

# **Representation of Russia in the Baltic Media Over Ukraine Crisis of 2014**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in Partial  
fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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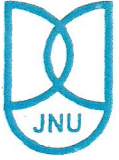
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## DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled *REPRESENTATION OF RUSSIA IN THE BALTIC MEDIA OVER UKRAINE CRISIS OF 2014* submitted by me for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

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## CERTIFICATE

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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*Dedicated*  
*To*  
*My Beloved*  
*Grandmother,*  
*the first unknown*  
*feminist in my life*

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*25 July2016*

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## **Definition of Key Terms**

The definition of some of the relevant key terms and concepts used in the study is given below.

**Unipolar:-** unipolar is a terms used to define the power structure of the international system. The end of the cold war restructured the whole system, to hence the USA become the predominant power in the politics of world. In other words it is one states which is capable of influencing the others states in terms of military, economic and cultural aspects.

**Media coverage:** - media coverage is a term mainly used in the mass communication. it refers to the wide range of media reach to the people. It helps to create awareness and to seek support via means of communication. It consists of newspaper, television and radio etc.

**Ne-Nazism:** - it refers to a new emergence of a Nazi or fascist tendencies in Ukraine politics. The rise Savaboda party provides a notion of ultra nationalism. It is a kind of thought having post – soviet conception of fascism. This party wanted to build a radical society, creating an alternative modernity like a new form of man. Main agenda of Nazi was cultural or racial in between the peoples.

**Russia as an aggressor:** - in the context of Baltic and Ukraine Russian behavioral symptom are similar to the term aggressor. The European Union and NATO expansion are cause of the changing behavior of Russia in the area of Baltic state and Ukraine. In the Ukraine intrusion of Russia is very evident because Russia can drill Ukraine in economically. Ukraine sharing border with Russia, anytime they expect an attack from Russia.

**Soft balancing:** - it is an important concept in international politics. Contemporary international politics lays on liberal means to tackle the problems of nation states, in the sense peaceful cooperation among the nation states. Liberalized economy entangled the countries inter-dependent. The

global governance of UN and other regional grouping established concept of common will. Soft power balancing is tactics to deal with the states. Soft balancing refers to diplomatic arrangements with countries, mutual agreements, etc. this all ensure through a medium of organizational grouping. After the Second World War it became predominant in area of global politics.

Region: - region is having geographical proximity and sense of mutual understanding. A region encompasses two concept structural region and functional region. Eurasia is an example of functional region. SAARC is an example of structural region. Functional region is an evolved region.

Threat: - threat is an important concept in international relations. The origin of threat came from the regional neighbors. Nature of threat is war, insurgency and narcotic crimes. Strengthening military groups and multilateral bodies are important means to respond to threat. States assume some situations question the survival of the state and threat to the sovereignty of the state. Threat is a significant concept to understand in the context of Russia representation in Ukraine and Baltic states.

Great game: - great game was the situation in 19<sup>th</sup> century. The phrase was first coined by Lt. Arthur Conolly. Great game was a circumstance of Britain and Russia's rivalry towards Central Asia. Current situation in Ukraine relaunched a new great game, the zone of European Union, USA, Russia and china.

Multi polarity: - Multi polarity is an important concept in international politics. It refers that more than two power blocs or power states in international system. It ensures stability in the system. Multi polarity is relevant. The end of uni-polarity of United States will end, the next has to be a multi polar international order or bipolar. The china, Russia, USA, and European Union also caused a new multi polar order in the international system.



Information war: - The technology and the communication networks have flourished over period of time. The information war is a new warfare which uses information as a tool to propagate the course of war provocations.

Europhilia: - It is a tendency to follow or to have strong admires over European history, food, culture etc.

Hybrid war: - It is a new form of war associated with conventional and unconventional , informational and cyber warfare. In the context of Ukraine crisis information war become a battle zone for the west media and Russia media.

Russophobia:- Russophobia is a feeling that emerged out of hatred or dislike over Russia. It is an anti- Russian sentiment emerged after the disintegration of Soviet Union. Russophobia is a real phenomenon of political think tanks of west.

Representation: - it refers to the construction reality in any medium of aspects of reality likewise people, place, objects, events. It is the outcome of the mediation production process and reception.

Soft power: - it is a concept developed by the Joseph Nye. It is a noncoercive and non material capability of states such as foreign policy, diplomacy, political value and culture lead to the attainment of national interest.

Entrapment: - Entrapment in international negotiations where by parties involved in an interactive, non-violent decision making process with there with whom they have both common and conflicting interests find themselves unable to escape from the coasts and investments they have already made.

Globalisation: - Globalisation is defined as process of free flow of goods and services. According to Beerkens (2004) the globalization is the world-wide interconnectedness between nation-states becomes supplemented by globalization as a process in which basic social arrangements become disembedded from their spatial context due to the acceleration, massification,

flexibilisation, diffusion and expansion of transnational flows of people products, finance, images and information.

Media representation :- Media representation is based on the process of Production and reception. Media representation will help to understand our own perspective to shape, see and understand the world. Representations do made emotional engagements and attachments with the audiences.

Security dilemma:- John Herz who coined the term security dilemma. Jervis defined the security dilemma as “ these unintended and undesired consequences of actions meant to be defensive”(Tangn,2009)

Terrorism:- The term terrorism means that Terrorism constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted (Walter Laqueur).

Media culture:- media culture is a kind of culture associated with the public relation and media. Films, news, videos etc is motivated by audience socioeconomic influence in contemporary media.

Public opinion:- James T. Young writes, “Public opinion is a social judgment of a self conscious community on a question of general importance after rational public discussion.”

Propaganda:- propaganda is an message that attempts its audience for ideological, political, or social purposes. Some propaganda is obvious, explicit, and manipulative; however, advertising and public relations also are persuasive strategies that try to influence audiences.

National integration: - National integration reduces socio- cultural and economic differences or inequalities and strengthens national unity and solidarity, which is not imposed by any authority.

NATO expansion which brought into the alliance the former Communist countries of Eastern and Central Europe and the Baltic states, marked a shift in NATO's perception of enlargement. The Alliance has promised not to set up

any military bases in Eastern European countries that have joined NATO since the fall of the Soviet Union.

EU enlargement :- Enlargement is the process whereby countries join the EU. Since it was founded in 1957, the EU has grown from 6 countries to 28. European Union (EU) enlargement describes the process of admitting new member states to join the EU.

Identity :- “identity” is a fairly recent social construct, and a rather complicated one at that. Even though everyone knows how to use the word properly in everyday discourse, it proves quite difficult to give a short and adequate summary statement that captures the range of its present meanings.

## **Abbreviations**

EU	European Union
EaP	Eastern Partnership
G8	Group of Eight
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
AA	Association Agreement
CIS	Commonwealth Independent State
UNO	United Nations Organisation
BNN	Baltic News Network
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
USA	United States of America
IMF	International Monetary Fund
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel community
EEC	European Atomic Community
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
DNR	Donestskays Narodnaya Republica
LNR	Luhanskaya Narodnaya Republica
OSCE	Organisation of Security and Cooperation in Europe

## Chapter 1

# Introduction: Theoretical Framework and Research Design

### Background

Ukraine crisis is one of the most catastrophic political crises that emerged in the unipolar world order led by United States after the disintegration of former Soviet Union. Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia commonly known as Baltic states, which were former Soviet republics fear the regional implications of Ukrainian crisis as threatening to their security, survival and territorial integrity. They are closely watching Russia's reactions on Ukraine crisis and are worried that they might be the next Russian target. A strong anti-Russian position of Baltic states has been reflected overwhelmingly in the Baltic media coverage on Ukraine crisis. The Baltic elites and the media propagated that Russia triggered the Ukraine Crisis. Baltic media published news reports depicting Russia as "aggressor", "terrorist state", "enemy", etc. Baltic political establishment and the media engage in blaming Russia and bashing her President Vladimir Putin in line with the western media.

They strongly argued in favour of punitive sanctions against Russia with a view to deter the Russian threat. Baltic states invited NATO to protect them under Article V and to prevent invasion by Russia. They facilitated military build up on Russia's borders. Representation of Russia in the Baltic media largely remains negative and similar to the official perception. Through the use of images, characters, language and news the Baltic media tries to construct mediated discourses for formulating public opinion on Ukraine crisis and Russia's role in it. This raises the pertinent question why the representation of Russia in Baltic media over Ukraine crisis is in negative rhetoric and lacking in positive prospects. Historical perspective of Baltic media representation of Russia over Ukraine crisis reflects the influence of geopolitics, identity and memory politics on the media coverage about Russia.

Ukraine crisis began in the end of November 2013 when Lithuania was holding Presidency of European Union. One of the important priorities under Lithuania's presidency was the implementation of EU's Eastern Partnership policy, which aims to bring the post-Soviet states of Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia into orbit of EU (<http://www.europarl.europa.eu>). It has launched in 2009 at the EU Prague Summit, The eastern partnership supports and encourages reforms in the EaP countries for the benefit of their citizens.

Ukraine was supposed to sign an Association and Free Trade Agreement with EU at the Eastern Partnership summit held in Vilnius on 28-29, 2013. But the then Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich postponed the signing of the Association and Free Trade Agreement with EU and accepted Russia's offer of 15 billion dollars of assistance, discount in energy and increased access to Russian market (Maigre 2009). Marat Gelman a political technologist tweeted that maidan installation sold for 15 billion- most expensive art object ever. An object, moreover, that had been brought by a discerning Russian collector (Putin) - a reference to Russia's attempt to offer an alternative deal to the EU (Wilson 2014: 74). Yanukovich's decision to develop close relation with Russia infuriated pro-western Ukrainians and they started Maidan protest.

The Maidan protest led to the overthrow of Yanukovich from power on February 2014 through undemocratic means. Maidan protest was viewed in the western media as a demonstration for democracy and anti-corruption. Russia's action unleashed severe criticism in the west and they imposed sanctions on Russia, which still continues (Zawada 2015). The whole Maidan movement was artificial and western sponsored; it has actually sold by the pro European. Ukraine has faced serious divide between the civilian known as pro Russian and pro Europe supporters. Pro-Russians are situated in south and eastern part of Ukraine. Pro-westerns situated in eastern parts of Ukraine. Pro-Russians of Crimea try to align with Russia. Thereafter, the pro-Russian part

of Ukraine started showing centrifugal tendencies. They held a referendum to rejoin to the Russia. On March 16 Crimea joined to Russia. When Crimea reunited with Russia in March 2014, the crisis assumed the nature of a proxy war between the West and Russia (Bebler 2015).

The incorporation of Crimea into the Ukraine crisis is portrayed in the Baltic media as an attempt by Russia to gain a larger attention from a wide range of audience. The newspaper reports on the Ukraine crisis says that the heavily armed troops entered Crimea were masked and not wearing any insignia and refused to identify themselves as Russian forces, and these reports led to further confusions. The western reporters did not name them as neither Russians, nor Ukrainians and they started addressing these armed troops as 'green man' in their reports.. The heavily armed, masked men began storming and taking over government building in Donetsk at the same time as the little green men taken over in Crimea (Dyczok, 2015: 201). Noam Chomsky argues that Putin's annexation of the Crimea is a break in the order that America and its allies have come to rely on since the end of the cold war, namely, one in which major power only intervene militarily when they have an international consensus on their side, or failing that when they're not crossing a rival power's red line (*In These Time* 2014).

Then eastern Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts were insist by the separatists and contested an election to create a Donetsk and Luhanskpeples's republic (DNR and LNR, Donetskaya Narodnaya Republika and Luhanskaya Narodnaya Republika) (Spaulding 2015). Currently, Petro Poroshenko is the President and the Ukraine crisis still continues, yet the Eastern Ukraine does not recognize the neo-Nazi supported government. Thereafter, insurgency took place in Donetsk and Lugansk had to seek a people's republic of Donetsk and Lugansk. A trilateral group consists of Russia, Ukraine and OSCE started negotiating about the unrest of Ukraine. The Minsk proposal was signed in 5 of February 2014. International community insists Ukraine government to implement the Minsk Peace Proposal agreed in February 2015 (Bentzen and Anosovs 2015).

