
19	RF	18-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20606
20	RF	18-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20603
21	RF	18-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20607
22	RF	19-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20612
23	RF	21-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/20627
24	RF	21-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20624
25	RF	21-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20623
26	RF	21-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20626
27	RF	23-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20646
28	RF	18-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20609
29	RF	18-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20608
30	RF	19-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20613
31	RF	20-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20617
32	RF	23-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20632
33	RF	27-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20645
34	RF	28-03-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20650
35	RF	01-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20672
36	RF	03-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20714
37	RF	04-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20718
38	RF	08-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20737
39	RF	10-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20753
40	RF	14-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20776
41	RF	14-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20775
42	RF	14-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20778
43	RF	17-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20796
44	RF	17-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/20799
45	RF	19-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/20813
46	RF	21-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20839
47	RF	22-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20841
48	RF	24-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20858
49	RF	28-04-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20869
50	RF	08-05-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20980
51	RF	09-05-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/20993
52	RF	09-05-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/20992
53	RF	16-05-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/21028
54	RF	23-05-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/21080
55	RF	23-05-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/21078
56	RF	24-05-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/21090
57	RF	30-05-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/45802
58	RF	03-06-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/45825
59	RF	04-06-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/45832
60	RF	12-06-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/45899
61	RF	12-06-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/45820
62	RF	17-06-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/45924
63	RF	19-06-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/administration/45940

64	RF	24-06-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/46060
65	RF	25-06-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46072
66	RF	26-06-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46078
67	RF	01-07-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46131
68	RF	05-07-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46155
69	RF	09-07-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46177
70	RF	18-07-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46245
71	RF	22-07-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46305
72	RF	22-07-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/misc/46347
73	RF	12-08-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/press/announcements/46437
74	RF	13-08-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46447
75	RF	13-08-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46445
76	RF	14-08-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/trips/46461
77	RF	14-08-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46454
78	RF	14-08-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46453
79	RF	14-08-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46451
80	RF	14-08-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46450
81	RF	29-08-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46507
82	RF	05-09-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46566
83	RF	12-09-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46612
84	RF	17-09-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46634
85	RF	23-09-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46662
86	RF	23-09-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46660
87	RF	01-10-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46708
88	RF	03-10-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46722
89	RF	09-10-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46759
90	RF	13-10-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46782
91	RF	14-10-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46782
92	RF	15-10-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46806
93	RF	15-10-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46805
94	RF	23-10-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/councils/46893
95	RF	24-10-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46860
96	RF	27-10-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46896
97	RF	31-10-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46904
98	RF	05-11-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46951
99	RF	14-11-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47009
100	RF	15-11-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47023
101	RF	17-11-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47029
102	RF	18-11-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/administration/47033
103	RF	18-11-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47036
104	RF	24-11-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47061
105	RF	24-11-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47054
106	RF	04-12-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47173
107	RF	18-12-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47250
108	RF	19-12-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47257
109	RF	20-12-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47269
110	RF	22-12-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47276
111	RF	26-12-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47336
112	RF	29-12-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47347
113	RF	31-12-2014	http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/47446
NATO			
114	NATO	02-03-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_107681.htm?selectedLocale=en
115	NATO	14-03-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_108021.htm?selectedLocale=en
116	NATO	17-03-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_108030.htm?selectedLocale=en
117	NATO	18-03-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_108100.htm?selectedLocale=en
118	NATO	01-04-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_108501.htm
119	NATO	01-04-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_108499.htm?selectedLocale=en
120	NATO	10-04-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_109015.htm?selectedLocale=en&mode=p
121	NATO	13-04-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_109148.htm?selectedLocale=en&mode=p
122	NATO	26-05-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_110350.htm?selectedLocale=en
123	NATO	04-09-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_112695.htm?selectedLocale=en
124	NATO	05-09-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112985.htm?selectedLocale=en
125	NATO	05-09-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm?selectedLocale=en
126	NATO	16-09-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_113094.htm?selectedLocale=en
127	NATO	27-10-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_114175.htm?selectedLocale=en
129	NATO	02-12-2014	http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_115474.htm?selectedLocale=en
European Union			
130	EU	28-02-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-40_en.htm

131	EU	01-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-168_en.htm
132	EU	04-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-44_en.htm
133	EU	04-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-45_en.htm
134	EU	05-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-184_en.htm
135	EU	10-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_CES-14-17_en.htm
136	EU	12-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-212_en.htm
137	EU	12-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-65_en.htm
138	EU	12-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-216_en.htm
139	EU	12-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEX-14-0312_en.htm
140	EU	16-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-71_en.htm
141	EU	18-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-74_en.htm
142	EU	19-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-232_en.htm
143	EU	20-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-235_en.htm
144	EU	21-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-240_en.htm
145	EU	21-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEX-14-0321_en.htm
146	EU	24-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-82_en.htm
147	EU	24-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-313_en.htm
148	EU	25-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEX-14-0325_en.htm
149	EU	25-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-248_en.htm
150	EU	26-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-84_en.htm
151	EU	27-03-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-234_en.htm
152	EU	02-04-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-365_en.htm
153	EU	02-04-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-280_en.htm
154	EU	10-04-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEX-14-0410_en.htm
155	EU	10-04-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-281_en.htm
156	EU	11-04-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-323_en.htm
157	EU	16-04-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-331_en.htm
158	EU	25-04-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-339_en.htm
159	EU	25-04-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-337_en.htm
160	EU	26-04-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-318_en.htm
161	EU	07-05-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-151_en.htm
162	EU	13-05-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-346_en.htm
163	EU	14-05-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-372_en.htm
164	EU	14-05-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-374_en.htm
165	EU	15-05-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-382_en.htm
166	EU	16-05-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-390_en.htm
167	EU	25-05-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-500_en.htm
168	EU	03-06-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-392_en.htm
169	EU	04-06-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-637_en.htm
170	EU	05-06-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-402_en.htm
171	EU	12-06-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-464_en.htm
172	EU	15-06-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-548_en.htm
173	EU	23-06-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-430_en.htm
174	EU	17-07-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-555_en.htm
175	EU	24-07-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEX-14-0724_en.htm
176	EU	29-07-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-244_en.htm
177	EU	30-07-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-245_en.htm
178	EU	07-08-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-249_en.htm
179	EU	11-08-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-921_en.htm
180	EU	05-09-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-273_en.htm
181	EU	11-09-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-591_en.htm
182	EU	12-09-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-598_en.htm
183	EU	16-09-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-601_en.htm
184	EU	26-09-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-288_en.htm
185	EU	21-10-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-708_en.htm
186	EU	14-11-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-1760_en.htm
187	EU	03-12-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-14-2267_en.htm
188	EU	03-12-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-2341_en.htm
189	EU	19-12-2014	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_AC-16-1543_en.htm
Ukraine			
190	UK	30-01-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247012066
191	UK	31-01-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247015134
192	UK	03-02-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247018853
193	UK	13-02-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247042866
194	UK	14-02-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247044056
195	UK	27-02-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247060977
196	UK	28-02-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247060791
197	UK	28-02-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247063336

198	UK	01-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247064576
199	UK	01-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247065378
200	UK	01-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247064708
201	UK	01-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247065351
202	UK	01-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247066663
203	UK	02-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247067230
204	UK	02-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247067114
205	UK	03-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247067928
206	UK	03-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247068040
207	UK	03-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247068216
208	UK	03-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247068384
209	UK	03-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247069138
210	UK	03-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247069727
211	UK	03-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247069806
212	UK	03-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247072388
213	UK	04-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247072839
214	UK	04-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247074213
215	UK	04-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247072936
216	UK	04-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247075131
217	UK	04-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247074930
218	UK	04-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247075071
219	UK	05-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247076293
220	UK	05-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247076174
221	UK	05-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247076554
222	UK	05-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247076758
223	UK	06-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247078687
224	UK	06-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247080713
225	UK	06-03-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247082343
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399	UK	30-12-2014	http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=247853670

Appendix B: Reports from the newspapers

1	NYT	11-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/11/world/europe/awaiting-russias-next-move-in-ukraine.html
2	NYT	18-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/18/business/international/hard-and-soft-power-both-frustrated-in-ukraine.html
3	NYT	21-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/21/world/europe/david-herszenhorn-answers-readers-questions-on-the-crisis-in-ukraine.html
4	NYT	23-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/23/world/europe/with-presidents-departure-ukraine-looks-toward-a-murky-future.html
5	NYT	24-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/24/opinion/why-russia-wont-interfere.html
6	NYT	24-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/24/world/europe/deeply-bound-to-ukraine-putin-watches-and-waits-for-next-move.html
7	NYT	25-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/25/opinion/brooks-fake-putin-diary.html
8	NYT	25-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/25/world/europe/just-like-his-power-ukrainian-ex-leader-vanishes-into-thin-air.html
9	NYT	25-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/26/opinion/has-the-west-already-lost-ukraine.html
10	NYT	26-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/26/opinion/ukraines-crisis-and-the-russia-card.html
11	NYT	26-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/26/world/europe/an-unfinished-ukraine-palace-and-a-fugitive-leaders-folly.html
12	NYT	26-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/26/pageoneplus/quotation-of-the-day-for-wednesday-february-26-2014.html
13	NYT	27-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/27/world/europe/russia.html
14	NYT	27-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/27/opinion/ukraine-and-the-perils-of-division.html
15	NYT	28-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/28/world/europe/crimea-ukraine.html
16	NYT	28-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/28/world/europe/ukraine.html
17	NYT	28-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/28/world/europe/ukraine-tensions.html
18	NYT	28-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/28/world/europe/hagel-warns-russia-not-to-intervene-in-ukraine.html
19	NYT	28-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/28/world/europe/at-an-abandoned-palace-in-ukraine-an-anxious-look-toward-the-future.html
20	NYT	28-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/28/world/europe/putins-silence-on-ukraine-adds-to-confusion.html
21	NYT	28-02-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/28/world/europe/crimeas-bloody-past-is-a-key-to-its-present.html
22	NYT	01-03-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/01/world/europe/russia-ukraine.html
23	NYT	01-03-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/01/world/europe/ukraine.html
24	NYT	01-03-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/01/us/politics/transcript-of-obamas-remarks-on-ukraine.html
25	NYT	01-03-2014	https://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/01/opinion/what-is-russias-aim-in-ukraine.html
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372	RG	05-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/05/nazionalisti.html
373	RG	11-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/11/odessa.html
374	RG	19-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/19/imena-anons.html
375	RG	20-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/20/gorod.html
376	RG	20-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/20/mnenie-site.html
377	RG	22-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/22/zemlaki.html
378	RG	22-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/21/aktualno-site.html
379	RG	22-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/22/harkov.html
380	RG	22-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/22/siezd-site.html
381	RG	22-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/22/perevorot-site.html
382	RG	24-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/24/geroi.html
383	RG	25-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/23/ukraina-site.html
384	RG	25-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/25/sevastopol.html
385	RG	25-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/25/slutsky-anons.html
386	RG	25-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/25/maidan1-site.html
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388	RG	25-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/25/glava-site-anons.html
389	RG	25-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/25/portfeli-site-anons.html
390	RG	25-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/24/yazik-site.html
391	RG	26-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/26/sevastopol.html
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394	RG	26-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/26/pristup-anons.html
395	RG	27-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/27/ykraina.html
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397	RG	27-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/27/situazia.html
398	RG	27-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/27/fas.html
399	RG	27-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/27/reg-pfo/gossovet.html
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405	RG	27-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/27/ministry-site.html
406	RG	28-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/28/spiker-anons.html
407	RG	28-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/28/parom-anons.html
408	RG	28-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/28/obrashenie.html
409	RG	28-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/28/krym.html
410	RG	28-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/28/krim-anons.html
411	RG	28-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/28/ukraine.html
412	RG	28-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/28/rejim-site-anons.html
413	RG	28-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/28/moskva-anons.html
414	RG	28-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/28/nota-site-anons.html
415	RG	28-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/28/konferenciya.html
416	RG	28-02-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/28/ukraine-anons.html
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421	RG	01-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/01/churkin-site.html
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444	RG	01-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/01/miting2-anons.html
445	RG	01-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/01/reg-pfo/minnihanov-anons.html
446	RG	01-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/01/simferopol-anons.html
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448	RG	02-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/02/sovbez-site-anons.html
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464	RG	03-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/02/28/press-yanukovich-site.html
465	RG	03-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/03/shoprad.html
466	RG	03-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/02/naemniki-site.html
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477	RG	03-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/03/ikona-site.html
478	RG	03-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/03/odessa-anons.html
479	RG	03-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/03/herson-anons.html
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481	RG	03-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/03/sledstvie-site.html
482	RG	04-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/04/akcii-anons.html
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484	RG	04-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/04/svyazi-site-anons.html