Then MH17 Malaysian Airline crash in the borderline of Russia and Ukraine military prone area lead another international interference in those regions. Russia calls for ending the crisis through dialogue and diplomacy (Giles 2016). After the incident of shooting down of Malaysian airline, EU imposes sanctions over Russia on energy, defence and financial sector. EU views eastern partnership can be instrumental in bringing solutions to the problems between the two over trade barriers (Larrabee and Wilson 2015). The Malaysian airline flight 17 crash in the Ukraine territory led to another situation. The popular notion regarding this incident is that, Russia has send military aid and weapons to eastern Ukraine separatists. The western response to the Ukraine crisis have four main factors; they decided from the beginning not to defend Ukraine militarily; diplomatic method to impose a broad range of sanctions against Russia; diplomatic arrangement to convince Russia to change course; support for Ukraine in order to increase its resilience under the Russian attack (Speck 2016).

Beginning from 2004, Orange Revolution in Ukraine has coincidence with the launch EU's European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). Zbigniew Brzezinski argued that it was based on a category mistake: its goal was not to change countries like Ukraine, but to change Russia, by civilizing the whole region from a distance – and transforming the periphery would not be possible without changing Russia (Wilson 2014). Transforming Ukraine cannot possible without understanding ethnic cleavage, it's nothing to do with the external forces which would insists for the change of Ukraine or Russia because the people and their perception should change.

When Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia became member of EU, it is necessary to redefine their foreign policy. Eastern Partnership policy was a major foreign policy doctrine of Baltic states. The earlier conception of ENP was to reinforce relations with neighbouring countries of eastern and southern Europe, in order to promote prosperity, stability and security at its borders (Kesa 2011). This was not fulfilling their hope for the special attention of



eastern neighbourhood. Then Lithuania and Poland took initiatives to enlarge the policy of EU's eastern neighbourhood (Kesa 2011).

The expansion of EU is a necessity, because of the issues faced by the post-Soviet states in the Baltic region, majorly the identity crisis. The Baltic states treated as the 'other' by western European countries of EU. And the powerful members of EU who are more capable than the Baltic states in decision making, and this give them an inferior status in the EU... The argument which has made by Katrina Kesa is that Latvia and Lithuania is continue to be considered as a part of the post soviet region by the outside world. It is this feeling gave them an inferiority complex and consequently the need to prove to others that they are just as European as any western European country. Through the European eastern neighbourhood policy EU assist them to find a place in international community (Kesa 2011). In Lithuania and Latvia politicians are conscious that for a new eastern European country, it will not possible to withdraw economic and political alliances from the post-soviet if they are not offered further inclusion or membership in the EU and NATO (Lejins 1999).

Latvia and Lithuania seem to continue to see themselves as vulnerable and inferior part of Europe. 'Baltic states are Europeans yet not fully (Tulmets 2012). This sort of perception leads these states to take stand of a main propagator and aspirant of Europeanization. According to Latvia and Lithuania it is impossible to be a part of two contradictory organisations - the CIS and the EU/NATO at the same time: any real possibility for these eastern countries to coherent with Russian politics was difficult. If they want to enter the EU at the same time either they move towards the west or they move towards east (Kesa 2011). When the Baltic states gain the sovereign territory they choose alliance with Europe and distance from Russia. The people who are in political power today in Baltic states are pro-European elites. They are the representative of middle class democracy. In the Soviet Union a middle

class was absent in the society, therefore, the middle class in Baltic states felt that they could not flourish under Soviet rule (Ekiert and Foa 2011).

One of the official statements made by the Lithuanian president Valdas Adamkus was that ‘the only option to prevent similar act of aggression and occupation of Georgia in the future is to give NATO membership Action Plan’ (Kesa 2011). Through this statement we can understand that Lithuania become a propaganda state for NATO expansion. It is not rise out of security threat but because of historical hatred towards Russia and the strong desire to be known as a true European. Lithuania’s assistance for EU policies carries a more normative and value discourse oriented line. Latvian assistance and its support to eastern policy like a pragmatic and objective of foreign policy as to strengthen cross road cooperation and economic tie. Lithuania wanted to be regional centre player in that neighbourhood. The Lithuania presidency in EU council has given the centre priority to the eastern partnership because this provide international attention and upgrade them to be a regional player (Vandecasteele 2014). Baltic states response or reaction linked with the conception of what Europe thinks about the Ukraine crisis in the terms of relation with Russia (McMahon 2014). Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have a strong sympathy with Ukraine because the whole event went through at the time when the Baltic states holding significant positions in EU.

Estonian policy towards Russian conflict with Ukraine underwent into various elements. Firstly, for Estonia the scope of crisis is related to beyond boundaries of Ukraine to the security of the Baltic region. Secondly, a domestic political dimension was added to the Ukraine crisis in the Estonian context, as a government – orchestrated shift of leadership and power-sharing in the ruling coalition led to a change of government. Another factor shaping Estonia’s response to the Ukraine crisis is the pursuit of a value based foreign policy that includes support for democracy, a market economy, and the rule of law. Finally Ukraine is important for Estonia as country included into EU’s eastern partnership policy. Estonia has identified the eastern partnership as one

of its foreign policy priorities and directs half of its development assistance to the partner countries (Schneider and Cheung 2011). Estonian perception of Ukraine crisis beyond their security issue, it is simply known as Russophobia. They refuse to join CIS, but they prefer to join EU and NATO, yet then Russia never been rise threat to Estonia. They are not scared just because of the ethnic Russian minority community, but they are incapable to counter Russia at any cost (Petro 2015).

The Parliament of Estonia has declared a statement in support of sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine (URL: <http://www.riigikogu.ee/>). Estonia's first official reaction to the over the Ukraine crisis was during the bloodiest days of clashes of the Euromaidan protests on February 18-20, 2014, The president of Estonia issued a statement insisting that violent confrontation in Kyiv had to stop and that government and opposition should start a political dialogue (Maigre 2015). At the extraordinary meeting of EU heads of state and government in Brussels on March 6, 2014, Prime Minister Andrus Anisp stressed the importance of stopping Russia's aggression and of helping Ukraine in every way (Maigre 2012: 13). Estonian response can be categorised in terms of soft power. This lead to a great game play with the major power blocks to establish soft power escalation over Ukraine crisis.

The majority of Estonian news agencies blame Russia for the ongoing conflict nevertheless, to assume that Estonia only covers the Ukrainian side and perspectives are adamantly wrong. Estonian speaking media has been extremely fair in giving space to the both sides in its news making process (Schneider and Cheung, 2011). The media narrations from both the sides are contradictory and on the basis of these narrations public opinion on the Ukrain crisis is created.

On 12 December 2014 the Prime Minister Taavi Roivas of Estonia express that Russia's aggression in Ukraine is a problem that requires more attention from the United Nations (UN) when the meeting of deputy Secretary-General

of the United Nation held (13/12/2014, Republic of Estonia). Estonia and other post-Soviet states are trying to involve international community into Ukraine crisis. The extra ordinary section of EU, Andrus Ansip discussed that Russia has taken no steps towards restoring the situation in the Crimea and the occupation of the Peninsula by Russian troops continues in spite of the demands of the international community.

Current Estonian foreign policy took a new phase; the priority is given to the Eastern Partnership policy and more attention to the EU accords and international law. Thereby Estonia became the propagator and promoter of the democratic system in the Baltic region. Most of the political activists in the country are belonged to the elite section of the society; they are the representatives of the people. Thus there exists a big bridge between rich and poor in Estonian political system. The policy making process in Estonia is favorable to the elite population in the country. It is their vision to seek a place in the international community. The foreign policy of Estonia is mainly supported by the political elite of Estonia. They wanted to help their neighboring countries not for the sake of those countries but to raise as regional competitor and to improve their standard at international level (Maigre 2015).

The second half of the 2013 Lithuania was holding the power in EU there first priority was to sign the association agreement with Ukraine. Grybaukaite stressed that, war and occupation have become a real threat on the continent of Europe and continued that the direct threat to regional security also highlighted the importance of neighborhood cooperation. Fully aware that the strength of the region is built on unity, together we- Lithuanians, Poles, Latvians and Estonian- assessed the threats to join our efforts to ensure security (Kojala and Luvanauskas 2004). Lithuania arranged for a regional cooperation with neighbors to isolate Russia from the subcontinent. Even identifying the problem of Ukraine as a European itself is critical and complex.

When Latvia rotation of presidency in EU began, it was the peak of the Ukraine crisis. Latvia has maintained sanctions against Russia and suspends the Russian television channels alleging that these propagate hate speech. Further to that Latvian would provide an alternative channel instead of broadcasting Russian channel with the help of EU and United states (Brezina 2015).

In Latvia 30 % of population use Russian language as their primary language and ethnic Russian are not allowed to vote in election, they are having special non-citizen status. The internal divergence among the people is turmoil of Latvia. This is a major cause of socio- political discrimination among the people, Latvia become upset because of their discriminatory treatment of civilians especially those who are ethnic Russians. Crimean incorporation and the information warfare is a purposive non material motto of Latvia to propagate for a new world order. The Latvia was really suspicious the Russia would have interfered in their internal matters regarding the ethnic Russian and Russian speakers (Brezina 2015).

UN Secretary – General Ban Ki- Moon’s travel to Russia and Ukraine to encourage all the parties: to resolve Crimean crisis peacefully (*Baltic Review*, 2014). The Baltic states were initiating an international level discussions over Ukraine, therefore these countries were present at various venues available such as UNO, EU, OSCE, NATO etc. The visit of UN secretary general to Russia and Ukraine explain responsibility of international community for a international interference in those regions.. In a way international community interfere in the affairs of Ukraine.

The EU and Ukraine’s leadership were negotiating a financial assistance worth at least 3 billion Euro but this approach had inherent flaws. The association agreement was about Ukraine’s willingness to transform itself and undertake systemic reforms. Russia could always surpass and financial incentive offered by the EU. Similar financial assistance was not on offer for Georgia and Moldova, or another in the region, which undermined the entire idea of the

eastern partnership and offered an obvious target for Russian propaganda (Vytis Jurkonis 2015). The biggest concern today is further of Ukraine, as its success or failure will largely determine the future of the EU's entire eastern neighborhood (Vytis Jurkonis 2015).

From 2013 onwards Ukraine crisis has become the headline of the international columns of the news portals. Western media narration regarding Ukraine crisis were framed like the struggle between the Russia and Ukraine, east and west Ukraine and police versus protesters at the time of Maidan protest. There are two major notion of thought penetrated through the western media. Firstly was that Ukrainians were making a pro-European choice, were prepare to brave the cold and face riot police to stand up for their European values in central Kiev. The other common frame was that Ukraine was divided between those in the west who wanted to be seen as part of Europe, and in the east who preferred to remain close to Russia (Dyczok 2015: 200). The reports which are available in internationally are confusing.

The NATO cannot ensure the security of Ukraine until and unless they are not a member of NATO. This implies of Ukraine crisis is a wide concern of security and foreign policy. The Ukraine crisis becomes a platform for a renovation of new international order. A dominant narrative is that NATO and EU enlargement towards the post-soviet states was the cause of the 2008 Georgia - Russia war and now the Ukraine crisis. Russia was blamed for the break out of Ukraine crisis and alleged that Russia is helping Eastern Ukrainians militarily. Russia denied all such allegations (Mearsheimer 2014).

The description of response of western to Ukraine crisis is categorically targeting Russia. A dominant narrative depicts Russia is an aggressor and western powers are peacemakers for the world order. These factors are heavily reflecting the anti-Russian attitude. The military option of Ukraine was off because USA and Germany are reluctant to send forces. On 27 June 2014 Ukraine signed the EU association agreement nevertheless the objection of Russia. The study is based on theoretical framework on media representation

to analyse the global and Baltic coverage of Ukraine crisis negative depiction of Russia and her leadership and the formation of global public opinion.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Mass media plays a significant role in politics. Media propagate and formulate public opinion regarding the matters related to social, economic and political realm. It helps the discourse of international political communications through the news portals. Ukraine crisis has become a sensational topic of all the international pages of news portals. Baltic states deals the Ukraine crisis as their major security problem. There are several stories regarding Russia's aggressive behaviour. Firstly Russia hijacked the broadcasting sector of Crimea and composes and propagates the pro-Russian propaganda. Secondly, RT TV channel has become the major contributor of the anti-Ukraine and anti-western sentiments to create a pro-Russian stand in Ukraine (Kudors 2016). They are suspicious that it may cause separatist tendency within the Baltic states.

### **Media Representation, Communication and Public Opinion**

In the context of media representation, the representation may write in words and images, songs, or any other program of communication. Media representation works with the audience, representation of events or issues can interpret in diverse ways and they may prefer to understand the way in which it represents. Repeated elements will help the representation deeper, stronger and easier way to convey the matter of media. Professor Julie d Acci says that there are four important elements to thought about the representation of media; production, reception, media landscape and the social historical context (Shaw 2010). Representation refers to the process of re-presenting the events and reality, this process construct signs and symbols which constitute a culture to produce meaning of the visual of the description which is come across in the news reports (Howarth 2011).