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489	RG	05-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/05/oligarhi.html
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493	RG	05-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/04/situazia-site.html
494	RG	05-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/04/putin-site.html
495	RG	05-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/05/peregovori-anons.html
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512	RG	07-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/07/donbass.html
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515	RG	07-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/07/parlament.html
516	RG	07-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/07/obsujdenie-site.html
517	RG	08-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/08/moskvichi-site.html
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530	RG	09-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/09/odessa-site-anons.html

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535	RG	10-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/10/referendum-anons.html
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552	RG	11-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/12/geo.html
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555	RG	11-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/11/hirurg-site.html
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561	RG	12-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/12/komandir-site.html
562	RG	12-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/12/lukashenko1-anons.html
563	RG	12-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/12/vozdux-anons.html
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576	RG	13-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/13/merkel-site-anons.html

577	RG	13-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/13/proezd-anons.html
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589	RG	14-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/14/crimea-twitter-site.html
590	RG	15-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/15/gosdep-anons.html
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592	RG	15-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/15/den-site.html
593	RG	15-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/15/krim-site-anons.html
594	RG	15-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/15/doneck-anons.html
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596	RG	15-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/15/tishina-anons.html
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605	RG	16-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/16/yavka-anons.html
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607	RG	16-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/16/krim-anons.html
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614	RG	16-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/16/italia-anons.html
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697	RG	23-03-2014	https://rg.ru/2014/03/24/arest.html
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827	FK	11-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/176191-v-parlamente-kryma-hotyat-obratitsya-k-rossii-za-zacshitoj
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831	FK	11-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/176335-mihail-gavrilyuk-uvidev-menya-po-televizoru-syn-prislal-sms-ku-papa-ya-toboj-gorzhus
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833	FK	11-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/176510-kak-minimum-do-20-fevralya-v-ukraine-sohranitsya-teplaya-dozhdlivaya-pogoda
834	FK	12-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/176615-na-lugancshine-prosyat-putina-vvesti-vojska-v-ukrainu
835	FK	13-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/176718-v-krymu-zakarpate-i-na-hersoncshine-pobit-stoletnij-temperaturnyj-rekord
836	FK	14-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/176701-antimajdanovcy
837	FK	14-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/176786-sudbu-eks--regionala-markova-budut-reshat-krymskie-sudy
838	FK	14-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/176785-v-kazhdoj-tretej-novostrojke-specialisty-vyyavili-narusheniya-stroitelnogo-zakonodatelstva
839	FK	14-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/176897-ukrainu-zhdet-teplyj-mart
840	FK	18-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/176886-sotrudniki-krymtrollejbusa-nachali-massovo-uvolnyatsya-iz-za-dolgov
841	FK	19-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177082-semi-pogibshih-v-kieve-krymskih-pravoohranitelej-budut-poluchat-materialnuyu-pomocsh-ot-vlastej-avtonomii
842	FK	20-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177125-krym-mozhet-otdelitsya-ot-ukrainy---spiker-avtonomii
843	FK	21-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177254-v-vyhodnye-v-ukrainu-pridut-dozhdi-s-mokrym-snegom
844	FK	22-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177309-rukovodstvo-yuzhnyh-i-vostochnyh-oblastej-namereno-vzyat-vlast-na-svoih-territoriyah-v-svoi-ruki
845	FK	22-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177315-ministr-oborony-bezhal-v-krym-a-voennye-podtverdili-vernost-prisyage-i-narodu-ukrainy
846	FK	22-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177319-kernes-i-dobkin-bezhali-v-rossiyu
847	FK	24-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177358-nalivajchenko-i-avakov-pribyli-v-krym
848	FK	24-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177359-yanukovich-obyavlen-v-rozysk
849	FK	24-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177373-antimajdanovcami-v-kieve-rukovodili-byvshij-ubopovec-i-byvshij-glava-sbu

850	FK	24-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177388-nachalo-vesny-budet-anomalno-teplym
851	FK	25-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177413-rossiya-zhdet-obracsheniya-krymchan-chtoby-prisoedinit-poluostrov-k-svoej-territorii
852	FK	25-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177431-evropa-prosit-novye-ukrainskie-vlasti-ne-provocirovat-rossiyu
853	FK	25-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177441-klyuev-podal-v-otstavku-s-posta-glavy-ap
854	FK	25-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177447-smi-klyuev-nahoditsya-v-kieve-on-ranen
855	FK	25-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177450-v-odesse-storonniki-igorya-markova-vzyali-shturmom-zdanie-suda
856	FK	26-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177496-rossijskie-voennye-zanimayut-pozicii-v-gorodah-kryma-video
857	FK	26-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177502-lvovyane-segodnya-budut-demonstrativno-govorit-po-russki-protestuya-protiv-otmeny-yazykovogo-zakona
858	FK	26-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177504-vlasti-sevastopolya-sformiruyut-otryady-samooborony-iz-uvolennyh-berkutovcev
859	FK	26-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177508-kravchuk-kuchma-i-yucshenko-obvinili-rossiyu-vo-vmeshatelstve-v-dela-ukrainy
860	FK	26-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177535-krymskie-tatary-s-krikami-slava-ukraine-osazhdayut-verhovnyj-sovet-ark-video
861	FK	26-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177548-krymskij-tatarin-asan-politiki-na-pustom-meste-stravili-tri-naroda
862	FK	26-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177561-minoborony-rf-vnezapnaya-proverka-vojsk-ne-svyazana-s-ukrainskimi-sobytiyami
863	FK	26-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/173091-evromajdan-posle-razgona-hronika
864	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177577-evropa-raskritikovala-ryad-reshenij-verhovnoj-rady
865	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177578-verhovnyj-sovet-kryma-zahvati-neizvestnye-vooruzhennye-lyudi---chubarov
866	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177549-nikolaj-prisyazhnyuk-v-ukraine-ne-stoit-ugroza-sryva-vesenne-polevyh-rabot-agrarii-obespecheny-toplivom-semenami-i-udobreniyami
867	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177580-zahvatchiki-zdaniya-soveta-ministrov-kryma-ustanovili-barrikady-i-vyvesili-rossijskij-flag
868	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177582-v-simferopol-styagivayutsya-otryady-samooborony-russkoyazychnogo-naseleniya-i-rossijskie-btry-foto-video
869	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177583-zahvatchiki-krymskogo-kabmina-priznalis-chto-ne-upolnomocheny-vesti-peregovory-s-vlastyami
870	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177588-turchinov-prigrozil-rossii-a-takzhe-potreboval-nakazat-zahvatchikov-zdanij-v-krymu
871	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177590-zahvat-adminzdanij-v-krymu-kvalificirovan-kak-terakt
872	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177594-yanukovich-zaruchilsya-podderzhkoj-rossii-i-gotovitsya-vyvesti-ukrainu-iz-krizisa-zayavlenie
873	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177601-rossiya-obecshaet-zhestko-i-beskompromissno-zacshicshat-svoih-sootechestvennikov-v-ukraine
874	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177612-krymskie-vlasti-pod-dulami-avtomatov-iniciiruyu-referendum-o-statuse-poluostrova
875	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177624-posle-obostreniya-situacii-v-krymu-s-zayavleniem-vystupil-ministr-oborony-ssha
876	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177630-moskal-bunt-sevastopolskogo-berkuta-mozhet-zakonchitsya-v-desyat-ili-sto-raz-bolshim-zhertvami-chem-byli-v-kieve
877	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177661-minoborony-rf-chernomorskij-flot-rossii-ne-ugrozhaet-situacii-v-ukraine
878	FK	27-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177662-vooruzhennye-boeviki-perekryli-vezd-v-krym---smi
879	FK	28-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177640-dlya-uchastnikov-evromajdana-gotovili-filtracionnye-lagerya
880	FK	28-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177669-dlya-novyh-krymskih-vlastej-yanukovich-vse-ecshe-prezident
881	FK	28-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177672-vooruzhennye-lyudi-vzyali-pod-kontrol-krymskie-aeroporty
882	FK	28-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177673-avakov-proishodyacshee-v-krymu-ocenivayu-kak-vooruzhennoe-vtorzhenie-i-okkupaciyu
883	FK	28-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177675-putin-dast-krymu-deneg
884	FK	28-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177678-rada-obratilas-za-pomocshyu-k-stranam---garantam-bezopasnosti-ukrainy
885	FK	28-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177682-deputaty-trebuyut-vvesti-chrezvychajnoe-polozhenie-v-krymu
886	FK	28-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177717-v-internete-poyavilos-video-zahvata-krymskogo-parlamenta
887	FK	28-02-2014	http://fakty.ua/177722-pravyj-sektor-poprosili-uspokoit-doneck
888	FK	01-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177727-pravyj-sektor-otvetil-na-prizyv-ne-pugat-zhitelej-donbassa
889	FK	01-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177729-pulemetchiki-zanyali-pozicii-okolo-parlamenta-kryma---smi

890	FK	01-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177734-nad-zdaniem-oblastnoj-administracii-v-donecke-podnyat-rossijskij-flag-foto
891	FK	01-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177744-v-zaporozhskoj-oblasti-ne-obnaruzhili-kolonnu-rossijskih-voennyh
892	FK	02-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177749-v-donecke-plocshadnoe-veche-izbralo-narodnogo-gubernatora-foto-video
893	FK	02-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177751-mid-ukrainy-napravil-obracsheniya-k-nato-es-i-ssha-v-svyazi-s-voennoj-ugrozoj-so-storony-rossii
894	FK	02-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177755-rossijskie-voennye-v-krymu-predlagayut-ukrainskim-oficeram-grazhdanstvo-rf
895	FK	02-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177757-rossijskie-voennye-atakovali-ukrainskuyu-chast-v-krymu
896	FK	02-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177758-armiya-privedena-v-boevuyu-gotovnost
897	FK	02-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177761-ecshe-odna-strana-otkazalas-ot-sammita-bolshoj-vosmerki
898	FK	02-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177769-firtash-prizval-rossijskij-biznes-zadumatsya-o-posledstviyah-vojny-s-ukrainoj
899	FK	02-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177770-ssha-prigrozili-rossii-ekonomicheskoj-izolyaciej
900	FK	02-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177771-ukrainskij-voenachalnik-pereshel-na-storonu-samoprovozglashennyh-vlastej-kryma-video
901	FK	02-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177772-protiv-kontr-admirala-narushivshego-prisyagu-vozbuzhdeno-ugolovnoe-delo
902	FK	02-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177774-putin-nazyvaet-okkupaciyu-kryma-adekvatnymi-dejstviyami
903	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177775-putin-soglasilsya-sozdat-missiyu-po-ukraine
904	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177776-rossijskie-zahvatchiki-ispolzovali-protiv-ukrainskih-voennyh-sveto-shumovye-granaty
905	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177777-obama-s-kemeronom-schitayut-chto-intervenciya-v-ukrainu-dorogo-obojdyotsya-rossii
906	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177778-rossijskie-voennye-zahvatili-ukrainskuyu-chast-v-balaklave
907	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177781-zhvaneckij-rossiyane-zaviduyut-ukraincam
908	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177782-sovet-po-pravam-cheloveka-pri-putine-osudil-vvedenie-vojsk-v-ukrainu
909	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177783-byvshie-vlasti-planomerno-razvalivali-ukrainskuyu-armiyu-i-sbu---snbo
910	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177784-oficer-zahvachennoj-rossiyanami-chasti-soldat-polozhili-na-pol-i-pinali-kak-kotyat
911	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177785-rossiyane-atakuyut-podrazdeleniya-ukrainskih-pogranichnikov
912	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177786-krymskie-pogranichniki-i-bojcy-vnutrennih-vojsk-podtverdili-prisyagu-ukrainskomu-narodu-video
913	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177788-rossijskie-vlasti-obyavlyayut-v-mezhdunarodnyj-rozysk-lidera-pravogo-sektora
914	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177790-kontr-admiral-berezovskij-pytalsya-zahvatit-shtab-vms-ukrainy
915	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177793-ukraincam-uzhe-gotovyat-teplye-mesta-na-dalnem-vostoke-rossii
916	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177794-yacenyuk-rossii-krym-ne-otdast
917	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177799-na-etoj-nedele-budet-teplo-i-dozhdlivo
918	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177801-rossiya-gotovitsya-prisoedinit-k-sebe-krym
919	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177804-okkupaciya-kryma-boevye-vertolety-iz-sak-perebrosili-v-nikolaev
920	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177808-v-krymu-mogut-ubit-neskolkih-rossijskih-voennyh-i-obvinit-v-etom-ukraincev
921	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177817-rossiya-obyavila-ultimatum-ukrainskim-voennosluzhacshim-v-krymu
922	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177819-kursy-dollara-i-evro-snova-nachali-rasti
923	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177827-vooruzhennye-voennosluzhacshie-obespechili-nam-stabilnost-i-mir-ubezhdali-krymchane-sobkora-faktov
924	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177829-chehiya-opasaetsya-chto-prebyvanie-v-evrope-rossiyan-stanet-povodom-dlya-vtorzheniya-v-es
925	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177830-v-pervyj-den-obyavlennoj-snbo-mobilizacii-na-prizyvnye-punkty-voenkomatov-prishli-tysyachi-dobrovolcev-foto
926	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177831-rossiya-gotovit-anneksiyu-chasti-ukrainy-mid
927	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177832-kolomojskij-dal-pervoe-intervyu-v-kachestve-gubernatora-video
928	FK	03-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177834-rossiya-perebrosila-v-ukrainu-pochti-6-tysyach-voennyh
929	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177836-rossiya-vvela-vojska-v-ukrainu-po-prosbe-yanukovicha
930	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177839-es-prigrozil-rossii-sankciyami-za-okkupaciyu-kryma