Representation mediates in between the language and the image construction. Media construct a reality which is a new reality not a reality itself which may

be something divorced from the new reality. Representation becomes meaningless when the person cannot be able to see, hear or otherwise perceive them, until they interpret them in their own ways, until they consume them and subsequently employ them in other context. Representation is the process by which the media present the “real world” (Rayner). The representation has different dimensions; the selection of representation is relevant in the media. What to choose and what to reject is the relevant aspect of the media representation. The rejected aspect of media representation can be selective identity groups or excluded aspect of the reality by the decision of authority. Representation is unavoidably selective, foregrounding some things from the background. Representation becomes meaningful to the viewers when it gains the shared recognition of people, situations, ideas etc. All representations therefore have ideologies behind them. Certain paradigms are encoded into texts and others are left out in order to give a preferred representation (Levi-Strauss, 1958). Representation is mediating with the reality to reproduce the events or reports in front of the audience. Representation of media is an integral part of the mass communication system. The basic function of media representation is to communicate and mediate with the audiences.

The study of media representation brings together these two meanings: it centres on analysing representations as texts by looking at their textual, auditory, visual and discursive properties, in order to establish a better understanding of the work that they do, that is , the process of producing meaning (Hall 1997). The study of media representation helps to understand re-presentation of reality. Language and signs create meaning through the representation. Media representation produces and reproduces the knowledge, value, belief and conception. Media representation creates meanings to various abstract concepts and objects and there are two approaches to understand the meaning production of signs and images; reflectionist approach and the constructivist approach. Reflectionist approach is an approach which reflects the pre-existing meaning of the reality. The reflectionist believed that it is not simply mirror image of reality rather it is a central to the thinking, discourse



and practice of news. Constructionist approach is depicted or constructs a particular element of reality. It creates a particular meaning of selective groups and excludes some other elements from the reality. We give things meaning by how we represent them. The word we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associated with them, the way we classify and conceptualize them, the value we place on them (Hall1997:3).

According to Foucault the act of representation is producing meaning through text and image- itself transforms power relations and subjectivities and the way we experience and define ourselves. The media representation is interlinked with production and consumption of the reality. The media representation deals the image construction of mind and the interpretation of particular reality (Gamson and Croteau 1992). Context is an important factor of the representation of media.

Studying media representation is the study of interpreting the creation of new forms or way of understanding reality. “Representation refers to the production of any medium of real aspects of people, place, objects, events cultural identities and other abstract concepts. Such representations may be in speech or writing as well as still or moving picture” (Howarth 2011). Media represent a reality but it is a mirror image of reality. Media representation particularizes things, such as a world is narrated and depicted to the audiences. Most of the people’s orientation begins from the media representations. The people’s beliefs and articulation of public opinion is influenced by the representation of media. Richard Dyer raised a few questions regarding the media representation as follows,

- 1, what sense of the world is it making?
- 2, what does it imply? Is it typical of the world or deviant?
- 3, who is speaking to? For whom? To whom?

4, what does it represent to us and why? How do we respond to the representation? ( Dyer 1983).

Louis Althusser looked at the way audiences were 'hailed' in a process known as interpretation. This idea is the social /ideological practice of misrecognising yourself based on a false consciousness mediated by media representations. In a media saturated world, the distinction between reality and media representations becomes blurred or invisible to us (McDougall 2009). Daniel Strinati said that "reality is now only definable in terms of the reflections of the mirror" (Daniel Strinati 1995). Merrin argues that "the media do not reflect and represent the reality of the public but instead produce it, employing this simulation to justify their own continuity existence" (Merrin 2005). Media supports an ideology, which represent and impacted to the audience. The dominant ideology of a society is intruded through the media. Therefore, the audience do have information regarding dominant states discourses (Merrin 2005).

Mass media have powerful influences over the creation of public opinion and the public attitude. The people construct public opinion on the basis of the media depictions. Louw writes: "these public do not involve actual human interaction or communication between those incorporated into these 'public', the members of these publics do not know each other, or communicate with each other. They will never know each other, or communicate with each other yet public opinion can be 'brought together' by the mass media and can even be 'guided' to carry out the same action. Such public and public opinion are the ultimate artificial hyper construct. These public have no real 'presence' because they are assembled in either of 'media representations'. One cannot find 'public', because it does not exists but one can find 'public opinion' by constructing it as an intellectual exercise (Louw 2010). The general conception is that public opinion as an aggregation of individual view (Rosalee 2013).

According to Noelle Neumann public opinion consists of and modes of behaviour in value-laden areas which can be publicly expressed or demonstrated with the expectation that they will meet with approval or that there is no danger of thereby isolating oneself (Neumann 1989). The phrase “voice of the people” can begin from the general notion of public opinion (Rosalee 2013). The voice of the people is representing in the media. William Gamson said that there are two principles to understand; primarily any evaluation of media influence on public opinion depends upon where public opinion is located and how it is defined. Secondly the lessons of variety of approaches to media influence suggest both the hegemonic power of media and limits of that power. The critical question for those interested in media or politics is to describe, as precisely as possible the nature of this relationship (Gamson 1992).

Public opinion is not a fact of nature that could be found somewhere unattended, nor is it a tangible artefact that could be manufactured and photographed declaring it not to exist. The public opinion is an abstract concept. It consists of the views of the people. The origin and the articulation of opinion share the role and significance of mass media. The narratives of the media represent certain ideological views it constitute a general opinion. The issues which are common or general to the people are cause to the discourse of the origin of public opinion (Bourdieu 1979). Media representation has a big role in initiating political discourses. A plurality of media representation causes diverse public opinions.

By “public sphere” we mean first of all a domain of our social life in which such a thing as public opinion can be formed Access to the public sphere is open in principle to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere is constituted in every conversation in which private persons come together to form a public. When a public is large, this kind of communication requires certain means of dissemination and influence; today newspapers and periodicals, radio and television are the media of the public sphere” ( Habermas 1991).

## **Stereotyping**

Stereotype representation is the major variable in analysis of media representation. Stereotyping the reality is a major critic of media representation. Stereotyping works to maintain symbolic order, it sets up a symbolic frontier between the normal and the deviant, the normal and pathological, the acceptable and the unacceptable, what belongs and what does not or is other between insiders and outsiders, us and them (Hall 1997).

Repeated narration of some signs, visuals or images resembles a meaning. The word stereotype traced back to the printing trade traditions. Stereotyping becomes an inseparable part in media representation. The representations of stereotype images will contest with the non stereotype aspect of media representation. The unequal representation images, words, issues are part of the stereotyping (Kay 2015).

Ferdinand de Saussure is the main profunder of semiotics, he talks about the language is a system of signs, there are two elements signifier and signified to make sign. The signifier is correlated to the signified, it can be a word or image and the signifier is the mental creation of the concept. The signifier triggers off the signified in our head (Hall 1997). Saussure argued that 'are members of system and are defined in relation to other members of that system', this seems more salient in the globalised age media representation (Orgad 2012).

Hall states that representation of differences is necessary both for the construction of identity and the production of meaning. Stereotype limits the scope of meaning production. It tries to eliminate a section of people from the reality and reinforces the existing conception of reality, which not to be a real representation of the people. Foucault suggests that producing meaning through text and image itself transforms power relations and subjectivities and the way we experience and define ourselves (Orgad 2014). In short, that representation is constitutive of power. Media ensure a kind of power in political relations. Power is interchangeably related to media. Media has the

power to look upon the activities of societies, then the media seek to make public discussions and help to make political decisions (Orgad 2014).

Lippmann said that stereotypes are “mental maps” that allow us to navigate successfully the world of politics, a world altogether too big, too complex and too fleeting for direct acquaintance (Lippmann 1922: 16). Stereotypes are regarded as categories and stereotyping as one ordinary manifestation of the ubiquitous human process of categorization (Fiske 1998). Perspective and political limitations of the media in any given society are based on cultural orientations (Altheide 1985). The media do negotiate with the culture for the process of constructing national image.

Content diversity and structural diversity are the major components of the media pluralism. It is an important concept to examine the motives and significance of media. Pluralist media culture incorporates different sources of information and opinion to the citizen. It provides different kinds of views over different issues. In a way, who has owned the media and the commercial interests of the news market define the plurality of media. The formulation of various types of public opinion has two sides, one is to formulate a critical analysis of issues, and another is to strengthen the democracy. The content and what they represent through the media is representing a particular set of people or not are matters in plurality of media. Some media devoted towards particular ideologies, because the aim of the founder and the origin of particular media to encroach the ideology and to protect the interest of particular people. Mass media is closely connected with our day to day life. Mass media is interacting with a large amount of spectators.

Print media, electronic media and new age media are traditionally belong to the category of mass media. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer coined the phrase ‘the culture industry’ in referring to the collective operations of the media (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972). Mass media is an important and influential means of communication, diffusing information, advertising, and marketing. In a sense mass media expressing and sharing views, opinions and

ideas. According to Wilbur Schramm, “a mass medium is essentially a working group organized around some device for circulating the same message or about same time, to a large number of people” (1960: 62). Mass communication does mediate with the spectators. The spectators can access the mass communication at any time, there does not have any boundaries. A world wide canvas is the scope of mass communication. The deportation of information and knowledge is major function of the mass communication.

International communications has been defined as the “communication that occurs across international borders, that is over the borders, that is over the borders of nation state” (Fortnes 1993: 6). According to Mcphail, international communication is “the cultural, economic, political, social and technological analysis of communication patterns and effects across between nation states” (2002: 2). Stevenson (1994) argued that, the use of global instead of international’ signifies a trend in international communication, to focus on the role of culture in the production and consumption of media messages.

Media represent the real world surrounded by us, but it is not a reality. Media representation is based on the process of Production and reception. Media representation will help to understand our own perspective to shape, see and understand the world. Representations do make emotional engagements and attachments with the audiences.

### **Research Design**

The representation of Russia in the Baltic media over Ukraine is an under researched subject. Very few studies are available in the literature. Therefore, it is significant considering the big power geopolitics in the region, Baltic security dilemma, and Baltic perception about Russia (Russophobia). Since Baltic States, especially Estonia and Latvia have considerable number of Russian speakers as national minority, and Russia is the major supplier of gas and other energy resources, and economic trade partner the Baltic States fear a potential aggression by Russia. In order to form public opinion on Baltic media plays a predominant role. Baltic States as followers of democracy claim

media freedom. However, in regard to Baltic media mainly reflect representing negative images. The scope of the study is to 2014 period.

### **Research Questions**

The study tries to answer the following pertinent questions.

1. What is the role of Baltic states in Ukraine crisis and what is the role of media in constructing public opinion over Ukrainian crisis?
2. What are images that mediated discourse in the Baltic construct and interacts about Russia?
3. Why do the Baltic media represent Russia predominantly in a negative way in the Ukraine crisis?
4. What are the implications of negative representation of Russia in the Baltic media?

### **Hypotheses**

1. Baltic media uses different means of communications such as official statement, propaganda reports, persistent discourse in shaping and propagating about Russia's policy towards Ukraine crisis of 2014.
2. Baltic media representation of Russia over Ukraine crisis reflects the influence of politics of identity, memory and history, and supports national interest, national security and foreign policy of state by mediating a pro-western discourse of Ukraine crisis in international politics.

### **Research Methodology**

The study follows an interdisciplinary approach. It employs the methodology of content analysis and discourse analysis. Media uses news, characters, editorials, propaganda materials to construct mediated discourses. The study basically use online newspapers such as Postimees, Delfi, Baltic Times, Baltic Review, Baltic Course, Baltic News Network, etc for collecting media reports, articles, editorials to analyse the image construction on Russia. Government media policies, national interest,

foreign policy, media control, freedom and censorship, politics of media, media manipulations and political persuasion are useful analytical tools for this study of international communication. The study will be based on primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include official policy documents, online newspapers, government website, and speeches of presidents, ministers, etc available in English and English translations of Russian and Baltic languages. The secondary sources are books, journals, articles, periodicals and internet sources.