931	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177840-obama-ob-okkupacii-kryma-v-mire-solidarny-s-tem-chto-rossiya-narushaet-suverenitet-ukrainy
932	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177841-ssha-ostanavlivayut-voennoe-sotrudnichestvo-s-rossiej
933	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177842-za-predatelstvo-ukrainy-voennym-v-krymu-predlagayut-vzyatki-v-sotni-tysyach-dollarov
934	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177844-rossiya-mozhet-uvelichit-kolichestvo-voennyh-v-krymu-do-25-tysyach
935	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177845-putin-prikazal-voennym-vozvracshatsya-v-mesta-dislokacii
936	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177846-v-krymu-ni-odna-voennaya-chast-ne-sdalas-rossii---komandovanie
937	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177851-yanukovich-ne-imel-prava-prosit-rossiyu-o-vvode-vojsk-v-krym---zayavlenie-vr
938	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177859-neobhodimosti-vvoda-vojsk-na-ukrainu-poka-net---putin
939	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177865-rada-otkryla-klichko-put-k-prezidentstvu
940	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177869-ukrainskie-voennye-otbili-u-rossiyan-aerodrom-belbek
941	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177874-intervenciya-po-putinski-rossijskie-vojska-budut-stoyat-za-spinami-ukrainskih-zhencshin-i-detej
942	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177879-podpolkovnik-vooruzhennyh-sil-ukrainy-vsyu-noch-my-ne-spali-ozhidaya-shturm-voinskoj-chasti-v-sevastopole
943	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177896-valentin-nalivajchenko-3-marta-telefony-narodnyh-deputatov-podverglis-nevedomoj-dosele-atake-so-storony-rossijskih-specsluzhb
944	FK	04-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177903-kerri-prigrozil-rossii-polnoj-izolyaciej
945	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177908-iz-za-rossijskoj-intervencii-v-krym-ministr-sporta-obyavil-o-bojkote-paralimpiady
946	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177909-poslannik-oon-pribyl-v-krym
947	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177910-rossiya-otreagirovala-na-ugrozy-primeneniya-sankcionnoj-dubiny
948	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177886-olga-bogomolec-snajpery-strelyavshie-v-zacshitnikov-majdana-ne-ostavlyali-vracham-ni-malejshego-shansa-na-spasenie-ranenyh
949	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177911-ukrainskie-voennye-ulichili-putina-v-neprikrytoj-lzhi
950	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177918-v-ukrainu-pytalis-proniknut-bolee-370-rossijskih-titushek
951	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177922-moryaki-fregata-getman-sagajdachnyj-prisyagnuli-na-vernost-ukraine
952	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177929-rossiyane-atakuyut-ukrainskie-voinskie-chasti-i-lomayut-oborudovanie
953	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177937-rossijskie-ministry-prodolzhayut-ne-videt-svoi-vojska-v-krymu
954	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177943-vsyo-chto-my-segodnya-nablyudaem-v-krymu-slovno-pod-kopirku-proishodilo-v-yanvare-1990-go-goda-v-baku
955	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177945-rossiya-pryachet-svoih-soldat-v-krymu-ot-ekspertov-obse
956	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177946-yacenyuk-poobecshal-krymu-bolshuyu-avtonomiyu
957	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177947-rossijskih-titushek-v-sevastopole-massovo-naryazhayut-v-ukrainskuyu-voennuyu-formu
958	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177963-byvshij-ministr-rf-rasskazal-o-celyah-okkupacii-rossiej-kryma
959	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177968-v-krymu-pohicshen-ukrainskij-general-polkovnik
960	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177972-v-krymu-vooruzhennye-lyudi-vzyali-v-zalozhniki-specposlannika-genseka-oon
961	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177970-pensii-za-fevral-profinansirovany-i-vyplacheny-vovremya-i-v-polnom-obeme-i-uzhe-nachali-vydavat-pensii-za-mart
962	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177971-na-mezhbankovskom-rynke-kurs-prodazhi-dollara-snizilsya-na-33-kopejki
963	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177975-v-krymu-ukrainskie-voennye-zaderzhali-okkupanta-s-rossijskimi-dokumentami
964	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177977-pohicshennogo-ukrainskogo-general-polkovnika-udalos-osvobodit
965	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177982-vooruzhennye-lyudi-zastavili-specposlannika-oon-pokinut-krym
966	FK	05-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177984-gpu-vozbudila-delo-protiv-komanduyucshego-chf-rf
967	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177987-sud-postavil-zaderzhat-krymskih-separatistov-aksenova-i-konstantinova
968	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177990-vojska-rf-usilili-blokirovanie-ukrainskih-voennyh-v-krymu---smi
969	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177993-rossijskie-voennye-zatopili-korabl-ochakov-v-krymu---smi
970	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177995-kontr-admiral-nikolaj-zhibarev-esli-by-korabli-morskoj-ohrany-zaderzhalis-v-kerchi-ecshe-na-polchasa-oni-byli-by-zahvacheny-foto
971	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/177997-referendum-o-prisoedinenii-kryma-k-rf-naznachen-16-marta

972	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178006-prosish-pomocshi-u-rossii-snachala-podumaj-potom-govori
973	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178017-vlasti-kryma-obyavili-ukrainskih-voennyh-okkupantami
974	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178019-fregat-vms-ukrainy-getman-sagajdachnyj-vernulsya-na-rodinu-foto
975	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178025-rossijskie-voennye-okapyvayutsya-vblizi-zablokirovannyh-ukrainskih-chastej
976	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178037-v-krymu-otklyuchili-1-1-i-5-kanal
977	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178047-krymskie-tatary-prosyat-vvesti-na-poluostrov-mirotvorcev-oon
978	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178052-kievlyanka-harkovchanka-odessitka-i-donchanka-postradavshaya-ot-banderovcev-okazalas-zhitelnicej-krivogo-roga
979	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178053-institut-massovoj-informacii-v-krymu-vooruzhennye-lyudi-byut-zhurnalistov-zahvatyvayut-redakcionnye-pomecsheniya
980	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178058-v-krymu-zverski-izbit-i-zaderzhan-mestnym-berkutom-general-major-minoborony
981	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178060-vooruzhennye-lyudi-ne-pustili-v-krym-nablyudatelej-obse
982	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178061-amerikanskij-esminec-napravilsya-v-chernoe-more
983	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178062-etoj-nochyu-mozhet-sostoyatsya-ataka-na-ukrainskih-voennyh-v-krymu-smi
984	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178065-rovenskie-fermery-otpravili-dlya-ukrainskih-voennyh-v-krymu-25-tonn-selhozprodukcii
985	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178055-ty-chto-na-zhencshinu-ruku-podnimesh-kriknula-ya-odnomu-iz-samooboronovcev-kryma-na-chto-on-zayavil-da-ya-tebya-zamochu
986	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178054-pered-poezdkoj-v-krym-rossijskih-soldat-zombirovali-pokazyvaya-videoroliki-v-kotoryh-yakoby-guculy-otrezayut-golovy-russkim
987	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178068-obama-krymskij-referendum-budet-nezakonnym
988	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178043-kogda-prozvuchal-pervyj-vystrel-v-vozduh-ukrainskie-voennosluzhacshie-ne-sgovarivayas-zapeli-nacionalnyj-gimn
989	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178069-es-otkazalsya-rabotat-nad-uprocsheniem-viz-dlya-rossiyan
990	FK	06-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178020-egor-previr-ya-byl-schastliv-uslyshat-v-voenkomate-chto-prigoden-k-sluzhbe-i-mogu-zacshicshat-ukrainu-ot-putinskih-zahvatchikov
991	FK	07-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178028-v-vyhodnye-dozhdi-v-ukraine-prekratyatsya
992	FK	07-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178070-deputaty-sevastopolya-postanovili-sdelat-gorod-chastyu-rossii
993	FK	07-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178074-putin-prizval-obamu-ne-ssoritsya-iz-za-ukrainy
994	FK	07-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178075-centrizbirkom-pytaetsya-pomeshat-provedeniyu-referenduma-v-krymu
995	FK	07-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178078-vlasti-kryma-obecshayut-prisoedinit-k-rossii-vsyu-ukrainu
996	FK	07-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178080-rossijskie-voennye-maroderstvuyut-v-krymu
997	FK	07-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178082-turchinov-izdal-ukaz-o-zaprete-krymskogo-referenduma
998	FK	07-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178084-yacenyuk-vydvinul-rossii-usloviya
999	FK	07-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178089-rossiya-svezla-v-krym-elitu-svoej-armii
1000	FK	07-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178104-v-krymu-voennye-rf-zahvatili-otdel-pogransluzhby
1001	FK	07-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178107-v-simferopole-neizvestnye-zahvatili-voenkomat
1002	FK	08-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178111-nablyudatelej-obse-na-granice-kryma-ostanovili-vystrelami---smi
1003	FK	08-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178112-voennosluzhacshih-rf-zametili-v-hersonskoj-oblasti---smi
1004	FK	08-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178113-v-krymu-obstrelyali-samolet-s-pogranichnikami
1005	FK	08-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178115-andrej-caplienko-vsyu-semochnuyu-gruppu-polozhili-na-asfalt-i-zhestoko-izbili-potom-lyudej-zatolkali-v-bagazhnik-video
1006	FK	08-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178120-amerikanskie-voennye-gotovy-podderzhat-ukrainu
1007	FK	08-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178123-rossijskie-voennye-zahvatili-pogranzastavu-v-krymu
1008	FK	09-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178125-v-krymu-smenilsya-glava-sbu
1009	FK	09-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178126-v-krymu-pohitili-aktivista-otstaivayucshego-prava-ukraincev-v-avtonomii
1010	FK	09-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178127-ukrainskim-voennym-v-evpatorii-vydvinut-ultimatum
1011	FK	09-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178129-rossiya-perebrasyvaet-v-krym-sistemy-zalpovogo-ognya-grad
1012	FK	09-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178130-v-krymu-ot-rossijskih-okkupantov-osvobozhdena-zastava-massandra
1013	FK	09-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178133-na-poezda-v-krym-prekracshena-predvaritelnaya-prodazha-biletov