### **Structure of the Study**

The study is structured into five chapters. The first chapter formulates a theoretical framework to analyse the representation of Russia in the Baltic media over Ukraine crisis. A discussion of the origin of Ukraine crisis is given at the background as research context. The second chapter discusses the transformation of Baltic media environment in the post-Soviet era and the media policy of state. The third chapter is about the old persisting memories of pro-European elites and examines the impact of identity and memory politics in Baltic states. The fourth chapter discusses the representation of Russia over Ukraine crisis and its implications for Baltic states' policy towards Ukraine crisis. The concluding chapter five presents the summary and conclusions of the study and states the validity of hypotheses.



## **Chapter 2**

### **State and Transformation of Media Environment in Baltic States**

This chapter attempts to discuss the transformation of media environment in Baltic states and state media policy. Baltic states are undergoing multiple transitions and transformations after independence from Soviet Union. The Baltic states are transforming their political system from authoritarian system to liberal democracy, economy from command planned economy to a market economy, the media from a state controlled institution to a liberal independent one. The state policy and the media transformation were closely associated with the understanding of history and social role of language and intellectual life. Under Soviet occupation Baltic states did not have media freedom as the media in the Soviet Union was fully state controlled. But independence in 1991 provides them opportunity to transform the media into a free and liberal democratic institution. The media transition in Baltic states is influenced by interactive technological innovations, political breakthrough, intrusion of commercialized and liberalized media environment, and socio-cultural transition of the people in Baltic states. The influence of European civilization is a component in media transformation. A media landscape emerged with diversification and freedom in the new system.

James Curran argue that one cannot understand news media without understanding the nature of the state, the system of political parties, the pattern of relations between economic and political interests and development of the civil society, among the other elements of social structure (Hallin and Mancini 2004). Lithuania declared independence in 1990 and Latvia and Estonia in 1991. The Baltic states are multi-ethnic and multi-cultural entity, which cause the availability of native language and Russian news portals in Baltic states.

Media is a major institution explores the right called freedom of speech and expression. Political system in the country has shaped the communication

system as the main determinant of relationship (Weischenberg, 1992: 86) with regard to the political system, general arrangement of the economic life affects the communication system (Isik 2002: 11). Media plays significant role in a political system. Media is an important ingredient to construct culture and it is influenced to shape and formulate public opinion in civil society. Transition from print media to online media communication is reshaped the easy accessible information. The constitutions of the three Baltic states provides right to information assurance to the individuals. The media represents a group of political elite to spread information among the people. The representation of particular section has delimited the reality of news. Media can help people to construct public opinion and views about domestic and world affairs.

The political ideology of the ruling government reflects in the media. The discussions regarding various problems of state and people are debated in the media. Media become a mirror image of the society. Media make a public sphere to be politically aware. In the globalized world media is the seller of information. Commercialization of news has effect of liberalized and privatized economy. Baltic states has a different history of state and media relations compared to other post-Soviet states. In order to understand the current transformation of Baltic media environment it is necessary to have a historical perspective.

### **Baltic Media under Soviet Media System**

Baltic states prior to be incorporated in to the Soviet Union had experienced the emergence of independent media during the period of first awakening and the interwar period. The development of media in Baltic states could be traced back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is related to the historical legacy, the intellectual life and national awakening. The first newspaper of Estonia, *Tartu maa rahwa Naddali Leht* (Tartu Countrymen's Weekly) was published in 1806. and the first commercial newspaper *Eesti Postimees* (Estonian postman) was published in 1864 by Johansenn. In the 1820s *Latviesu avizes* (The Latvian Newspaper) began to appear. Around 1901 Lithuanians in Vilnius published *Gazietu Lietuviska* (The Lithuanian Newspaper) (O'connor 2003). With this a

tradition of journalism had begun during the period of first national awakening although the development of press was interrupted by First World War.

When the Baltic countries established independent statehood after the First World War, the state was liberal towards press. The Law of Publishing and Constitution regulated the media. The democratic phase of Baltic countries ended up in dictatorship, media freedom was restricted and contents were censored. By 1940 the Second World War interrupted media development (Diaz 2008). After the Second World War they were incorporated into Soviet Union under the provisions of Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939. Thereafter, Soviet ideology, norms and laws were imposed on them. They were forced to follow the Soviet media regulations and practices. In order to understand the post-Soviet Baltic media transformation it is important to have a historical perspective about the Soviet media system and role of Baltic media in it.

Peter Kenez (1985) defines the Soviet Union as a “propaganda state”, calls the Soviet press a blood-circulation system of the body politics. Media was a political tool of the Soviet Union. The Soviet media theory originated from the basic postulates of Marx and Engels. For them the media in socialist society has under control of the working class. Soviet state envisages a state of classless society. The term freedom is significant to understand in the context of Soviet media theory. Freedom of Soviet means freedom from the oppression of upper and middle class. The primary principle of media is that media should not be privately owned. The media should serve the interest of the working class and also control by them. They advocate the objective view of society.

According to the Soviet system of communication the fourth estate is to watch and report on and critic the first three. Soviet media and other mass media formed the normative framework of a new media theory in this process by organizing based on the Marxist doctrine and in accordance with the fundamental principles developed by Lenin (Kaya 1985). Schranm (1956) explains that mass communication is considered as the tool of the state in the

theory of Soviet media. Media do not have integrity of its own. Media integrity, as such it is that of the state. They are kept instruments, and humbly and nimbly the gyrations of the party line and the state directives. Mass communication is integrated with other instruments of the state, such as schools, the police, and even assemblies as instruments protecting the communist philosophy. They propagate messages through the media. The consistent views of issues come across in the soviet period media was deeply rooted communist socialist ideologies. Lenin said that newspaper should be “collective propagandist, collective agitator...collective organizer” (quoted in Biagi 2007: 344).

On 22 April 1921 *Pravda* was issued as the first newspaper. It was a newspaper of working class founded under the instruction of Lenin, on the initiative of Stalin, Olminsky and Poletayev. It was a daily newspaper of Bolsheviks to strengthen and to influence the working class. *Pravda* do publish letters of the workers. They describe the savage and inhuman treatment of capitalist. *Pravda* has drawn the attention of the class-conscious workers to the widespread and burning discontent in the countryside (Kamgar Prakashan 1952).

Communist party and state authorities were the important censorship authorities. Censorship is the counter part of the freedom of information. In a sense censorship is a legitimate control of mass information freedom by a government. It is a legal qualification of a government to protect their political interest. Censoring of free production and distribution of mass information and books were severe in the Soviet period.

But journalists, especially in the Baltic Soviet republics, kept professional aspirations to avoid propaganda journalism and to discuss issues important to their audiences. An old journalist recalls in his memoirs:

We made an abrupt change in our newspaper and introduced a policy of following the readers’ interests and not these of the authorities. This ‘heresy’ did not, however, extend to a mutiny against the almighty

totalitarian system. We were inspired by the natural aspiration of a professional journalist to make a good newspaper that people read, value and like (quoted in Lauk and Kreegipuu 2010: 169)

This reflects the Soviet control over the press and censoring materials for publication. In Soviet period political party and state controlled media was there in the Baltic States.

The journalistic discourse in Baltic states was mainly ideological during the Soviet era. Lauk and Kreegipuu distinguish three stages in the development and use of the Soviet ideological discourse in the Estonian (Baltic) media:

1. Adaption and introduction of the new Communist political vocabulary and rhetoric in 1940 and from 1944 to the late 1950s;
2. Emergence and development of an alternative, formally apolitical discourse, used alongside the ideological one. In the 1960s, a new generation of journalists, publicists and authors challenged the constraints of the official ideology, and started to use metaphorical language, allegories and allusions;
3. In the late 1980s, when the control and ideological oppression eased, it became unnecessary to hide messages between the lines (Lauk and Kreegipuu 2010: 174-175).

Until Gorbachev began his perestroika reforms censorship and state control over media remained as strong in Soviet Union. However, in the Soviet Baltic republics attempts to spread alternative political discourses and silent resistance were present, because Baltic states remained different in many aspects under Soviet occupation. But open anti-Soviet criticism was rare in the Baltic. They had compared to other regions in the Soviet Union, more access to alternation information and openness towards west. The ideological orientations of the party leadership and liberal positions taken on various issues reflected in the media. Gorbachev's liberalization reforms provided limited freedom to media. Many social and political issues critically discussed in the media. During the last phase of Soviet era Baltic media began to transform.

Peter Vihalemm observes the role of media in mobilizing independent movement during Gorbachev's glasnost reform period. He states:

The structures of the public sphere that emerged in connection with the massive popular movements in 1988 and 1989 in the Baltic countries were created with the help of the media and functioned through the media. This was facilitated by

journalists who felt themselves involved in revolutionary changes. National media became a network supporting the growing political activity of people. In a two-or three-month period from April to June 1988, rapidly emerging liberation movements used the media for coverage of meetings, publication of manifestos and declarations, and disclosure of the atrocities committed by the Communist regime. The changed nature of the media encouraged people to openly express their views and aspirations, overcoming the "double-thinking." Although the institution of censorship was not formally abolished until September 1990, the policy of glasnost prevented direct interference with the media's activities (Vihalemm 2003: 588).

After independence in 1991, modernization reforms were carried out to create an independent media as an important pillar of democratic state. There are various orientations regarding media in post-communist countries. Idealistic orientation is a post-communist media orientation. Idealistic orientation ensures the right to information and individual participation. It is based on a pluralist media system. Mimetic orientation is one which follows the western media system. Materialist orientation is another media pattern followed by post-communist states. In this system the media explore private ownership and foreign media ownership. Atavistic orientation is a form of orientation give de-monopolizing radio and television (Jakubowicz 2005: 4).

### **Transformation of Media Environment in Baltic States**

After independence in 1991 freedom of speech and expression is a fundamental idea in the nation building process of Baltic states. Media freedom stands as an important in the process of democratization in Baltic states. Media is an instrument of state to delimit the freedom of speech and expression through the conditions and policies of the state. McQuail (2002) points out that the concept of media freedom covers both the degree of freedom enjoyed by the media, access of citizens to media and content the degree of freedom. Media freedom leads to the economic development of the country. According to McQuail (2003) media outlets had own the means of publication; produce, publish and distribute information, ideas or other content; collect and exchange information and; refuse to publish any particular matter. Rozumilowicz (2004) viewed a media structure that is free of intrusion from government, business, or dominant social groups is better capable to

maintain and support the competitive and participative elements that define the concept of democracy and the related process of democratization.

Rozumilowicz (2000) argues that question of who has control media is the critical consideration as to whether media are free and independent; and free and independent media exist within a structure which is effectively de-monopolized of the control of any concentrated social groups or forces and in which access is both equally and effectively guaranteed.

Media in contemporary Baltic states do fall into the commodification of news<sup>1</sup>. It is global trend in the media system. Commercial publicity is more or less involved into the Baltic media. It caused a shift in the entire media system to the political and cultural aspect into the economic aspects. The independent media explore various fields which flourish after the course of globalization. In the current globalized world the media went into the course of commodification of news. It also symbolizes the part and parcel of liberal-market economy. The discourses of commodification and commercialization of news produce homogenization and monopoly. The interest of multinational corporate will be the matter of media discussion. Hallin& Mancini (2003) claimed the former mass audience is evolving into a new audience with personalized interest and the media are re-oriented towards producing news and information as a saleable product.

The Journalism and the journalists is the centre of the media freedom. Interactive technological innovations caused systematic carts in the field of journalism and journalist. The history, culture and political institutions are the factor mainly influenced the evolution of journalism and journalists. Scott (2006) stated that, new news worthiness criteria seems to replace all others, meaning that journalism is no longer seen as just serving the public interest rather, the criterion guiding news selection is profitability.

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<sup>1</sup> The word commodification used in the book “the Baltic media world “edited by Richard Bearug, 2005; it means the action or process of treating something as mere commodity (oxford dictionary).

Media freedom in Baltic states is an evolutionary process. Political, economic and technological changes happen after the break through of 1991 in Baltic states. Foreign investment in Baltic media is an outcome of liberalized economy. Lack of state ownership of media constitutes the media freedom of some people's interest. Political freedom brought about Baltic states in to laissez-faire policy modulations in the system. This encourages more liberal and less regulatory media policies of Baltic states. Freedom of mass information is a practice of media to stable environment of state, policies and laws. Freedom of mass information closely related to the political right. Political parties and other organised associations flourished via freedom of mass information. There was a change in relation between state and the media (Diaz 2008). Robert A Dahl argued that the along with freedom of expression, availability of independence sources of information is one of the criteria of democracy which is needed for enlightened understanding.