1014	FK	09-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178134-obnarodovano-video-obstrela-rossijskimi-voennymi-samoleta-ukrainskih-pogranichnikov
1015	FK	09-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178136-ssha-rumyniya-i-bolgariya-provedut-ucheniya-v-chernom-more
1016	FK	09-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178138-rossijskie-okkupanty-zahvatili-aerodrom-v-sakah
1017	FK	09-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178139-nad-zdaniem-doneckoj-obladministracii-snova-podnyat-rossijskij-flag-foto
1018	FK	09-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178141-rossijskie-okkupanty-zahvatili-v-hersonskoj-oblasti-neskolko-privatnyh-obektov
1019	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178142-na-vezde-v-krym-pohicshayut-zhurnalistov-i-aktivistov
1020	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178143-krymskie-vlasti-reshili-prisvoit-gospredpriyatiya-v-avtonomii
1021	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178145-v-krymu-pohicshayut-komandirov-voennyh-chastej
1022	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178146-ukraincy-vystupayut-za-provedenie-antiterroristicheskoj-operacii-v-krymu
1023	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178147-yanukovich-vyhodit-iz-podpolya
1024	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178148-rossijskie-vojska-zahvatili-ukrainskuyu-voennuyu-chast-v-chernomorskom
1025	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178150-krymskaya-samooborona-obyskivaet-lyudej-na-vokzalah-i-zahvatyvaet-gospitali-video
1026	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178151-turchinov-dogovorilsya-s-evropoj-o-sovmestnyh-dejstviyah-protiv-rossii
1027	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178152-neizvestnye-vymanivayut-u-krymchan-ukrainskie-pasporta
1028	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178154-pohicshennyj-ranee-podpolkovnik-vmsu-sdal-okkupantam-voinskuyu-chast-v-bahchisarae
1029	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178155-aksenov-obyavil-sebya-glavnokomanduyucshim-i-nabiraet-armiyu
1030	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178142-na-vezde-v-krym-pohicshayut-zhurnalistov-i-aktivistov
1031	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178143-krymskie-vlasti-reshili-prisvoit-gospredpriyatiya-v-avtonomii
1032	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178145-v-krymu-pohicshayut-komandirov-voennyh-chastej
1033	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178146-ukraincy-vystupayut-za-provedenie-antiterroristicheskoj-operacii-v-krymu
1034	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178147-yanukovich-vyhodit-iz-podpolya
1035	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178148-rossijskie-vojska-zahvatili-ukrainskuyu-voennuyu-chast-v-chernomorskom
1036	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178150-krymskaya-samooborona-obyskivaet-lyudej-na-vokzalah-i-zahvatyvaet-gospitali-video
1037	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178151-turchinov-dogovorilsya-s-evropoj-o-sovmestnyh-dejstviyah-protiv-rossii
1038	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178152-neizvestnye-vymanivayut-u-krymchan-ukrainskie-pasporta
1039	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178154-pohicshennyj-ranee-podpolkovnik-vmsu-sdal-okkupantam-voinskuyu-chast-v-bahchisarae
1040	FK	10-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178155-aksenov-obyavil-sebya-glavnokomanduyucshim-i-nabiraet-armiyu
1041	FK	11-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178160-rossiya-prodolzhaet-gotovit-anneksiyu-kryma
1042	FK	11-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178162-okkupaciya-kryma-v-rajon-dzhankoya-pribyli-sistemy-zalpovogo-ognya-grad
1043	FK	11-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178166-yanukovich-kak-tolko-budet-vozmozhnost-ya-vernus-v-kiev
1044	FK	11-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178169-yanukovich-nashel-opravdanie-rossijskoj-okkupacii-kryma
1045	FK	11-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178173-polozhenie-nashih-soldat-prosto-uzhasnoe-bojcy-derzhatsya-tolko-blagodarya-pomocshi-mestnogo-naseleniya
1046	FK	11-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178175-parlament-kryma-dlya-vhozhdeniya-avtonomii-v-sostav-rossii-prinyal-deklaraciyu-o-nezavisimosti
1047	FK	11-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178177-yanukovich-ne-priznaet-dosrochnye-vybory-prezidenta
1048	FK	11-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178180-rada-prizvala-ssha-i-velikobritaniyu-zacshitit-ukrainu-vsemi-vozmozhnymi-sposobami
1049	FK	11-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178188-v-krymu-nahoditsya-pochti-19-tysyach-voennosluzhacshih-rf---mid
1050	FK	11-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178195-vladimir-konstantinov-otdaet-krym-rossii-za-svoi-dolgi
1051	FK	11-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178213-na-granice-s-rossiej-usilivayut-mery-bezopasnosti
1052	FK	11-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178217-pohicshennyh-v-krymu-aktivistov-i-zhurnalistov
1053	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178221-syn-pohicshennogo-v-simferopole-aktivista-evromajdana-anatoliya-kovalskogo-skoree-vsego-eto-akciya-ustrasheniya

1054	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178210-pomocshnik-komanduyucshego-vms-ukrainy-marina-kanalyuk-glavnoe-chtoby-ne-daj-bog-ne-prozvuchal-hot-odin-vystrel
1055	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178208-okkupanty-protyanuli-cherez-pshenichnoe-pole-ograzhdenie-iz-kolyuchej-provoloki-i-ustanovili-tablichki-miny
1056	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178209-za-dve-nedeli-otmenena-bron-18-ti-iz-19-ti-ranee-zakazannyh-na-iyun-nomerov
1057	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178222-obse-ne-priznaet-krymskij-referendum
1058	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178224-kongress-ssha-prizval-nakazat-rossiyu-za-voennuyu-intervenciyu-v-ukrainu
1059	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178225-turchinov-isklyuchil-provedenie-armiej-voennoj-kampanii-v-krymu
1060	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178227-merkel-priznala-dejstviya-rossii-v-krymu-anneksiej
1061	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178228-krymskie-chinovniki-vystupayut-protiv-referenduma-na-poluostrove
1062	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178229-sotrudniki-sbu-zaderzhali-rossijskih-razvedchikov-i-diversantov-foto
1063	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178231-rossiya-zavozit-v-krym-specnaz-iz-chechni
1064	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178234-rossiya-mozhet-vtorgnutsya-v-vostochnuyu-ukrainu-glava-cru
1065	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178240-iz-za-podderzhki-bezrukovym-okkupacii-kryma-v-gruzii-otmenili-gastroli-ego-teatra
1066	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178242-v-donecke-prava-russkoyazychnyh-zhitelej-ne-ucshemlyayut-mer
1067	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178247-timoshenko-obecshaet-partizanskuyu-vojnu-v-krymu
1068	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178249-maksim-emelyanenko-my-gotovy-voevat-za-ukrainu-do-poslednej-kapli-krovi-no-pytaemsya-spasti-ee-ot-tretej-mirovoj-vojny
1069	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178252-na-granice-uvelichilos-kolichestvo-voennosluzhacshih-rf---mid-ukrainy
1070	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178254-krupnejshie-operatory-kabelnogo-televideniya-ne-vypolnyayut-reshenie-nacsoveta-ob-otklyuchenii-rossijskih-kanalov
1071	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178255-v-sluchae-shturma-okkupantami-skladov-s-boepripasami-v-evpatorii-zhitelej-goroda-pridetsya-evakuirovat
1072	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178258-genkonsulstvo-rf-v-odesse-zabrosali-lapshoj-foto
1073	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178260-simferopolskij-mezhdunarodnyj-aeroport-teper-prinimaet-tolko-rejsy-iz-moskvy
1074	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178265-krymskie-abiturienty-smogut-projti-vneshnee-nezavisimoe-ocenivanie---minobrazovaniya
1075	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178267-putin-ne-otrical-chto-v-krymu-est-rossijskie-vojska---dzhemilev
1076	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178266-pohititeli-pristavlyali-rebyatam-pistolet-k-visku-derzhali-neskolko-sekund-potom-rezko-otvodili-v-storonu-i-strelyali
1077	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178271-parubij-ukraine-ugrozhaet-polnomasshtabnoe-vtorzhenie-iz-rossii
1078	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178273-bolshaya-semerka-potrebovala-ot-rossii-vyvesti-vojska-iz-kryma
1079	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178274-rossijskie-vojska-zahvatili-ukrainskij-post-radiorazvedki-v-krymu
1080	FK	12-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178275-v-krymu-dejstvuyut-rossijskie-vojska---nato
1081	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178281-obama-obecshaet-chto-rossiya-dorogo-zaplatit-esli-ne-izmenit-kurs-otnositelno-ukrainy
1082	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178282-pomocshnik-genseka-oon-ne-smog-popast-v-krym
1083	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178285-yacenyuk-ne-isklyuchaet-chto-rossiya-pojdet-vojnoj-na-kiev
1084	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178288-rossijskie-voennye-zahvatili-radioperedayucshij-centr-v-krymu
1085	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178293-rada-prizvala-oon-zacshitit-suverenitet-ukrainy
1086	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178296-turchinovu-i-yacenyuku-zapretyat-vezd-v-krym
1087	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178299-v-krymu-sobirayutsya-nacionalizirovat-banki
1088	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178320-ukrainskie-voennye-v-krymu-gotovy-strelyat-po-okkupantam-video
1089	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178322-okkupanty-zablokirovali-voinskuyu-chast-na-plato-aj-petri-gde-zhivut-semi-nashih-voennyh-kak-teper-im-budut-privozit-vodu-i-produkty-neizvestno
1090	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178324-gpu-poruchila-zaderzhat-klyueva-i-aksenova
1091	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178327-parubij-prosit-napravit-v-krym-mirotvorcev-oon
1092	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178325-krymskie-separatisty-sobirayutsya-otdat-rossii-mestorozhdeniya-gaza-i-nefti
1093	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178328-nalichnyj-dollar-podorozhal-na-20-kopeek
1094	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178352-evroparlament-mozhet-priostanovit-otnosheniya-s-rossiej

1095	FK	13-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178359-rf-odobrila-napravlenie-specmissii-v-ukrainu---obse
1096	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178300-akim-galimov
1097	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178365-ssha-otkazalis-vooruzhat-ukrainskuyu-armiyu
1098	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178366-ukrainskie-vlasti-podali-na-rossiyu-v-evropejskij-sud-po-pravam-cheloveka
1099	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178298-sergej-zhadan-nuzhno-ostavatsya-soboj-no-pri-etom-ponimat-ryadom-zhivut-lyudi-u-kotoryh-mozhet-byt-inaya-tochka-zreniya
1100	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178369-v-krymu-ischez-syn-narodnogo-deputata-anatoliya-gricenko
1101	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178370-yacenyuk-poobecshal-krymchanam-rasshirennuyu-avtonomiyu
1102	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178375-zhiteli-zaporozhya-dostavili-proviziyu-ekipazhu-podlodki-zaporozhe-zablokirovannoj-v-sevastopole-foto
1103	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178379-rossiya-svozit-v-krym-voennuyu-tehniku-sposobnuyu-unichtozhat-celye-goroda
1104	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178388-vsego-5-ukraincev-gotovy-otdat-krym-rossii---issledovanie
1105	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178389-rukovodit-zheleznodorozhnymi-perevozkami-v-krymu-naznachili-deputata-karakulkina-nahodyacshegosya-pod-sledstviem-za-vzyatku
1106	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178393-glava-harkovskoj-oga-zayavil-chto-v-gorode-vozmozhny-terakty
1107	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178395-perezhdem-besporyadki-posle-referenduma-i-vernemsya
1108	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178401-rossiya
1109	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178411-krym-pytayutsya-lishit-radiovecshaniya
1110	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178416-ukraina-konsultiruetsya-s-zapadom-o-voennoj-pomocshi---yacenyuk
1111	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178418-vdol-yugo-vostochnyh-granic-ukrainy-sosredotocheny-okolo-80-tysyach-rossijskih-voennyh-i-tysyachi-edinic-tehniki
1112	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178421-v-sevastopole-krymskaya-samooborona-shturmuet-voennuyu-chast
1113	FK	14-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178424-putin-vydvinul-tri-usloviya-otkaza-ot-vtorzheniya-v-ukrainu---smi
1114	FK	15-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178391-igor-kiryucshenko-ko-mne-domoj-nagryanuli-lyudi-iz-russkogo-bloka-i-potrebovali-sobirajtes-poedem-na-blokpost-budem-vybivat-iz-vas-priznaniya
1115	FK	15-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178426-doneckij-sud-ne-uvidel-opasnosti-v-provedenii-separatistskih-mitingov-v-gorode
1116	FK	15-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178427-rf-hochet-sdelat-ukrainu-federativnoj-respublikoj-s-dvumya-gosudarstvennymi-yazykami-dokument
1117	FK	15-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178429-v-krymu-pohitili-ecshe-odnogo-zhurnalista
1118	FK	15-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178433-rada-raspustila-verhovnyj-sovet-kryma
1119	FK	15-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178435-okolo-40-rossijskih-voennyh-vysadilis-v-hersonskoj-oblasti
1120	FK	15-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178436-venecianskaya-komissiya-krymskij-referendum-nezakonnyj
1121	FK	15-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178438-v-donecke-na-meste-krovavogo-poboicsha-13-marta-prorossijskie-aktivisty-ustanovili-portrety-pogibshih-v-kieve-berkutovcev
1122	FK	15-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178439-krymskie-banki-prekratili-vydachu-deneg-a-rossiya-ne-speshit-okazyvat-finpomocsh-poluostrovu
1123	FK	15-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178440-rossiya-ne-dala-sovetu-bezopasnosti-oon-prinyat-rezolyuciyu-po-ukraine
1124	FK	15-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178443-mid-zayavil-o-vtorzhenii-rossijskih-vojsk-v-hersonskuyu-oblast-video
1125	FK	15-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178446-v-donecke-prorossijski-nastroennye-mitinguyucshie-pytalis-shturmovat-zdanie-usbu-foto
1126	FK	16-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178449-v-krymu-startoval-nezakonnyj-referendum-o-statuse-avtonomii
1127	FK	16-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178450-franciya-gotova-otkazat-rossii-v-postrojke-vertoletonoscev
1128	FK	16-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178451-s-bazy-v-simferopole-vooruzhyonnye-lyudi-voruyut-toplivo
1129	FK	16-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178455-v-krymu-prohodit-separatistskij-miting
1130	FK	16-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178456-turchinov-naznachil-gubernatorov-v-treh-oblastyah
1131	FK	16-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178459-iz-za-vysadki-na-hersoncshine-rossijskogo-desanta-vozbuzhdeno-delo
1132	FK	16-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178460-v-krymu-zhurnalistam-ne-dayut-snimat-nezakonnyj-referendum
1133	FK	16-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178465-v-zaporozhskoj-oblasti-zaderzhany-vooruzhyonnye-do-zubov-lyudi-planirovavshie-provokacii
1134	FK	16-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178470-kubanskij-hor-v-zaporozhe-bolshe-ne-spoet
1135	FK	16-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178470-kubanskij-hor-v-zaporozhe-bolshe-ne-spoet

1136	FK	16-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178471-nazvany-prichiny-anomalno-vysokoj-yavki-na-nezakonnom-referendume-v-krymu
1137	FK	16-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178472-obnarodovany-rezultaty-ekzit-polla-po-nezakonnomu-referendumu-v-krymu
1138	FK	16-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178477-parlament-kryma-v-ponedelnik-poprosit-rossiyu-prisoedinit-avtonomiyu
1139	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178481-turciya-vidit-ukrainu-celostnoj-i-nezavisimoj-erdogan
1140	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178482-podschitano-75-golosov-krymskogo-referenduma
1141	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178483-v-krymu-za-prisoedinenie-k-rf-progolosovali-96-6-krymchan
1142	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178486-biznesmen-kolomojskij-za-svoj-schet-obespechil-toplivom-vse-voinskie-chasti-v-11-oblastyah-ukrainy
1143	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178488-v-krymu-nashlis-troe-propavshih-svyacshennikov-ugkc
1144	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178489-vo-lvovskuyu-oblast-pereselilis-uzhe-630-bezhencev-iz-kryma-zayavki-prodolzhayut-postupat
1145	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178498-vlasti-kryma-obyavili-oficialnymi-valyutami-rubl-i-grivnu
1146	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178499-voennosluzhacshie-rf-vyselyayut-semi-ukrainskih-pogranichnikov-v-krymu
1147	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178501-vlasti-kryma-nacionalizirovali-energeticheskie-goskompanii-na-poluostrove
1148	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178507-aksenov-procedura-peresecheniya-granicy-kryma-pomenyaetsya-v-techenie-dvuh-mesyacev
1149	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178510-es-reshil-vvesti-sankcii-protiv-21-chinovnika-iz-rossii-i-ukrainy
1150	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178512-vooruzhennye-okkupanty-vyselili-iz-sluzhebnyh-kvartir-v-krymu-uzhe-11-semej-ukrainskih-pogranichnikov
1151	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178513-ssha-vveli-sankcii-protiv-7-rossijskih-chinovnikov
1152	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178522-ssha-vveli-sankcii-protiv-yanukovicha-i-medvedchuka
1153	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178525-ukraina-otozvala-svoego-posla-iz-moskvy
1154	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178532-es-prizval-ukrainu-i-dalee-byt-sderzhannoj-v-voprose-kryma
1155	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178538-specnaz-sbu-zaderzhal-glavnogo-odesskogo-separatista
1156	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178539-obnarodovan-spisok-lyudej-protiv-kotoryh-es-vvel-sankcii
1157	FK	17-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178527-iz-kryma-70-let-nazad-vyselili-krymskih-tatar-a-teper-vot-ukrainskih-moryakov-i-oficerov-hotyat-s-semyami-vyshvyrnut-s-poluostrova
1158	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178529-u-menya-sestra-ej-75-let-ona-rodilas-v-covetskom-coyuze-i-vse-eto-vremya-mechtala-umeret-v-rossii-i-teper-eta-mechta-sbylas
1159	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178520-otmena-ogranichenij-na-pokupku-valyuty-pozvolit-i-dalee-besperebojno-obespechivat-rynok-toplivom
1160	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178521-gotova-prinyat-semyu-iz-kryma-pust-berut-sobak-kotov-druguyu-zhivnost-poselim-vseh
1161	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178515-lyudi-s-avgusta-ne-poluchayut-zarplatu-nesmotrya-na-eto-voditeli-trollejbusov-prodolzhayut-rabotat-i-perevozit-passazhirov
1162	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178540-ukrainskij-mid-otklonil-zamanchivye-predlozheniya-rossii
1163	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178541-glav-silovyh-vedomstv-kryma-zhdet-arest
1164	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178546-vlasti-sevastopolya-predlozhili-ukraine-druzhbu-foto
1165	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178561-krymskie-vlasti-namereny-zabrat-u-tatar-chast-ih-zemel
1166	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178571-v-krymu-vstupilo-v-silu-zakonodatelstvo-rf---kreml
1167	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178576-ukrainskie-vlasti-gotovy-dat-krymskim-tataram-status-korennogo-naroda-kryma
1168	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178578-korporaciya-bogdan-zayavila-o-zahvate-neizvestnymi-filiala-v-simferopole
1169	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178585-rossiyane-potrebovali-chtoby-my-v-techenie-chasa-osvobodili-shtab-snajpery-na-kryshah-sosednih-domov-vzyali-nas-na-mushku
1170	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178587-okkupanty-v-krymu-otkryli-strelbu-po-ukrainskim-voennym-est-ranenyj
1171	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178590-v-krymu-nahodyatsya-okolo-25-tysyach-voennosluzhacshih-rf
1172	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178593-lyudmila-denisova-my-prodolzhim-vyplachivat-krymchanam-pensii-i-socialnye-posobiya
1173	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178594-k-podstrelennomu-v-krymu-ukrainskomu-voennomu-ne-puskayut-skoruyu
1174	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178600-v-krymu-ubit-ukrainskij-voennosluzhacshij
1175	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178602-ukrainskim-voennym-v-krymu-razreshili-primenyat-oruzhie

1176	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178608-kreml-ukrainskie-voennye-mogut-svobodno-pokinut-krym
1177	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178562-v-krymu-u-moih-znakomyh-vystupavshih-za-edinuyu-ukrainu-sozhgli-persikovyj-sad-i-sdelali-eto-ih-kumovya
1178	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178609-minoborony-predupredilo-rossiyan-chto-ukrainskie-voennye-v-krymu-budut-strelyat
1179	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178611-svobodovec-miroshnichenko-gotov-predstat-pered-sudom-za-rukoprikladstvo
1180	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178612-promoskovskie-svyacshenniki-gotovyatsya-zabrat-cerkvi-upc-kievskogo-patriarhata-v-krymu-video
1181	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178613-tretej-siloj-vo-vremya-ubijstva-ukrainca-v-krymu-okazalis-rossijskie-specnazovcy
1182	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178615-v-krymu-zhencshin-otpravili-na-shturm-shtaba-komandovaniya-vms-ukrainy
1183	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178616-gpu-vozbudila-delo-po-faktu-izbieniya-svobodovcami-glavy-ntku
1184	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178621-v-perevalnom-voennosluzhacshie-ukrainy-prekracshayut-soprotivlenie
1185	FK	18-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178623-krymskie-vlasti-zablokirovali-vyplatu-pensij-ukrainskim-pensioneram
1186	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178624-nashego-oficera-pytalis-zastavit-sobstvennoruchno-szhech-flag-ukrainy-on-otkazalsya-i-ego-izbili-do-poteri-soznaniya
1187	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178626-v-krym-srochno-vyleteli-dva-ukrainskih-ministra
1188	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178628-minoborony-ukrainskie-voennye-poka-ne-pokinut-krym
1189	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178630-rossijskie-specsluzhby-zaderzhali-komanduyucshego-vms-ukrainy-gajduka---smi
1190	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178636-spiker-krymskogo-parlamenta-poobecshal-rossiyanam-vostok-i-yug-ukrainy
1191	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178641-rf-namerena-prisvoit-polovinu-korablej-vms-ukrainy
1192	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178646-v-voenkomatah-kryma-oruzhie-razdayut-ne-vsem-zhelayucshim
1193	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178647-za-separatizm-v-ukraine-otkryty-uzhe-135-ugolovnyh-proizvodstv
1194	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178648-ukraina-otkazalas-ot-predsedatelstva-v-sng
1195	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178653-kabinet-ministrov-utverdil-plan-evakuacii-ukraincev-iz-kryma
1196	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178660-sovbez-oon-snova-provedet-zasedanie-po-krymu
1197	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178670-valerij-konovalyuk-politiki-sovershenno-ne-ponimayut-v-kakom-polozhenii-okazalis-nashi-voennosluzhacshie-v-krymu
1198	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178674-po-voprosam-rasseleniya-v-ukraine-grazhdane-vyehavshie-iz-kryma-mogut-obratitsya-v-lyuboj-organ-soczacshity
1199	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178678-prokuroram-kryma-garantirovali-rabotu-v-drugih-regionah-ukrainy
1200	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178679-turchinov-postavil-ultimatum-samoprovozglashennoj-vlasti-kryma
1201	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178659-v-stolice-otkrylas-sluzhba-krizisnoj-psihologicheskoj-pomocshi
1202	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178685-ukraina-zaprosila-ucheniya-s-ssha-i-velikobritaniej
1203	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178689-ukraina-namerena-dobivatsya-priznaniya-kryma-demilitarizovannoj-zonoj
1204	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178691-ministr-oborony-rf-prizval-samoprovozglashennye-vlasti-kryma-otpustit-gajduka
1205	FK	19-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178692-ozhidaetsya-chto-zahvachennyh-v-krymu-zalozhnikov-osvobodyat-nochyu
1206	FK	20-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178693-rossijskie-voennye-zahvatili-avtomobilnyj-batalon-v-bahchisarae
1207	FK	20-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178655-s-izmeneniem-statusa-kryma-teryaet-silu-ukrainskoe-svidetelstvo-o-prave-sobstvennosti-na-kvartiru-dom-ili-zemlyu
1208	FK	20-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178694-ssha-ne-namereny-voevat-s-rossiej-iz-za-ukrainy
1209	FK	20-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178695-ukraina-nikogda-ne-prekratit-borbu-za-osvobozhdenie-kryma---deklaraciya-vr
1210	FK	20-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178696-krymskie-vlasti-osvobodili-zalozhnikov
1211	FK	20-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178697-pogibshim-v-krymu-samooboronovcem-okazalsya-33-letnij-rossiyanin-foto-video
1212	FK	20-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178699-byvshie-prezidenty-prosyat-vlasti-vyvesti-ukrainskie-vojska-iz-kryma
1213	FK	20-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178707-parlament-garantiroval-krymskim-tataram-soblyudenie-ih-prav-v-sostave-ukrainy
1214	FK	20-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178715-ukrainskie-voennye-ujdut-iz-kryma-tolko-so-svoim-oruzhiem-tehnikoj-i-korablyami---sobolev
1215	FK	20-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178718-rossiya-shantazhiruet-ukrainu-cenoj-na-gaz-po-500-dollarov

1216	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178738-my-gotovy-potopit-nashi-korabli-i-pojti-vmeste-s-nimi-na-dno-no-proklyatym-okkupantam-ne-sdadimsya-nikogda
1217	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178740-plennyh-ukrainskih-oficerov-rossiyane-vymenyali-na-chechenskogo-boevika---rodstvennika-kadyrova
1218	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178742-rossijskie-voennye-zahvatili-dva-ukrainskih-korablya-v-krymu
1219	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178744-po-voprosam-rasseleniya-v-ukraine-krymchane-bezhency-mogut-obratitsya-v-lyuboj-organ-soczacshity
1220	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178748-v-drogobychskom-roddome-krymskaya-bezhenka-rodila-dochku
1221	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178753-ssha-podderzhivayut-predlozhenie-ukrainy-o-demilitarizacii-kryma
1222	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178764-zhirinovskij-sovetuet-putinu-ne-ostanavlivatsya-na-anneksii-kryma
1223	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178773-rossijskie-okkupanty-zahvatili-korvet-ternopol
1224	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178719-nataliya-pisnya-esli-by-sotrudniki-sluzhby-bezopasnosti-abhazii-kotorye-nas-doprashivali-nashli-vse-otsnyatye-materialy-eto-byla-by-vernaya-smert
1225	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178777-es-rasshiril-sankcii-protiv-chinovnikov-rf
1226	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178779-yucshenko-rasskazal-o-strahah-putina
1227	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178786-deklaraciyu-o-nezavisimosti-kryma-priznali-nekonstitucionnoj
1228	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178788-medvedev-trebuet-ot-ukrainy-11-mlrd-dollarov-za-to-chto-rossiya-okkupirovala-krym
1229	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178793-krymskie-vlasti-vnesli-v-chernyj-spisok-pochti-vseh-narodnyh-deputatov-ukrainy
1230	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178794-za-mezhdunarodnye-sankcii-rossiya-budet-mstit-ukraine
1231	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178797-ukrainskih-voennyh-iz-kryma-nachali-perevodit-na-materik
1232	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178803-venecianskaya-komissiya-priznala-nelegitimnym-referendum-v-krymu
1233	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178808-krymskim-studentam-razreshili-perevoditsya-v-drugie-ukrainskie-vuzy-po-uprocshennoj-sheme
1234	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178813-minfin-predlagaet-oblagat-nalogom-dohody-po-depozitam-prevyshayucshim-100-tysyach-griven
1235	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178822-v-minoborony-opasayutsya-vtorozheniya-armii-rf-v-materikovuyu-ukrainu
1236	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178836-sergej-suprun-ohranniki-razvlekayas-ne-menshe-pyatisot-raz-vystrelili-po-nogam-odnogo-iz-zaderzhannyh
1237	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178843-v-perevalnom-chast-36-j-brigady-beregovoj-oborony-pereshla-na-storonu-rf
1238	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178846-tralcshik-cherkassy-ne-smog-vyrvatsya-iz-donuzlava
1239	FK	21-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178848-minoborony---voennym-v-krymu-plakatsya---eto-vopros-ne-dlya-muzhchiny
1240	FK	22-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178851-ukrainskih-voennyh-ne-budut-vyvodit-iz-kryma
1241	FK	22-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178852-krymskie-vlasti-osvobodili-ecshe-dvuh-zalozhnikov
1242	FK	22-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178853-podpisanie-ekonomicheskoj-chasti-soglasheniya-ob-associacii-budet-zaviset-ot-chestnosti-prezidentskih-vyborov
1243	FK	22-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178854-ukrainskie-vlasti-razreshat-krymchanam-imet-dvojnoe-grazhdanstvo
1244	FK	22-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178857-v-ukrainu-edut-100-nablyudatelej-obse
1245	FK	22-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178858-dzhemilev-poobecshal-okkupantam-syurpriz-esli-ego-ne-pustyat-v-krym
1246	FK	22-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178859-v-krymu-pala-ecshe-odna-voinskaya-chast-video
1247	FK	23-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178864-rossijskij-specnaz-pri-podderzhke-bronetehniki-zahvatil-voinskuyu-chast-v-belbeke
1248	FK	23-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178869-rossijskie-okkupanty-zahvatili-ukrainskij-korabl-slavutich
1249	FK	23-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178870-krym-chast-komandy-sdavshegosya-chernigova-pereshla-na-bort-bdk-konstantin-olshanskij
1250	FK	23-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178875-turchinov-potreboval-osvobodit-zahvachennogo-okkupantami-polkovnika-mamchura
1251	FK	23-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178877-v-krymu-pohicshen-zamestitel-komanduyucshego-vms
1252	FK	23-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178879-ukrainskie-moryaki-na-donuzlave-ne-ostavlyayut-popytok-prorvat-rossijskuyu-blokadu
1253	FK	23-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178882-smi-soobcshayut-ob-osvobozhdenii-mamchura
1254	FK	23-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178885-okkupanty-pohitili-v-krymu-ecshe-odnogo-komandira
1255	FK	23-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178888-v-kongresse-ssha-prizvali-predostavit-ukraine-oruzhie