### **Media Policies, Journalist Practices and Ownership in Baltic States**

The Media system is a form of non-governmental, institutionalized and self-regulatory system in the Baltic states. Singing revolution is an important historical movement organized by Baltic states, most of the songs sung by the Media in this movement. Journalist and political intellectuals spread their view through media. After independence the new constitution of Lithuania adopted censorship in 1992, Latvia on 1922-1994 and Estonia in 1994. However, article 25 of the Lithuanian constitution declared that everyone has the right to seek and receive information. Article 100 of the Latvian constitution and the Estonian article 34 are ensuring right of the freedom of mass information (Constitution of Latvia 1992; Constitution of Estonia 1992).

The transition of post-communist states to a democratic states hardly impact over the structure of media setup in the Baltic States. The colonial past produce ethnic division between the civilians. The Lithuanian referendum held in 1992 to enshrine a new constitution. According to 1992 constitution article 44 deals with censorship of the mass media shall be prohibited. The state, political parties, political and public organisations, and other institutions or



persons may not monopolise means of communication. Now the media policies changed in the Baltic states. They do not force any legal restriction regarding media, but still practicing censorship over media. They are following liberal democracy which opens the market media policy. Control over books, films, exhibitions, theatre and other forms of informative products is censor by soviet government. After the dissolution of Soviet Union the creation of media system and ownership of media has changed. State owned media shifted into the private ownership of media (Vihalemm 1993).

Technological innovation in the field of mass communication causes a transformation of media landscape. Due to this media fall into a new venture of market. Most of the news portals, TV channel and radio stations gives lots of possibilities for profit accumulations (Paju 2004). However, media's act as a hands of states interests. The media called as the fourth estate in a democratic system. Fourth estate determines the information management in the affairs of public relations. Edmund Burke a British politician coined the term fourth estate. Fourth estate in a democracy will observe and check the actions of states such as executive, legislature, and judiciary, and balance the system. The sources of information to the people are media. The power functioning of media in regards to the news construction of identity and culture. The manipulation of national norms to create intolerable situations is a power play in the field of media and the politics.

Technological innovation and drastic change of global economy influenced the media system. Earlier press play predominant role in the system, but the technological innovations in the field of information communication reduce the role of press in news media. Mass media influenced a day to day life of people, because most of the social discussions are shared through the media. That will be the basic orientation to construct belief of a civilian. Different ethnic population consuming different media's in Baltic states. Media is collaborated with identity politics (Ruklis 2008). There are categorical divisions between the media news market. One kind having limited amount of suppliers, and insufficiency of resources, the another set is purely business

motto. The consumption of print media got lost its priority due to the internet media (online news portals) audiences. Newspaper, radio and television are the sources of mass information.

According to Marju Lauristin (2013) Estonian media and culture has transformed into four major eras. 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards J.V Jannsen started a whole country wise newspaper under the publication of national epic *kalevipoeg*, this made the foundation of era of printed world in Estonia; the second transition taken place in to the period called the era of radio. In 1926 Estonia established the radio broadcasting; another era began in 1958 which is the era of TV; 1990 onwards Estonia face a shift of traditional media into an internet, the era of internet. The tiger-leap project initiated the internet era in Estonia.. The socio-economic and political conditions of the country impact the changes in media. *Postimees* one of the largest daily newspaper in Estonian management owned by a foreign Schibsted group. In 1991 the first mobile cellular network was started, after that on 1992 internet began to operate in Estonian media. On 1995 the first daily newspaper began into online news.

Online media flourished overtime due to its interactive feature, audiences or a receiver does comment over each of the news reported in online. There are four public radio channels and two TV channels under Latvian public service broadcasting. In Latvia three largest dailies were owned by the Swedish media company Tidnings AB Marieberg international. Now the right to information is insufficient to function in Latvia. The individuals and state are detached in terms of power. There is a categorical division between the Latvians and non-Latvians. The information sector trapped into the linguistic division. A section of Latvian people are using Russian information to frame their political views and opinion (Ruklis 2008).

Chapter II Article 4 of the Lithuanian constitution states that unrestricted reception and rebroadcasting of television programmes broadcast from European countries, Members of the European Union and other European

countries which have signed the Council of Europe Convention on Trans frontier Television, shall be guaranteed in the Republic of Lithuania. In Lithuania the inspector of journalist ethics, radio and television commission supervise broad casting sector. The Baltic states has historical, social-economic and cultural influences are impact the media activities towards the social realities. In the period of 1990-1991 one Lithuanian political scientist Krupavicius and Sarkute (2004) said that Lithuanian mass media has experienced a quick process of de-Sovietization. Then a media person called Balcytiene (2006) described after the restoration of independence in the beginning of the Lithuanian media was to eliminate censorship journalists to work under condition of freedom of speech.

Diversity of culture has effect on the media sector in public service. The changing world made the rise of the scope of media in individual's aspirations and anxiety regarding the refecton of opinions in the society. In the online news portals peoples wrote their opinions and suggestions below the news reports in the news portal. This is a social and cultural discourse. However; registrations will not mandatory for internet portals, then the public communication through the internet news portal has impacted differently. This amendment clarifies the legality and authenticity of the internet news portals (Vihalemm 2003).

The scope and the space of internet news portals are vibrant. Latvia electronic mass media law explains the types of electronic mass media in Latvia. However the law describes the types of electronic media divided into purposes of activity, type of distribution and to the area of transmission. There are public, commercial and noncommercial mass media; another type is related to the distribution. They are separated into terrestrial broadcasting, satellite, cable, internet and other electronic mass media; according to the coverage of the media the another section is differentiated in the law of electronic mass media. It differentiated into national, regional and local electronic mass media whose programs are distributed using a terrestrial transmitter (Latvia's Law of Electronic Mass Media 2010).

The law on the provisions of information of the public of Lithuania amended on 6 November 2012. This law describes the procedure for collecting, production, participants and institution regulation. Chapter 2, article 4 of Lithuania information law implies the freedom of information; every person shall have the right to freely express his ideas and convictions and to collect, obtain and disseminate information and ideas. The right to collect, obtain and disseminate information may not be restricted otherwise than under the law where it is necessary to protect the constitutional system, a person's health, honor, dignity, private life and morality. It is not restricted but in a sense it is possible to address by a protection of constitution. Constitution is above everything the facts and legitimate excavation of truth will question the existence of the constitution. The media primarily functioned as a discloser of public information's. It is as well as a public service to the common peoples. There is another article called right to public criticism of the activities of state and municipal institution and agencies and officials. This article clarify two things one is right to criticize the activities of state and the officials and another thing is persecution for the criticism shall be prohibited in Lithuania. Article 10 of the Lithuanian constitution says that prohibition of imposed unlawful restrictions on freedom of information (Constitution of Lithuania 2012).

### **The Role of Media in Baltic states**

Geopolitical configuration of Baltic states open a space to look upon the attractive western civilization. The developed countries, faster growing economy, security dilemma and neo-liberal policies are major factors to determine the Baltic positive approach towards the west. Most of European countries are democratic; they placed a vibrant role to media in the affairs of state. The Baltic states adopt certain principles from the European countries. Now the media system of Baltic is under the sphere of European Union and the Baltic interest in it. Media freedom is guaranteed by the European Union. Western democracies and their professional journalism cultures have

traditionally been associated with high ideals and principles guiding the media's democratic performance (Hallin and Mancini 2004).

Americanization of world media landscape reflects in the Baltic states. The information oriented and politically neutral media setup is a feature of the most democratic system. This is foremost practice in USA. The U.S was once almost alone among industrialized countries in its system of commercial broadcasting; now commercial broadcasting is becoming the norm. The model of information – oriented, political neutral professionalism that has prevailed in the U.S and to a somewhat lesser degree in Britain increasingly dominates the new media worldwide. The personalized, media centered forms of election campaigning, using techniques similar to consumer product marketing that again were pioneered in the U.S., similarly are becoming more and more common in European politics (Hallin and Mancini 2003).

James Curran and Myung-Jin-Park were put forward the 'de-westernizing media studies (2000) in that they proposed the self –abortion and parochialism of much western media theory'. De-westernization is a pattern for the study of media and communication<sup>3</sup>. The de-westernization is a critic of western theory of media. De-westernization of media is not an abandonment of western model of media and theories but in a way to include the non- western countries in it. Most countries have chosen these frameworks irrespective of their peripheral issues.

After the cold war the entire system follow a democratic system but explicitly it a capitalist democratic practice. The geographical position of Baltic states is matter for the total evolution of this system. Geo-political interest of Baltic states are visible in the news portals. According to Dobek- Ostrowska there are four models of media and politics in central and European countries. She said Baltic States are under the model of hybrid liberal media. Liberal corporatism is the fundamental base of the Baltic media policy. Changing the

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<sup>3</sup> De-westernisation refers to internationalization, globalisation, cosmopolitanisation, hybridization, indigenization and post-colonial, subaltern and critical media studies.

ownership of media was the foremost agenda of the Baltic states political transition. Liberal media model transferring information encourage discussion that form public opinion and influence the actions of citizen (Balcytiene 2006).

### **Media and Capitalism in Baltic States**

It is necessary to ask two basic questions to understand Baltic media representation; who owned media? Whom they are representing in media? Is an important question to concern in the context of Baltic states. Whether the answer would be for the state or to the peoples are narrate the role of media in the Baltic states. The Saeima adopted an amendment regarding the require disclosure of mass media owners. Media in Baltic states are highly influenced by the eastern countries. The problem here is that the country which is structured by Soviet Union is adopting an east or western oriented model of media. The applicability of a certain kind of model is always made vulnerable socio-economic and political structure in the system. Most of the independent colonies are following democracy. How to deal democracy is an important matter otherwise it will have a strong connection with capitalism.

Media is a key stone of the democracy. Right to freedom of expression is an important principle of democratic form of government. Media is a vehicle to promote and protect democracy in a system. The western democracies and their professional journalism cultures have traditionally been associated with high ideals and principles guiding the media's democratic performance (Hallin and Mancini 2004). In a sense the western democracy induce an ideal type media model to the world. Transition and adoption are necessary for a regime change but the abortion of an existing practice caused a non-codified regime. These internal aspirations and external influences do demodulate the regime. Western democratic model is an ideal aspiration of Baltic states. The western democracy inspired media to be more liberal. The internal constrains such as feeble professionalism, lack of media accountability and weak public servies are the basic facts in Baltic media. Third wave of democracy is a concept

propounded by Samuel Huntington after the demolition of communist regime this concept got more recognition and practices.

Democracy is a practice gives people to be express their opinion without any fear and control. Media is an integral part of the formulation of public opinion in a democratic form of government. This is also inter-connected with day to day life of the people. According to Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, the world media has divided in to four models such as libertarian, socially responsible, authoritarian and Soviet model. The Soviet model conveys and follows the view of Marx and Lenin, it also articulates the interest of the working class. UK and US print media are example of libertarian or commercial model of media; in social responsible model the media working proactively covering all segments of society. They have certain obligation to build civil society cooperate with state. What the media is writing is very much important in such a model. Media in libertarian model reduce the activity of political gate keeping. It is important to understand that whether media is run by whom for what purposes. If it is a state sponsored the motive has to be the interest of few who rule in the particular system. The form of government and the media has very close relation; one determines the role of another.

Habermas has said that the study role of media in a democracy has to deliver a critical 'sphere' in which the public debate and discuss policy as they continually forge a better society. Hallin and Mancini's propound three models of media; liberal, democratic corporatist and polarized plurality. Media focused on market and commercial activities; this is known as liberal media. Another model is called democratic corporatist; the model which participated with social and political groups. Polarized pluralist model is a model which integrates into party politics. This model has strong hold of state in media activities. Gunther and Mughan (2000) have said the mass media is the connective tissue of democracy. Rozumilowicz observed a media structure should be free of interference from government, business and dominant social groups is better able to maintain, support the competitive and participative

elements that define the concept of democracy and the related process of democratization. Media used the communication as a mean to do marketing.

Daniel c. Hallin and Paolo Mancini (2004) say that political system has a major influence of media system, a key issue is that of political system". In the political setup of Baltic system illustrate the vision of their political system. They are practicing liberal democracy. Lukosiunas (1998) address the Lithuania media system is one may probably say that the first phase of transition – which included the disruption of soviet media system and emergence of the new structure of the media which is capable of integrating western journalistic practices and is ready to be integrated into the structures of western media businesses- is over, and the next stage – who is to find its place and voice in united Europe- has just started. Marketization and commercialization are come up as a renovated post-communist media system. In the contemporary period the study of democracy become a part of the study of media practice. They do study the reports, the interpretation of government statements and political activities of government and political parties, social issues and cultural reciprocities.