1256	FK	23-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178890-v-ryade-gorodov-kryma-propalo-elektrichestvo
1257	FK	23-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178891-bolshinstvo-voennyh-takticheskoj-gruppy-krym-verny-prisyage
1258	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178893-v-feodosii-vzyali-v-plen-ukrainskih-morskih-pehotincev
1259	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178894-okkupanty-vyvezli-iz-feodosijskoj-chasti-morskih-pehotincev
1260	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178895-situaciyu-v-krymu-obsudyat-na-sammite-bolshoj-semerki
1261	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178897-v-krymu-nachinaetsya-obracshenie-rossijskogo-rublya
1262	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178898-v-feodosii-okkupanty-vykrali-oficerov-batalona-morskoj-pehoty
1263	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178902-krymchanam-kotorye-zahotyat-sohranit-ukrainskoe-grazhdanstvo-no-pri-etom-ostatsya-na-poluostrove-pridetsya-oformlyat-vid-na-zhitelstvo
1264	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178901-snbo-poruchil-provesti-peredislokaciyu-ukrainskih-voennyh-v-krymu
1265	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178906-partiya-regionov-podderzhivaet-moskovskij-scenarij-v-ukraine
1266	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178908-eks-glava-vms-ukrainy-berezovskij-naznachen-zamom-komanduyucshego-chf-rossii
1267	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178911-ukraina-otozvala-posla-iz-belarusi
1268	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178920-krymskie-tatary-namereny-provesti-svoj-referendum
1269	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178925-50-ukrainskih-voennyh-v-krymu-pereshli-na-storonu-rf---minoborony
1270	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178924-pulya-vsegda-nahodit-samyh-luchshih-a-serezha-takim-i-byl
1271	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178931-abonenty-mobilnoj-svyazi-perechislili-v-podderzhku-ukrainskoj-armii-bolshe-17-millionov-griven
1272	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178940-rf-ne-mozhet-denonsirovat-harkovskie-soglasheniya-minyust
1273	FK	24-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178947-turchinov-podpisal-ukaz-o-vyvode-voennyh-iz-kryma
1274	FK	25-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178935-aleksej-nikiforov-esli-by-voennye-chuvstvovali-za-spinoj-gosudarstvo-ne-bylo-by-takogo-massovogo-ishoda-iz-ukrainskoj-armii
1275	FK	25-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178959-lavrov-poobecshal-decshice-ne-napadat-na-ukrainu
1276	FK	25-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178961-ssha-gotovyat-ocherednye-sankcii-protiv-rossii
1277	FK	25-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178965-minoborony-dogovorilos-s-rossiyanami-o-vyvode-iz-kryma-ukrainskih-voennyh-video
1278	FK	25-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178979-krymchanam-zapretili-pokazyvat-gollivudskie-filmy
1279	FK	25-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178980-voennosluzhacshie-ukrainy-pokinut-krym-s-flagami-i-oruzhiem---koval
1280	FK	25-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178993-rossiya-sobiraetsya-vyvezti-iz-kryma-skifskoe-zoloto
1281	FK	25-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178996-rossijskie-voennye-pytayutsya-zahvatit-tralcshik-cherkassy
1282	FK	26-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/178972-irina-sedova-chitateli-kotorye-ranshe-blagodarili-menya-za-pomocsh-teper-govoryat-vas-byut-tak-vam-i-nado
1283	FK	26-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179013-rossijskie-okkupanty-vzyali-pod-kontrol-vse-ukrainskie-voinskie-podrazdeleniya-v-krymu
1284	FK	26-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179017-v-krymu-raspuskayut-otryady-samooborony-video
1285	FK	26-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179018-v-rezultate-anneksii-kryma-ukraina-faktichekski-lishilas-flota-infografika
1286	FK	26-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179021-psevdoprokuror-kryma-poklonskaya-obyavlena-v-rozysk
1287	FK	26-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179025-turchinov-uvolil-svoego-predstavitelya-v-krymu
1288	FK	26-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179028-rossijskie-voennye-uvelichili-kolichestvo-provokacij-na-granice
1289	FK	26-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179033-shest-ukrainskih-voennyh-do-sih-por-ostayutsya-v-krymskom-plenu
1290	FK	26-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179040-polsha-schitaet-zahvat-rossiej-ukrainskih-korablej-piratstvom
1291	FK	26-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179055-v-stacionarah-i-poliklinikah-kieva-grazhdan-ukrainy-pribyvshih-iz-kryma-lechit-budut-besplatno
1292	FK	26-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179058-rf-vernet-v-krym-morskuyu-raketonosnuyu-aviaciyu--smi
1293	FK	26-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179070-voennosluzhacshie-rf-perepravlyayut-ukrainskie-tanki-na-sever-kryma
1294	FK	26-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179059-ukrainskih-voennyh-uzhe-otpuskayut-iz-krymskogo-plena---turchinov
1295	FK	27-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179038-hotya-v-novostyah-po-rossijskomu-televideniyu-i-soobcshayut-o-tom-kak-raduyutsya-krymskie-pensionery-poluchivshie-povyshennye-pensii-v-rublyah-na-samom-dele-dengi-nam-ecshe-ne-vyplatili
1296	FK	27-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179105-v-vyhodnye-po-nocham-mozhet-poholodat-do-shesti-gradusov-moroza
1297	FK	27-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179108-vneshnego-testirovaniya-v-krymu-ne-budet

1298	FK	27-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179120-88-letnij-vladimir-chermoshencev-ya-uehal-iz-kryma-potomu-chto-mirno-ne-uzhivus-s-rossijskimi-okkupantami
1299	FK	27-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179127-ukraina-sokratit-shtat-svoego-posolstva-v-rf
1300	FK	27-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179132-rf-usilila-voennoe-prisutstvie-v-chernom-i-azovskom-moryah
1301	FK	27-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179134-vlasti-kryma-sostavili-spisok-person-non-grata
1302	FK	27-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179137-ukraina-namerena-v-blizhajshie-dni-vyvezti-iz-kryma-oruzhie-i-tehniku
1303	FK	27-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179136-genassambleya-oon-progolosovala-za-rezolyuciyu-po-ukraine
1304	FK	27-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179140-ukraincy-vystupayut-za-sohranenie-kryma-v-sostave-ukrainy
1305	FK	27-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179142-vnutrennie-vojska-mvd-ukrainy-ujdut-iz-kryma
1306	FK	28-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179097-aleksandr-yankovskij-posle-togo-kak-proizoshlo-napadenie-na-centr-zhurnalistskih-rassledovanij-v-simferopole-neizvestnyj-pozvonil-mne-i-skazal-gotovsya-ty-budesh-sleduyucshim
1307	FK	28-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179101-bezhenec-iz-kryma-grigorij-valko-pristanicshe-v-kieve-nam-s-otcom-predostavila-stroitelnaya-firma-poselila-v-ecshe-ne-prodannoj-kvartire-v-novom-dome
1308	FK	28-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179129-pered-tem-kak-sbezhat-iz-goroda-latarcev-ukral-iz-kassy-partii-regionov-20-tysyach-griven
1309	FK	28-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179107-v-noch-na-voskresene-ukraina-perejdet-na-letnee-vremya
1310	FK	28-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179158-parubij-kazhduyu-noch-kazhdyj-chas-mozhet-proizojti-ataka-na-territoriyu-materikovoj-ukrainy-video
1311	FK	28-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179165-yanukovich-vydal-ocherednoe-obracshenie-k-ukraincam
1312	FK	28-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179188-ukrainskie-vuzy-soglasny-prinimat-krymskih-studentov-dazhe-bez-zachetok
1313	FK	29-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179194-esli-armiya-budet-horosho-vooruzhena-nikakoj-agressor-k-nam-ne-sunetsya
1314	FK	29-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179166-ukraine-nuzhen-svoj-massovyj-geroj-knig-i-filmov-bez-kotorogo-ne-byvaet-ni-odnoj-silnoj-nacii
1315	FK	29-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179227-krymskie-tatary-planiruyut-sozdat-nacionalnuyu-avtonomiyu
1316	FK	29-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179234-rossiya-otkazyvaetsya-ot-zahvachennoj-podlodki-zaporozhe-potomu-chto-ona-moralno-ustarela
1317	FK	30-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179245-krym-pereshel-na-moskovskoe-vremya
1318	FK	30-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179255-rossiya-po-prezhnemu-namerena-dobivatsya-ot-ukrainy-federalizacii
1319	FK	30-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179262-politolog-rasskazal-o-plane-rossii-dlya-ukrainy-otkaz-ot-es-i-nato-a-takzhe-federalizaciya
1320	FK	30-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179266-zaporozhskie-bajkery-obyavili-ohotu-na-nochnyh-volkov---lyubimyh-bajkerov-putina-foto
1321	FK	31-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179272-zhitelej-kryma-lishili-prava-prinimat-svoyu-konstituciyu
1322	FK	31-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179275-v-krymu-prizyv-v-armiyu-vozobnovitsya-s-vesny-2015-goda
1323	FK	31-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179283-turchinov-zagovoril-ob-otkaze-ot-vneblokovogo-statusa-ukrainy
1324	FK	31-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179290-medvedev-poobecshal-krymchanam-vysokie-zarplaty-bolshie-investicii-i-chistuyu-vodu
1325	FK	31-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179292-v-rossijskom-plenu-ostaetsya-odin-ukrainskij-oficer---kapitan-vtorogo-ranga-vyacheslav-demyanenko
1326	FK	31-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179293-mnogie-ukrainskie-voennye-s-semyami-ne-dozhidayas-pomocshi-ot-gosudarstva-uezzhayut-iz-kryma-na-svoih-mashinah
1327	FK	31-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179303-rossiya-razorvala-soglasheniya-s-ukrainoj-po-chernomorskomu-flotu-rf
1328	FK	31-03-2014	http://fakty.ua/179312-v-sredizemnoe-more-voshel-ecshe-odin-amerikanskij-avianosec
1329	FK	01-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179325-rf-nazvala-zasedanie-soveta-bezopasnosti-oon-nizkoprobnym-meropriyatiem-i-propagandistskim-shou
1330	FK	01-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179327-rossiya-zapretila-inostrancam-ezdit-v-krym-bez-viz
1331	FK	01-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179346-dzhemilev-raskritikoval-patriotizm-ukrainskih-voennyh-v-krymu
1332	FK	01-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179355-na-krymskih-zapravkah-zakonchilis-benzin-i-kofe
1333	FK	01-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179359-miliciyu-prosyat-najti-dvuh-skandalnyh-sudej
1334	FK	01-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179384-my-ne-gotovim-specnazovcev-i-diversantov-a-tolko-uchim-pravilno-ispolzovat-oruzhie-i-okazyvat-postradavshim-dovrachebnuyu-pomocsh
1335	FK	01-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179395-rejtingovoe-agentstvo-obyavilo-krymu-defolt
1336	FK	01-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179396-mid-rf-rossiya-ne-ugrozhala-ukraine-yadernym-oruzhiem-poetomu-budapeshtskij-memorandum-ne-narushen