### **Political Communication of Baltic media**

Communication is a process which consists of clarity, credibility, content, context, continuity, capability and channels. Political communication is a communication deals with media and the political parties or groups. The media do publicize the ideologies and views of political parties. Those media's has political affiliations and to pries a particular political party. Murdock and Golding (1989) examine the there are three types of relationship between communication and citizenship. Firstly; the core fundamental rights must be freedom of information and expression, secondly; possible range of people access to the broadest information, interpretation and debate in areas that involve political choice, thirdly; they must be able to recognize themselves and their aspirations in the range of representation offered across available media.



Political parallelism is an important attribute propounded by Hallin and Mancini to study of comparing media system.<sup>4</sup> Alfonso De Albuquerque (2013) has argued that political parallelism is based on two basic conditions. (1) The existence of a competitive political system: the concept of political parallelism does not apply in the absence of political cleavages, one's clear enough to be reproduced by the media; (2) The existence of a relationship between the media and political agent stable enough to allow the observers to identify recurrent patterns. The interrelation of media and politics is parochial to understand the pattern of the society. Most of the countries not maintain a good connection with politics and media. Politicization of media and de politicization of media are two major sides of the cotemporary media environment.

In Baltic media online news portals are the reflection of sophisticated liberalism. Delfi and most of the prominent media's have a clear cut geopolitical interest. The same news have analyzed differently in the media is a complicated categorical issue. Internet media easily access narrate news their source of information has several links with political and government affiliations. Internet news portals are easy to seek public opinion. Mass can write their opinion on the online media. It is effortless to modify or reframe the matter in the online media. Online life style of Estonia is promoting the online media to grow. The Baltic media has three fundamental elements which impact the media pluralism; the fairly constructed role of state, the importance of market logics and the weak media accountability. Political pluralism is a feature of Baltic states politics. Role of political party in the media outlet are evolved through the hereditary practices. The political propagandas flow through the media. Still the practice was severe (Albuquerque 2013).

Major internet news portals are Delfi.ee and Postimees.ee in Estonia. Latvia has delfi.lv; Tvnet, Apollo.lv, Politika.lv and Dialogi.lv are online news portals. The Lithuania major online news portals are Delfi.lt, Alfa.lt, Balsas.lt

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<sup>4</sup> Originally the term political parallelism was propounded by Seymour – ure (1974) and Blumler and Gurevitch (1995).

and Bernardinai.lt . The major defect of the online news portal is the value of the news reports got diminished because the ethics of journalism clashed with the ventures of news oriented and entertainment oriented sectors in the media. Geopolitical influences are visible in the political setup of the Baltic states. The inspector of journalist ethics and the ethics commission of journalists and publisher in Lithuania is the model opted from the Swedish press ombudsman and press council. Estonia also has some features from Finnish and Norwegian regulations in the media of Baltic states.

Karol and Sukosd (2008) said that media system cannot change without changing the political systems and political culture called mimetic transplantation. In the course of time the political institutions and political culture modulate the media in certain way. Mass media certainly allow diversity and pluralism in the policy of media. The multicultural and decentralized societies mainly focus on the diverse reports of media and its activities. Media construct certain image and identity to make aware of the people.

### **Media and Foreign Affairs in Baltic states**

The aftermath of cold war as well as beginning of the globalization of communication and technology has changed the possibilities of international relations, drastic changes in various segments has taken place in the same way as the mass media influence over the foreign policy process. These developments displaced old diplomacy's method increasing the diplomatic influence of non-traditional actor such as journalist (Ammon 2001: Kannelopoulos 1995). Press does have a role in formulate opinion and policy. Communication beyond boundary is the major feature of mass communication system. The Mutual interactions and communication between other countries lead the social, cultural and intellectual transformation of people's thoughts. Dayak Thussu (2009) stated that the internationalization of the field can be seen as the third key intervention in the evolution of media studies. Chanan has argues that media is involved in all stages of foreign policy formulation

and that political leaders take the media into consideration in its national and international aspects(Chanan 2001).

Cohen (1963) argued that journalist has frequently worked within the governmental instituted boundaries of foreign policy coverage, and consequently is inclined to support the state policy objectives. According to the Marxist theoretical understanding the press is considered as ‘lapdog’ of the state and the corporate power; it panders to the interests of those in power. The information that it disseminates to the public, therefore, simply reflects its role as mouthpiece for the governing power elite. Thus news coverage of foreign affairs would reflect the interests of both multinational corporations and the government (Luther c 2001).

Media is a key to open the process of regionalization. The matters which deal in news portal help to reinforce the allies with other countries. Media will express their point of view to the world through the media. The media disclose all the internal problems to the world. The media also unfold their suggestion to the world behalf of the state and the people. Media opened the possibilities of new relations and analysis of the issues of world. The Baltic media interest represents the interest of a particular ruling class.

### **Conclusion**

The relationship between the state and media in Baltic states has a dual character. Media as an institution deals with various aspects of the states. The media transition has taken place over period of time. Due to the transition of regime the Baltic government privatized the media sector. These impact the overall functioning of the mass communication.

There are pro Russians and pro Europeans determine the clear ethnic division in the whole realm of the Baltic states. The real fact of Baltic states are they were not accepting the actual reality which is existing in the states. In a sense they have a colonial past and their culture is more or less mixture of Soviet Union. They appreciated western culture which they wanted to adopt and to

follow. But the system becomes more and more vulnerable without solving the ground realities of the states. To whom they are responsible for? Media in a democratic society will end with the answer of people, but in the case of Baltic news portal the chance for this answer is very much less.

The media is owned by private persons, they have commercial desires to fulfill. They do practices favoritism to fulfill certain commercial desire, especially to the government and to the officials. For that they do manipulate or fabricate some of events and do support the interest of some elite classes. Even the politicians themselves start press and online news portals.

The power and legitimacy of media has increased. Materially technological innovations are an important element to the development of media, but through this they ensure their legitimate power to reach people. The intrusion of multinational corporations is very evident after the discovery of more innovative technological methods over various sectors. The government does implementing policies and programs in favor of the corporate. The nature of media is based on the ownership of media. Online media helps the peoples to quick access information. The Baltic states itself plural in nature; this is a passive fact regarding Baltic states. They have a mosaic media culture more closely to the media practice of the European states.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Impact of Identity and Memory Politics in the Baltic States**

This chapter tries to understand the politics of identity and memory, and its impact on media in Baltic states. Identity is a major problem in the Baltic politics in defining the country's political community. The chapter discusses identity narrations of persistent discourse and memory politics of Baltic states. The Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia are having clear ethnic identity divisions among the citizen of each particular states. The ethnic Russians and Russian speakers in Baltic states are defined as the "other". These particular sections of peoples are treated as a minority community and non-citizens. Internally they are treated as threat to survival of the state and externally Russia is treated as a potential enemy. "Return to Europe", therefore, was the orientation of identity in European continent. The post-Soviet identity dilemma and the material, ideational construction of new identity and memory reflect in the media. 'True Europeans' were used as the particular theme to identifying Baltic states as a European states (Kesa 2011).

Since 1991 the Baltic states seek a divergent path to establish a European identity, a long established hatred towards Soviet Union is a prime reason for the Baltic states divergent path (Kramer 2012). These particular sort attitudes of Baltic states follows the Russia to generate a memory narratives provide Russia's representation in the region as an aggressor. The memory narratives of contemporary Baltic states has strong connection with media depictions. The Baltic states media has started using Ukraine crisis as a mean to substantiate Russia's behaviour in a pessimistic way. The online news portals of Baltic states were discussed their perceptions to counters Russia's information warfare. Assertion of full membership in NATO and EU lead the new identity of Baltic states in the international community. Their identity always under a dilemma to decide that whether to a bridge between west and east, a core for the region, or to be remain a periphery (Michalski 2005). Baltic

states assumed that their identity issues which is associated with Russia is consider as a biggest threat of their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

For study of the Baltic states identity can be differentiated between two; internal circle identity and external circle identity (Kesa 2011). The Baltic states aloofness among Russia is a prominent discourse in the international community. According to Laurynas Jonavicius (2013), who applied theories of conventional constructivism and critical geopolitics, membership in the EU and NATO led to the change of the country's "geopolitical identity".

There are factors which influenced the construction of a new identity; it could be ideational and material. Taking this account the EU and the NATO is not a one which provide material identity but also an ideational construction. Baltic states had speculation regarding Russia because a Large Russian speaking communities in Daugavpils (Latvia) and Narva (Estonia) Russia may after Ukraine, pursue to do the same in the Baltic states. In the relations between Russian and Latvian there has been much discussions of the so- called 'memory war' (Malksoo 2006).

### **Politics of Identity, Culture and Collective Memory**

Identity defines "We are what we make of what others have made of us" (Turner 1969). The identity of post-soviet states is inextricability link to the Russian culture and politics. Wendt defines "identities as a relatively stable set of conceptualizations and expectations about self". Identity has created on the basis of history, it evolved through the history. The identity of belonging to a community of Russian speakers has become one of the most important identifier and makers of identity in the Baltic states (Cheskin 2010). The Baltic states has fundamental difference among themselves, Latvian are the only Baltic people who continue to emphasise the common past and future of Baltic states and unity among Baltic unity. Estonia following their Nordic identity, and Lithuanians are underline the central European identity, Latvians do not have any other choice than to prefer the trilateral cooperation (Yurkynas 2005).

Latvia had a strong good approach to known as Baltic states, but Lithuania do not prefer, because of their historical legacy of Grand Duchy of Lithuania and closeness with Poland. The Lithuanian president declaration on 1997 Algirdas Brazauskas: in spite of our differences, the unity between Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia as well as the cooperation between our countries should survive and constitute as one of our priorities. At the same time, this cooperation should not in any case be a close space in which Lithuania locks it; we belong simultaneously to many regions; to the space around the Baltic Sea, to central Europe and to the Baltic States (Yurkynas 2005).

The development of our relations with central Europeans consolidates the historical place of Lithuania in central Europe (Kesa 2011). The full membership in EU, the Eastern partnership policy and the NATO membership reframe a new foreign policy identity. The study of identity and memory politics of the Baltic states traced back independences of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to decide whether to be part of CIS or EU. When they seek membership in EU it clearly elaborates their intension to be known as a part of Europe (Ibid).

The Baltic state views their place in the world, how they build their own identities in relation to this other (Kesa 2011). Since from 2004, the Eastern policy became Baltic States primary goal of foreign policy creating a new identity. The Latvia and Lithuanian foreign policy identities consists of both a first order identity; a political identity(based on dominant political priorities , the political self) and a second order identity; the historical identity (based on memory and narrative of common history) (Kesa 2011) for the sake of saying Baltic states countries are supporters and followers of the Eastern Neighbourhood, it made those countries who are part of these have a helping attitude towards the post-soviet states, to promote rule of law , the democratic value and liberalised economy. This was real soft strategy to create a new European identity.

The Baltic states identity can be studied through how they construct their identity in relation with this other. Miniotaite concluded that “regional leadership approach was used as a narrative to develop and consolidate Lithuania’s new international identity and it was merely a nationalist replica of the EU’s narrative of “Normative Power Europe” (2004). An opinion poll in 2012 revealed that more than a third of Lithuanian fully or partly agreed with the statement “it was better to live during soviet time than now” (Kojala and Zukauskas 2015).

Kesa (2011) argues that the Latvian and Lithuanian foreign policy identities consist of a first order identity, a political identity, the historical identity. Latvia is stuck between two political identity orientations that correspond to the north and south respectively Estonians are keen to assert their Nordic identity and Lithuanians their central European identity-Latvian do not have any other choice than to prefer the trilateral cooperation (Yurkynas 2005).

Kesa (2011) differentiate the identity between ‘external circle of affiliation; the different alliance to which they belong or have belonged before , the internal circles affiliation , which means their cultural and historical identity or how they identify themselves’(2011). Maria Mariksoo has characterised the Baltic states as liminal entities whose belonging to the community is contested and ambiguous as they are ‘Europe but not quite Europe’, being positioned on the borderline between Russia and the west (Malksoo 2009). The Baltic states political priority has transformed into the European modes, it’s consternation about security seek NATO’s permanent presence in Baltic states.