1337	FK	02-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179410-yacenyuk-prizval-rossiyu-pokazat-nam-primer-i-sdelat-ukrainskij-yazyk-vtorym-gosudarstvennym
1338	FK	02-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179412-krymskie-vlasti-postavyat-na-uchet-ulichnyh-torgovcev-i-arendodatelej-zhilya
1339	FK	02-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179413-evrokontrol-zapretil-polety-v-krym
1340	FK	02-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179427-rossiya-nachala-ochicshat-krym-ot-vrednoj-informacii
1341	FK	02-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179430-v-ukraine-budut-sohraneny-vse-socvyplaty-pensii-i-lgoty-na-2014-god
1342	FK	02-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179431-otpravka-posylok-v-krym-podorozhala-pochti-v-chetyre-raza
1343	FK	02-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179436-gospotrebnadzor-vvel-zapret-na-postavku-rossijskih-konfet-v-ukrainu
1344	FK	02-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179441-yanukovich-soznalsya-chto-poprosil-putina-vvesti-vojska-v-ukrainu
1345	FK	02-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179442-krymskie-voennye-kotorye-pereshli-na-storonu-rossiyan-uzhe-prosyatsya-v-ukrainu-video
1346	FK	03-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179468-kapitan-2-go-ranga-demyanenko-osvobozhden-iz-krymskogo-plena
1347	FK	03-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179448-v-internete-napisali-yakoby-my-reshili-prisoedinitsya-k-krymu-eto-polnaya-chush
1348	FK	03-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179420-v-krymu-idealnye-usloviya-dlya-moshennikov
1349	FK	03-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179484-belarus-otmenila-letnie-aviarejsy-v-krym
1350	FK	03-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179514-rossijskij-gaz-dlya-ukrainy-otnyne-budet-stoit-485-dollarov-za-tysyachu-kubometrov
1351	FK	03-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179550-ukraina-vozmet-u-rossii-kredit-chtoby-pogasit-gazovye-dolgi
1352	FK	03-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179555-rossiya-reshila-otozvat-svoego-posla-pri-nato
1353	FK	04-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179545-poka-hot-odin-ukrainskij-voennoplennyj-budet-uderzhivatsya-v-krymu-ni-odna-buhanka-hleba-na-poluostrov-ne-popadet
1354	FK	04-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179561-turciya-otkazalas-napravit-svoj-flot-k-beregam-kryma---dzhemilev
1355	FK	04-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179567-krymskie-vlasti-razreshili-rossijskim-turistam-kupatsya-pyanymi-v-fontanah
1356	FK	04-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179583-ukraincam-sovetuyut-v-etom-godu-v-krymu-ne-otdyhat
1357	FK	04-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179586-v-simferopole-sevastopole-i-yalte-zakrylis-zakusochnye-makdonalds
1358	FK	04-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179600-sbu-pohicshennyh-ukrainskih-voennyh-pod-pytkami-zastavili-podpisat-soglashenie-o-sotrudnichestve-s-rossijskoj-razvedkoj
1359	FK	04-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179605-kursantov-i-prepodavatelej-iz-sevastopolskoj-akademii-nahimova-primet-odesskaya-voennaya-akademiya
1360	FK	04-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179607-mezhdu-krymom-i-materikom-perestali-hodit-prigorodnye-poezda
1361	FK	04-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179614-v-mide-uvideli-otvod-rossijskih-vojsk-ot-granic-s-ukrainoj
1362	FK	04-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179621-ukraina-prizvala-rossiyu-razobratsya-so-svoimi-politzaklyuchennymi-a-potom-perezhivat-za-nashih
1363	FK	05-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179633-sbu-prosit-rossiyu-doprosit-general-polkovnika-fsb
1364	FK	05-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179635-krymchan-dlya-oformleniya-ukrainskih-dokumentov-otpravlyayut-v-herson
1365	FK	05-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179648-sovet-evropy-otkazalsya-priznavat-novyj-status-kryma
1366	FK	05-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179653-u-simferopole-zelenye-chelovechki-zaderzhali-fanatov-dnepropetrovskogo-dnepra
1367	FK	06-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179660-bolee-poloviny-zhitelej-ukrainy-podderzhivayut-vstuplenie-strany-v-evrosoyuz
1368	FK	07-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179678-nato-predlozhili-vvesti-vojska-v-ukrainu-v-sluchae-rossijskoj-agressii
1369	FK	07-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179687-minoborony-obnarodovalo-podrobnosti-ubijstva-ukrainskogo-oficera-v-krymu
1370	FK	07-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179726-v-krymu-zaderzhali-ubijcu-ukrainskogo-oficera---minoborony
1371	FK	07-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179723-dolgi-po-uplate-edinogo-naloga-poyavivshiesya-iz-za-mobilizacii-predprinimatelej-v-ryady-vooruzhennyh-sil-spishut
1372	FK	08-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179693-chasy-podarennye-mne-putinym-dumal-nadet-na-sovershennoletie-no-posle-napadeniya-prezidenta-rossii-na-ukrainu-vernul-podarok-so-slovami-vy-lzhec
1373	FK	08-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179753-rossiya-trebuet-ne-primenyat-silu-protiv-separatistov
1374	FK	08-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179754-rossijskie-tanki-na-pomocsh-separatistam-ne-pridut---snbo
1375	FK	08-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179769-v-pase-podgotovili-rezolyuciyu-o-nekonstitucionnosti-krymskogo-referenduma
1376	FK	08-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179781-segodnya-nalichnyj-dollar-podorozhal-ecshe-na-10-kopeek

1377	FK	08-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179789-skifskoe-zoloto-vse-taki-vernetsya-v-ukrainu-iz-amsterdama
1378	FK	08-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179791-separatisty-v-luganske-zayavili-o-pribytii-podkrepleniya-iz-kryma
1379	FK	08-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179799-v-nacionalnoj-gvardii-oprovergli-informaciyu-o-zahvate-yadernogo-obekta-v-krymu
1380	FK	08-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179810-rf-pochti-soglasilas-otdat-ukraine-neskolko-korablej
1381	FK	09-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179808-taras-mazur-chetyre-cheloveka-v-chernyh-maskah-vzyali-menya-pod-ruki-nadeli-na-golovu-meshok-i-kuda-to-povezli
1382	FK	09-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179824-krymu-ugrozhaet-toplivnyj-kollaps
1383	FK	09-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179829-rossijskie-vojska-ukreplyayut-granicu-na-severe-kryma-sistemami-zalpovogo-ognya
1384	FK	09-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179838-sbu-zaderzhala-zhitelya-hersoncshiny-planirovavshego-zahvatit-kahovskuyu-ges
1385	FK	09-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179846-sbu-zaderzhala-rossijskuyu-shpionku-kotoraya-gotovila-diversantov
1386	FK	09-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179859-sbu-razoblachila-agenturnuyu-set-na-hersoncshine
1387	FK	09-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179862-iz-za-nezakonnogo-kontrolya-teper-poezda-v-krymskom-napravlenii-hodyat-s-opozdaniem
1388	FK	09-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179867-rossiya-gotova-do-iyunya-peredat-ukraine-vsyu-voennuyu-tehniku-iz-kryma
1389	FK	09-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179870-sessiya-pase-vengerskij-deputat-vystupil-s-pretenziyami-na-zakarpate
1390	FK	09-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179871-pase-osudila-rossiyu-za-anneksiyu-kryma---rezolyuciya
1391	FK	09-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179875-luganskoe-upravlenie-sbu-zahvacheno-sotrudnikami-rossijskih-specsluzhb-pri-pomocshi-mestnoj-agentury-i-pyanyh-vatnikov
1392	FK	09-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179876-krymskie-vypuskniki-smogut-poluchit-ukrainskie-attestaty---minobrazovaniya
1393	FK	10-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179850-tak-zachem-vse-taki-dlya-vstrechi-s-viktorom-yanukovichem-20-fevralya-v-kiev-pribyl-general-polkovnik-fsb-prichastnyj-k-otdeleniyu-abhazii-i-yuzhnoj-osetii-ot-gruzii
1394	FK	10-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179851-kogda-nad-nashej-akademiej-podnimali-flag-rossii-my-ne-plakali-no-vnutri-slezy-dushili-kazhdogo-potomu-i-zapeli-gimn-ukrainy
1395	FK	10-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179854-sluchaetsya-do-desyati-passazhirov-v-sutki-my-otpravlyaem-obratno-v-krym-tak-kak-ne-izvestno-kakim-obrazom-oni-popali-na-territoriyu-ukrainy
1396	FK	10-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179887-rf-planiruet-sozdat-v-krymu-federalnyj-universitet
1397	FK	10-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179888-krymskih-voennyh-perevodyat-sluzhit-v-rf
1398	FK	10-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179897-na-materik-iz-kryma-pribyli-pochti-3-tysyachi-voennyh-s-semyami
1399	FK	10-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179898-rossiya-zapretila-postavlyat-v-krym-ukrainskoe-myaso
1400	FK	10-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179900-fond-garantirovaniya-vkladov-prekracshaet-vyplaty-v-krymu
1401	FK	10-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179929-zhiteli-luganska-rukovodstvu-ukrainy-my-hotim-i-budem-zhit-v-ukraine-i-budem-borotsya-do-poslednego---s-vashej-pomocshyu-ili-bez-nee
1402	FK	11-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179966-sbu-presekla-vezd-v-ukrainu-rossijskogo-diversanta
1403	FK	11-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179937-po-vsej-ukraine-budut-lit-dozhdi
1404	FK	11-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179977-samoprovozglashyonnyj-parlament-kryma-prinyal-konstituciyu-respubliki
1405	FK	11-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179985-ukraina-primenila-vizovye-sankcii-protiv-rossijskih-chinovnikov
1406	FK	11-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179987-ukrzal-znicya-prekracshaet-predvaritelnuyu-prodazhu-biletov-v-krym
1407	FK	11-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179999-belarus-gotova-prinyat-ukrainskih-bezhencev
1408	FK	11-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180018-rf-ne-vernet-ukraine-sredstva-pvo-iz-kryma
1409	FK	11-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180027-direktora-edinstvennoj-v-krymu-ukrainskoj-gimnazii-zastavili-uvolitsya
1410	FK	12-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180004-dazhe-kogda-krym-zahvatili-okkupanty-stas-staralsya-ne-govorit-o-rossiyanah-ploho-eto-voennye-kotorye-vypolnyayut-prikazy-no-oni-tozhe-lyudi-i-ne-stanut-nas-ubivat
1411	FK	12-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/179974-sergej-kvit-teper-pri-postuplenii-v-vuzy-na-pervyj-plan-vyjdet-rezultat-vno-a-ne-attestat-ocenki-v-kotorom-k-sozhaleniyu-chasto-neobektivny
1412	FK	12-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180046-v-naftogaze-priznali-ugrozu-prekracsheniya-tranzita-gaza-v-evropu
1413	FK	12-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180048-na-hersoncshine-rossijskie-diversanty-stavyat-metki-dlya-vedeniya-zenitnogo-ognya
1414	FK	12-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180058-ekspert-rossijskie-vojska-uzhe-vtorglis-s-ukrainu
1415	FK	14-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180111-beglyj-deputat-odesskogo-gorsoveta-vasilev-stal-nachalnikom-upravleniya-cevastopolskoj-goradministracii
1416	FK	14-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180113-k-diversantam-v-slavyansk-pribylo-podkreplenie-iz-kryma-foto-video