According to Eric Langenbacher (2003-04) memory is an intensification of history, consisting of some facts about the past coupled with ‘thick’ interpretive elements: selection, deeper framing narrativism, value dimensions and lessons. Memory can thus be seen as way of packaging and operationalising shared history” (Langenbacher, 2003). Memories constitute a kind of identity among the peoples to make belongingness. There are



memories which related to a collective or community memory. A community memory is shared a memories of experienced past or a non-experienced imagination, which could be a shared memories of a whole group or a community itself to remember their past to continue with the present. Collective memory in general is a form of memory 'publicly available social facts' (Olick 1999).

Communities of memory will refer to groups of individuals who each possess a unique personal memory but who also share certain memories, experienced as well as non-experienced. The core point of a memory is individual centred. The narratives of memories have a self-perception and also produce an identity formation; more or less it's the politics of memories. The state deals with a kind of memory which has contradiction with other memory of politics. In other words the memory war between pro-Russian and pro Europeans is the diagnosis of Baltic states (Olick 1999).

Identity is memorial depiction but the memories constitute a kind of identity, that identity itself has inclusiveness and exclusiveness within the paradigm. Identity illustrates us and them relations, which come across with the narration of the memories. A memory always depends upon the place, period of time and event narration. Which constantly adding and changing over the re-memorised politics of memory. The narration of history whispered memories of past and leave the scope of future benefits, most of the political memories has significant political connotations and it produce a cultural identity. The memory and identity were mediating each other for politics of identity. Museums are the living monument of memory politics; it is also included the politics of the government. Memory politics is associated with the culture (Bell 2008).

The Baltic states is a mixture of different identities, therefore it has different memories to discuss. Pro Russians represent a group of community who share unique features of memories to continue in favour of Russia. Pro Europeans prefer the Baltic states to follow Europe to rebuilding their identities to relate

with the memories of Europe. In a way the pro-Russian and pro-European would holding a memory to connect with their identity formation and their future desires. The nation, government and church or other institution has memories which signs in the symbol, texts, images, ceremonies and monuments are produce an identity of a particular institution (Osborne 2001). It is a component which constitute evidence of history, has ordering factual relation with the memory of the past experiences. In simple terms Memories transmitted from one generation to another.

According to Susan Sontag “all memory is individual, unreproducible- it dies when each person what is called collective memory is not a remembering but a stipulating: that this is important, that this is a story about hour it happened, with the pictures that lock the story in our minds. Ideologies create substantiating archives of images, representative images, which encapsulate common ideas of significance, and trigger predictable thought, feelings” (Sorensen and Rose 2015). Individual memory refers to a dynamic medium of subjective processing of experiences developed within a ‘milieu of spatial closeness, frequent interaction, common ways of life and shared experience’ (Assmann 2006: 25).

An individual memory is encoding memories with the common language, exchange, shared, corroborated, confirmed, corrected, disputed and even appropriated. However, Baltic states shared memory is an element metaphorically which try to seek a room in the European or in west. Edward said that “collective memory is not an inert and passive thing, but a field of activity in which past events are selected, reconstructed, maintained, modified and endowed with political meaning” (Assmann 2006).

Jan-Wermer Muller offers a definition of memory as structural power, analytically distinguishing between two types of collective memory: the ‘mass individual (personal) memory’ on the one hand, ‘national- collective memory’ on the other”. Individual memory is a recollection of event they lived and experiences in the politically organised state. Muller and others define

“collective, national memory”- the organisational principle, or set of myths, by which national conscious individuals understand the past and its demands on the present” (Synder 2004).

Memories continue like life beyond the life span of an individual, and it will transfer to one generation to another and inclusiveness and exclusiveness of matter of facts from the history are the major features of memory. According to Onken politics of memory is three different type; domestic, bilateral and the international (Onken 2007). Politics of memory is a practice of institutionalised setup can use it as an instrument. The politics of memory ‘often refers to the practice whereby societies rework the past in a wider cultural arena, both during the transitions and after official transitional policies have been implemented and ever forgotten (Barahona de Brito et al 2001).

The domestic and international relations narratives of memory and politics are a significant component to determine the interest of nation states. Foreign policy has mere image of the national interest. Baltic states is practicing democracy and liberal approach towards the international organisations and international law. The foreign policy has evolved under the particular choice of the country. After independence, Baltic states mainly focussed on European integration and to seek support in internal and external troublesome (Barahona de Brito et al 2001).

The geopolitical entrapment of the region by the great powers is visible in the foreign affairs of the states. However foreign policy has very clear linkage with memory. Memory is something which helps the other sovereign nation to keep relations. Use age of Baltic States itself gives an identity of these three states in the international politics. Commemoration days are an important event of the state to maintain domestic politics and the foreign affairs. Memory politics in bilateral relations and domestic memory politics are paradigm in the analysis of politics of state memory. The relationship between the Baltic states and the Russia has two dimensions one is the commonalities of Baltic states and Russia to build their relations in a positive way, another is

the negative impact of the soviet past to make current juncture in a jeopardize and pessimistic perspectives (Barahona de Brito et al 2001).

Baltic states From 1940 – 1991 was occupied by soviet union. It is the first duty of the each state to invite other states representatives in their states as a celebrity. Ojars Kalnins states that “it was hard to interpret the invitation as “offensive” to the Baltic people and their political leadership. It de facto meant being asked to celebrate the invasion, occupation and demographic decimation of their lands by Stalin’s red army and sovietisation policies” (Kalnin 2005:2). Even the foreign diplomatic relations they were discussed and analysed about the domestic memories which prevalent in the territory. Soviet immigrants were totally excluded in the period of 1990s by the Estonia and the Latvia law on citizenship.

The memories are talks about the history, but the institutions or government narrate memory which is helpful for the external and a unique tactics of the institution, it is impossible to say that the institutionalised memory is the collective memory of mass. Institutionalised memory is factual history and to blend with the real politics of the state. Baltic and Russia has a problematic and confusing history among themselves. Malkoos refers to conflicting memory politics in the context of Second World War and the dissolution of Soviet Union. Anthony D. smith; identified identity as an elusive socially constructed and negotiated reality, something that essentially has a different meaning for each individual (Wan & Vanderwerf 2013).

Identity crisis is part and parcel of the political existence of human beings in a community. Ukraine crisis is a crisis of identity; the Baltic media deals in manner to spread the Europe dome. Here “I’m Europe dome” as a term to contextualize the Baltic states enhancement of European union in post-soviet states.it is not a material construction, it is a construction of particular set of ideology to encounter nation states with the obligation and the duties. It is a kind of occupation because of certain terms and conditions which began with an invisible control of a state behaviour. The eastern partnership is a tool for

the appropriation of European dome in a form of institution. The identification of particular community in terms of ethnicity, language and other divisions in the society is prevalent in most of the newly independent state. Hopf define identity as an individual needs her own identity in order to make sense of her and others and needs the identities of others to make sense of them and her (Hopf 2002).

Representation of identity in the foreign policy is the construction though the policies of the state and practice. Baltic state wants to know to be true European nation for that they engaged in the Ukraine crisis and resubmit their routine comments and dialogues with Ukraine and Russia. This is inextricable feature of foreign policy tactic of Baltic states. Identity differentiates otherness among the community which is imagined in the international politics. Foreign policy reflects the identity of each nation. Baltic states has identify the Russia in a pessimistic way. Baltic National identify is the outgrowth of the ideational structure of the states (Berg and Ehin 2009).

History and memory are indispensable component of the narrative framework of the nation identity. Now the Europe becomes common home for the Baltic states after the integration of European Union. The Latvian diplomat in 2006 Armands Gutmanis expressed the belief that the pro-Russian attitudes were becoming fashionable in Latvia and hoped that Russo-phobia would be replaced by more constructive images of Russia as a “neighbouring country”. Russo-phobia is trying to strengthen the anarchy among the Baltic states and the central Asia. Sergei Mikoyan talks about the Russo-phobia is not a myth, not an invention of the red browns, but a real phenomenon of political think tanks in the west... the Yeltsin-Kozyrev’s pro- US giveaway game was approved across the ocean. There is reason to say that the period in question left the west with the illusion that Russia’s role was to serve Washington’s interests and that it would remain such in the future ( Sergei Mikoyan 2006).

The Russophobia is something which creates fear and hatred among the people. Russopobia is an advantage point of the European countries and USA

to the easy intrusion in the domestic matters of these countries, and to determine Baltic states as a game zone for the east and the west. However, the Russophobia is an exaggeration of political elite in the Baltic States. There are lobbies for the demonstration of Russophobia with in the Baltic states. This lobby has valid objectives to control or to delimit the policies and programmes of the Russia. Russo-phobia gives an image to the Russia that it is an enemy state to ready to occupy where ever it has interest (Usha 2015a; 2015b).

Baltic states in a position that were they belonged are a critical as well as problematic question, because their history is full of occupations by other neighbouring states. To define identity of Baltic states is a difficult task to define. Whereas, treatment of Ukraine crisis at regional and international level discussions with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia has converse the exact dimension of the crisis. Ukraine is consists of eastern and southern Ukraine. Ukraine becomes a rivalry spot of both the pro-Russian and pro-European choices have met. The unstable structure of state is the basic cause of the Baltic states. November 2013 the tensions are began in Ukraine. According to the Ukraine constitution Ukraine language is consider as an official language. The Donetsk People's Republic proposed constitution both Russian and Ukrainian are official language (*Komsomolskaya Pravda* 2014).

The current scenario of Ukraine crisis has deep root in history and culture. Discrimination against Russian culture cause Russophone Ukraine's feeling heart. This lead Crimean incorporation to the Baltic states. Language and identity are the main reason to tackle with Ukraine. Ukraine is bilingual and bicultural political system. By the acceptance of Russian language and culture as legitimate aspects of Ukrainian identity, Ukraine could thus ally Russia's concerns, while at the same time neutralising its popular support within the other Ukraine (Petro 2015).

The political conflicts in Ukraine arise when legitimacy of the Russian culture in Ukraine has faced various challenges. The Petro Poroshenko and the Eastern Partnership as an element create challenges to Russophone Ukraine.

The consolidation of Baltic states is a complicated process because the socio-cultural structure. Language is an important element of identity construction. Russian language is prevalent in the Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Language is an important medium of control as well as it also intrude the culture itself. Identity constructs an otherness among the internally as well as externally (Petro 2015).

The identity of Baltic states interconnects with the role of identity and memory in politics. The memories contribute to formation of identity in Baltic state. Identity is a complicated and complex phenomenon to define, because defining identity itself make another identity. Within the system recognition of identity in any terms such as linguistic, ethnic, culture and gender are issues to compensate with the government policies, when it comes beyond the umbrella of the nation unity then the problem is not as identity but as a crisis of peoples. That is happening in the Crimean annexation. Pro Russians unsatisfied with the government of Ukraine. They wanted to assimilate with the Russia. The Baltic geographic location has caused the area to be a zone of contact and conflict between the west and Russia for several centuries (Pabriks and Purszooz).

Identity is a condition to recognise the people in any of their particular existence. Identity has a close connection with culture. The culture frames and give different perceptive to the identity. The people who share common cultural are formed a group, they are represent the cultural identity. Estonia media can understand Ukraine better than many of the counter parts in the west, many of the Estonian journalist and reporter have descent and relatives in Ukraine (Schneider and Cheung 2011).

Place of memory mainly described as the concrete physical memories. Place of memory is relevant to connect with past and present. After independence the newly independent state has mixed with different identities and cultures. The problem has started to address the old Soviet Union good experiences from one side as well as bad experience from another. This includes the pro

Russians in Baltic states and Ukraine. The Culture and language are produced a kind of identity, which signifies and give an image to the states (Schneider and Cheung 2011).

The Baltic news portals have highlighting the Ukraine crisis in an international context not at domestic level understanding. Ukraine is suffering internal disturbance but the involvement of Baltic states and EU larger the issue and not allow to solve at domestic level. The mix culture makes the Ukraine a fragile political system. On 4<sup>th</sup> march 2014 interview of Putin has two demands for Ukraine in that population in the east and south is safe, then they are part of political process (Petro 2014). Baltic state is defining and propagating Russia is a terrorist state.

Memory has a divergent from history, history need the records which is primarily useful to narrate the past. Whereas the memories itself as an authentic experienced version of particular event at a period. Historians play a significant role to write and rewrite the history of memories in different perceptive. The images and text of a particular time is representing a memory, on through that history will narrate. History and memory has a entwine relationship. Place of history in the present is deals with the memories. Identities are part and parcel of the political communities (Petro 2014).