1417	FK	14-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180120-rossijskie-zheleznodorozhniki-obecshayut-prodavat-bilety-v-ukrainu-do-25-maya
1418	FK	14-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180128-v-odessu-perebazirovany-pervye-dva-korablya-vms-ukrainy-zahvachennye-rossiyanami-v-krymu-foto
1419	FK	14-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180131-separatisty-zahvatili-aerodrom-v-slavyanske
1420	FK	14-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180135-turchinov-hochet-borotsya-s-terroristami-s-pomocshyu-mirotvorcev-oon
1421	FK	15-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180124-sudya-po-tomu-kolichestvu-novogo-vooruzheniya-kotoroe-zavezla-v-krym-rossiya-ona-stroit-tam-sereznuyu-i-eshelonirovannuyu-oboronu
1422	FK	15-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180164-mer-slavyanska-priznala-chto-gorod-zahvatili-boeviki-iz-rossii-i-kryma
1423	FK	15-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180165-orobec-na-donetchine-obyavlena-ohota-na-separatistov
1424	FK	15-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180178-na-pashalnye-prazdniki-naznacheny-dopolnitelnye-poezda
1425	FK	15-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180187-rossiya-priostanovila-peredachu-ukraine-voennoj-tehniki-iz-kryma
1426	FK	15-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180181-separatistami-v-slavyanske-rukovodit-oficer-rossijskogo-specnaza-igor-strelkov-organizovyvavshij-pohicsheniya-lyudej-v-krymu
1427	FK	15-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180206-sbu-zavela-delo-protiv-mera-slavyanska
1428	FK	15-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180210-v-odessu-perebazirovan-iz-kryma-korabl-vms-donbass-ranee-zahvachennyj-rossijskimi-okkupantami
1429	FK	16-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180183-ponimayu-chto-shagnul-v-neizvestnost-no-vnutri-teplitsya-chuvstvo-chto-ya-sdelal-pravilno
1430	FK	16-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180219-sbu-zaderzhala-v-melitopole-agenta-rossijskoj-razvedki
1431	FK	16-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180220-na-vostoke-ukrainy-rabotaet-rossijskaya-specura-kotoraya-15-let-zanimaetsya-vojnoj
1432	FK	16-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180236-v-ukraine-arestovali-23-oficera-gru-rossii---smi
1433	FK	16-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180246-ukraina-podala-v-evropejskij-sud-po-pravam-cheloveka-pervyj-paket-pretenzij-k-rossii
1434	FK	16-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180271-my-uzhe-ponyali-chto-kurortnyj-sezon-budet-sorvan
1435	FK	16-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180276-yanukovich-vernetsya-v-doneck-20-aprelya
1436	FK	16-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180284-direktor-kladbicsha-i-kriminalnyj-avtoritet-rukovodivshij-zahvatom-gorlovskogo-gorupravleniya-milicii-okazalsya-rossijskim-oficerom
1437	FK	17-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180297-v-krym-massovo-pribyvayut-rossijskie-vojska
1438	FK	17-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180300-rossiya-vvodit-ogranicheniya-na-prodazhu-zh-d-biletov-v-ukrainu
1439	FK	17-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180339-dzhemilev-zayavil-ob-ugroze-novoj-deportacii-tatar-iz-kryma
1440	FK	17-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180348-polkovnik-mamchur-vojna-ukrainy-s-rossiej-fakticheski-idet
1441	FK	17-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180370-na-vstreche-v-zheneve-vopros-kryma-ne-obsuzhdalsya-kerri
1442	FK	18-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180388-v-zaporozhe-iz-kryma-proryvayutsya-rossijskie-diversanty
1443	FK	18-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180414-vse-zhiteli-kryma-kotorye-sohranyat-ukrainskie-pasporta-schitayutsya-grazhdanami-ukrainy-i-sohranyayut-pravo-na-poluchenie-pensij-i-socialnyh-posobij
1444	FK	18-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180432-posle-prohozhdeniya-pogranichnogo-kontrolya-muzhchin-educshih-iz-rossii-budut-intervyuirovat---gospogransluzhba
1445	FK	19-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180442-dzhemilev-krymskih-tatar-uvolnyayut-za-otkaz-ot-grazhdanstva-rf
1446	FK	19-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180448-rossiyane-vypustili-iz-donuzlava-shest-ukrainskih-korablej
1447	FK	20-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180475-rossiya-vernula-ukraine-uzhe-13-korablej-ukrainskih-vms
1448	FK	21-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180485-yanukovich-mozhet-priehat-v-doneck-11-maya---aksenov
1449	FK	21-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180489-centrobank-rossiya-zakryl-chetyre-ukrainskih-banka-v-krymu
1450	FK	21-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180496-ukrainskie-banki-smogut-rabotat-v-krymu-do-nachala-2015-goda
1451	FK	21-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180504-ukraina-rossiya-i-belorussiya-soglasovali-letnij-grafik-dvizheniya-passazhirskih-poezdov-v-krym
1452	FK	22-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180522-ukraincy-kategoricheski-protiv-federalizacii-i-oficialnogo-dvuyazychiya
1453	FK	22-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180543-rossiya-ne-platit-ukraine-za-vodu-dlya-kryma-po-politicheskim-prichinam
1454	FK	23-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180538-prepodavateli-krymskih-vuzov-uveryayut-studentov-chto-na-materikovoj-ukraine-govoryacshih-po-russki-pytayut-v-podvalah
1455	FK	23-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180599-mid-ukrainy-rossiya-miniruet-granicu-s-krymom
1456	FK	24-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180597-posle-kazhdogo-bogosluzheniya-my-s-prihozhanami-opuskaemsya-na-koleni-i-chitaem-molitvu-za-mir-za-ukrainskih-voennyh-eto-nashe-hristianskoe-oruzhie
1457	FK	24-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180628-gazprom-vystavil-ukraine-schet-v-razmere-11-mlrd-dollarov

1458	FK	24-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180638-sbu-pojmala-liderov-doneckih-diversantov
1459	FK	24-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180658-ukrzal-znicya-vozobnovila-prodazhu-biletov-na-krymskoe-napravlenie
1460	FK	24-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180662-esli-do-referenduma-baton-v-krymu-stoil-3-2-grivni-to-sejchas-5-griven
1461	FK	25-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180661-spasibo-tebe-za-podderzhku-krome-tebya-menya-nikto-ne-podderzhit
1462	FK	25-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180697-rossiya-ustanovila-granicu-mezhdu-ukrainoj-i-krymom
1463	FK	25-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180698-rossiya-na-granice-s-ukrainoj-skoncentrirovala-sistemy-zalpovogo-ognya-grad
1464	FK	25-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180699-sbu-zaderzhala-dvuh-voennyh-zaverbovannyh-rossijskim-gru
1465	FK	25-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180759-na-materik-iz-kryma-vyvedeno-429-edinic-vooruzheniya-i-tehniki
1466	FK	26-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180773-doneckaya-narodnaya-respublika-vybrala-svoim-glavnokomanduyucshim-lidera-rossijskih-diversantov-strelkova
1467	FK	26-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180777-krymu-perekryli-vodu-na-ocheredi-elektroenergiya
1468	FK	26-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180783-mustafu-dzhemileva-vydvinuli-na-nobelevskuyu-premiyu-mira
1469	FK	27-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180800-admiral-kabanenko-rasskazal-o-skoplenii-rossijskih-vojsk-u-granicy-ne-isklyuchaet-vtorzheniya
1470	FK	27-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180805-hodorkovskij-prognoziruet-chto-putin-ne-ostanovitsya-iz-za-sankcij
1471	FK	28-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180832-ukrainskie-pogranichniki-gotovy-strelyat-pri-vtorzhenii-vojsk-rf
1472	FK	28-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180836-sbu-ustanovila-nastoyacshee-imya-diversanta-gru-strelka
1473	FK	29-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180890-na-donbasse-boeviki-otklyuchili-cifrovoe-vecshanie-ukrainskih-kanalov
1474	FK	29-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180891-ucsherb-ot-okkupacii-kryma-obecshaet-prevysit-1-trillion-griven
1475	FK	29-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180875-zhitel-slavyanska-u-vsej-moej-semi-na-telefone-stoit-rington-gimn-ukrainy-my-poka-ego-ne-stiraem-nadeemsya
1476	FK	29-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180909-mer-donecka-na-severe-regiona-mozhet-realizovatsya-krymskij-scenarij
1477	FK	30-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180939-putin-i-medvedev-planiruyut-posetit-krym-9-maya---smi
1478	FK	30-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180953-krymskie-gastrolery-prismatrivayutsya-k-voennym-chastyam-v-hersonskoj-oblasti
1479	FK	30-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180956-turchinov-boeviki-gotovyat-diversii-ecshe-v-shesti-oblastyah
1480	FK	30-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180973-v-odessu-pribyli-ecshe-chetyre-sudna-ukrainskogo-flota
1481	FK	30-04-2014	http://fakty.ua/180976-sud-zapretil-politicheskuyu-partiyu-glavnogo-krymskogo-separatista

Appendix C: Screenshots from Atlas.ti

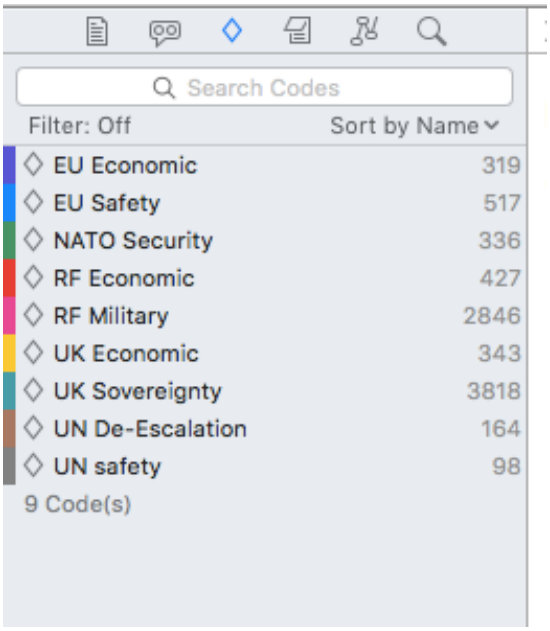

Image 11: Number of quotations per party.

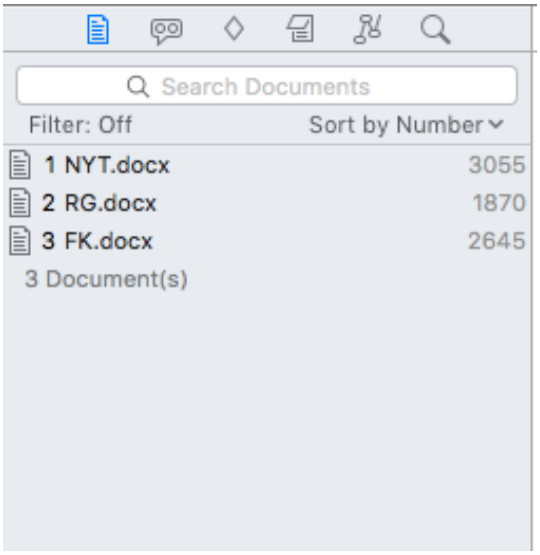

Image 12: Total quotations per newspaper.

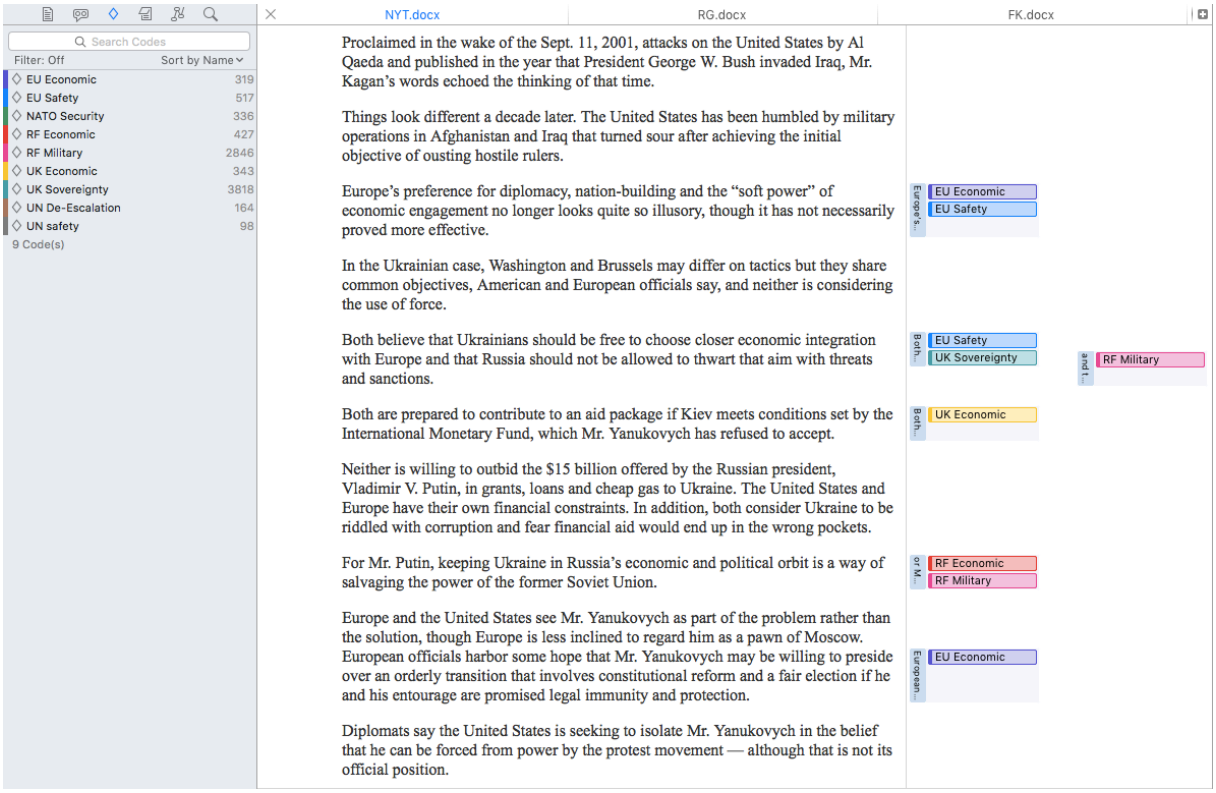

Image 13: Standard quotation in Atlas.ti