The identification of particular community in terms of ethnicity, language and other divisions in the society is prevalent in most of the newly independent state. Hopf define identity as “an individual needs her own identity in order to make sense of herself and others and needs the identities of others to make sense of them and herself” (Hopf 2002:4). Identity is a implying that what you are represents. Representation of identity in the foreign policy is the construction though the policies of the state and practice. State has to build their identity their own. This is inextricable feature of foreign policy. Identity differentiates otherness among the community which is imagined in the international politics. Foreign policy reflects the identity of each nation. Baltic states has give positive view to the Europe but gives negative view to the



Russia, the development of identity in the larger context of international politics has identify the Russia in a pessimistic way, due to the views of Baltic states regarding their neighbourhood. Identity which identifies and explains in the context of international politics, it has given by others on the basis of observation from their own view (Hopf 2002:4).

National identify is the outgrowth of the ideational structure of the states. History and memory are indispensable component of the narrative framework of the nation identity. Now the Europe becomes common home for the Baltic states after the integration of European Union. The Latvian diplomat in 2006 Armands Gutmanis expressed the belief that the pro-Russian attitudes were becoming fashionable in Latvia and hoped that Russophobia would be replaced by more constructive images of Russia as a “neighbouring country” (Ehin and Berg 2013).

### **Conclusion**

The most of Baltic states agendas are in favour of the ruling class, those who are representing a particular elite political memory. A group of community called political elite who formulate a dominant narration of memory, that jeopardise the political junctures of the people. It is a kind of imposed elite memory to attain a particular hegemony or predominant positions.

Depiction of new identity of the Baltic states is intended for a regional leadership, they pick up the eastern partnership for their mean to an end. The limited resources are the key point that delimits the Baltic states to be inferior in the international community. Political aristocrats are ruling Baltic states definitely the richer and poor gap are visible as like Baltic states and the European union or to NATO. Lithuanian has attitude towards eastern partnership countries through structural frameworks approved in the EU instead of Bilateral or regional strategies of new Europe countries to their eastern neighbours. Internally the Baltic states have friction between ethnic Russians and the ethnic natives of these triple countries.

Internal friction has the chance to be an external friction with Russia. Externally the identity of foreign policy can be an Europeanization of Baltic states rather than the post-soviet states. They refuse to identify as a post-soviet states and define it was an occupation rather they ashamed to reveal that their population strength is very minimal at a time to occupy, it was an incorporation. Since 1991 the Baltic states quest to identify as a European states, they become more opportunist because the political aristocrats of Baltic states are capital motivated rather than the welfare of the people. Baltic states and west allegations against Russia on matter of Ukraine are still burning.

Crimea was incorporated into Russia make the Baltic states into a worrisome, because they fear they will be the next. The Baltic states strategy of EU, NATO and eastern partnership membership means othering Russia from the region and giving an identity of “terrorist state and aggressor” with the help of online news portals. Ukraine crisis become an important instrument to othering Russia from the Eurasian sub-continent. Europeanization not a geopolitical entity but an ideology itself, Baltic states become the promoter and propagator of Europeanization. The identity crisis is the severe in the newly independent countries. Baltic states has a large amount of identity crisis to deal with, due to the Poland , Germany and soviet union legacy the identity still stand as a memory of history. They are rewriting the history of the Baltic states for the purposes to get status quo relation with the European countries.

Change of political situation creates a new remembrance of the past. Baltic states are a centre point of the different identity and the culture. Europeanization is a way of practice of lives, it restructure the minority identity and other domestic differences to consolidate. Balticisation is a terms refers that Baltic states has their own history ,culture and identity to compressed the domestic disparities in terms of ethnic identity, and to spread and develop the Baltic states identity instead of Russian or European. Their cooperation with European Union is incorporation but the structure of incorporation is different from the earlier.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Baltic Media Representation of Russia Over Ukraine**

#### **Crisis and Its Implications**

There was a chain of events happened in the post-Soviet states, still it's continuing. The EU Association Agreement was the stepping stone to the movement called Euro-Maidan protest in Ukraine. It was an agreement between EU, its 28 member countries and Ukraine. The Preamble of the Association Agreement confirming that the European union recognises the Ukraine's European aspiration and welcomes its European choice, including its commitment to building a deep and sustainable democracy and market economy. The EU and the Eastern Partnership countries first political association could be the Association Agreement (AA). The economic recovery and growth governance and sector cooperation in areas such as energy, transport and environment protection, industrial cooperation, social development and protection, equal rights, consumer protection, education, youth and cultural cooperation are the major emphasis of the Association Agreement. The Maidan Movement began on 23 November 2013. The protest had been ended up with overthrowing of President Viktor Yanukovich. The events and crisis could be begun from the statement of Vladimir Putin that Russia's responsibility to defend the welfare of ethnic Russian and Russian language speakers living outside Russia's borders or abroad. This chapter deals with the terms which used the Baltic media to signify the activities of Russia over Ukraine crisis.

The narration and the pictorial representation give a particular image to the state and the situation. The representation of particular images and words construct an identity with the support of persistent memory discourse of the people. The perception which narrated through the media has implications all along. The media propaganda contributes to constitute public opinion among people. This study will helps to understand the Baltic state perspective towards

the Russia in matter of Ukraine crisis. For the purpose of analysing the media propaganda, I used the four major online news portals of Baltic states; Delfi, Postimees, the Baltic News Network and the Baltic Review. Coding five major words mainly aggressor, threat, fear, unrest, provocation, which come across the everyday news of these above mention media's.

On 21<sup>st</sup> November 2013, the mass protest start against the ruling government in Ukraine. It was a reaction against Yanukovich's act of refusal to sign the EU Association Agreement. Certainly Yanukovich accepted the 15 \$ billion Russia's offer instead of Association Agreement of European Union (AA). Most of the scholarly works are of opinion that Viktor Yanukovich had double standards during his tenure regarding pro Russian and pro European alliance. Maidan protest was an agitation rise out of the people's frustration due to the loss of future hopes for economic benefits and opportunities to change Ukraine's standard of living as similar to that of Europe. At domestic level Ukraine had been facing fringe elements of detriments. Since 1945 Ukraine's boundaries are demarcated between pro Europeans and pro Russian territorial compositions has proximity with European sphere of influence as well as with Russia.

Andrew Wilson in his scholarly work mention that when I ask them what the demonstration was about, people cheerily replied "money", when I asked for specific, they said they didn't know, but the bosses will tell us, before the rally (Wilson 2014). The ways in which these protest demonstrations organised itself very clearly show that they are sponsored by the middle class elites of Ukraine. . The demonstrations were commonly used the tag that 'For Europe Ukraine'. The former foreign minister and current president of Ukraine; Petro Poroshenko played a decisive role in the demonstration. Timothy Snyder has argued that the revolution in Ukraine came from left, its enemy was an authoritarian kleptocrat, and its central program was social justice and the rule of law (Wilson 2014). Post- soviet political culture of Ukraine went into rooted in the shocking levels of corruption.

The new media technology had been done a predominant role in Euro Mайдan demonstrations. ‘The Euro Mайдan facebook page garnered 75,000 likes in its first week and had 300,000 by the spring. Twitters @Euromaidan had nearly 100,000 followers’ (Wilson 2014). It was Ukraine middle class who leads the movement, the Ukraine middle class was destroyed by the soviet. Poroshenko’s channel 5, Kolomoisky’s 1+1 and Davyd Zhvaniya’s channel TVi have done maximum coverage to the movement. The Mайдan protesters argue that promise of \$15 billion offer will led the Ukraine to reinforces Custom Union and also Ukraine become more dependent of Russia (Wilson 2014).

On March 18<sup>th</sup> 2014 a referendum incorporates Crimea into Russia. Ethnic Russians are the majority of the population in Crimea. The way in which scholars claim that Russia’s incorporation of Crimea is meant to be known as hybrid warfare. Hybrid war is political tactic among the conventional deterrence and the insurgent strategy. There are four conditions to remark the hybrid warfare; firstly, the local increase of belligerent dominance; secondly, the belligerent seeks to revise the status quo; thirdly, the weak neighbouring state a relatively in so far as the latter lacks a robust civil society and exploitation of local ethnic or linguistic cleavages; fourthly, the belligerent has some ethnic or linguistic ties to weak neighbours (Lanoszka 2016).

Hybrid warfare according to the William Murray and Peter R. Mansoor as a conflict involving a combination of conventional military forces and irregulars (guerrillas, insurgents and terrorist), which could include both state and non-state actors, aimed at achieving a common political purpose (Lanoszka 2016). It was a sudden act, less than two week hardly Russia has taken to incorporate Crimea and it consume minimum amount of bloodshed and lose of lives.

Mearsheimer has argued that “The responsibility for the crisis has to share with United States and its European allies. The taproot of the trouble is NATO enlargement, the central element of a larger strategy to move Ukraine out of Russia’s orbit and integrate it into the west”(Mearsheimer 2014). Russia has a

prominent role in the crisis, the Ukraine still not a member of European Union and NATO. The enlargement policy of both organisations must cause containment of Russia. Putin has states that, Ukraine's democratically elected president, who was pro- Russian illegally overthrown, which he rightly labelled a "coup" was the final straw (Mearsheimer 2014). The Russian deputy foreign minister Alexander Grushkohas said that Georgia's and Ukraine's membership in the alliance is a huge strategic mistake which would have most serious consequences for pan-European security. There was a public talk that Khrushchev gives Crimea as a gift to Ukraine in 1954. After the re-joining of Crimea into the Russia, Putin address a speech of victory- Crimean Tatars return to their homeland. 'I believe we should make all the essential political and legislative decisions to finalise the rehabilitation of Crimean Tatars, restore them in their rights and clear their good name'(Wilson 2014).

Lugansk, Donetsk, Kherson, Nikolayev and Odessa are called Novorossiya (New Russia). The Donbas has described as an engine room of the Soviet Union. Yuriy Andrukhovych first one who expressed the idea that whether Donbas allow to stay with Ukraine or to leave. Putin has claimed that time to time again efforts were made to deprive Russians of their historical memory, even of their language and to subject them to compulsory assimilation. Moreover , Russians, just as other citizens of Ukraine, are suffering from the constant political and crisis that has been rocking the country for 29 years (Wilson 2014). After Yanukovych had been removed from the power, the pro Russian separatist holds the control of Luhansk and Donetsk. For the first time to EU react to Russia's incorporation of Crimea was the method of imposing sanction from 2014 march to July. According to European Union the sanctions which imposed to Russia as follows:

- On 132 persons and companies asset freeze and visa banned
- The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) suspend Russia's preferential economic development loans ;
- A prohibition on trading bonds and equality and related brokering services for products whose maturity period overdoes 30 days with some of Russia's biggest state controlled banks, three Russian energy companies and three Russian defence companies.
- A injunction on loans to five major Russian state owned banks;

- Blocked two – way arms;
- A sanction on exports of so called dual-use items;
- A embargo on exporting certain energy equipment and providing specific energy – related services to Russia’s new, innovative and technology intensive energy project. ( Dreyer and Popescu 2014).

Rouble has fallen into depreciation because of the diminishing rate of oil price. Russia imposed counter sanctions against those who support EU sanctions. On 6<sup>th</sup> August Putin signed for counter sanctions of perishable goods. United States, Norway, Switzerland, Canada, Japan and Australia are imposing sanctions to Russia for the concerned issue of Ukraine crisis. EU extended its sanction till January 2016, Russia have been taking till June 2016. The sanctions which imposed by EU is mainly related to financial market, energy sector and defence industry. On 25<sup>th</sup> may 2014 Petro Poroshenko becomes Ukraine president. According to Karagnov, the increased flow of refugees and infiltration of saboteurs and terrorists will directly threaten the regions bordering on Ukraine and Russia’s sovereignty and security ( Pynnoiemi 2014).

On 17 July 2014 Malaysian airline flight was crash down in eastern Ukraine. There are lots of confusing claims exists in the matter of Boeing 777 aircraft crash. Pro Russians were the primary suspects and also claimed it as a Ukrainian separatist who used the BUK SAM system to hit the flight<sup>1</sup>. Putin had blame for the supply heavy weapons to the separatist. The American diplomat asserts that Russia supported the separatist in eastern Ukraine. Mr. Crompton confirmed that after the shoot down of MH17 there was then a sharp deterioration of the situation on the ground, which led to the incursion of regular Russian troops into eastern Ukraine. Mr. Polyanskiy, denied that there was any real proof that there were Russian troops in eastern Ukraine.

In order to bring a peaceful settlement of Ukraine EU brokered Minsk protocol was signed by the Russia, Germany, France and Ukraine and OSCE on 5 September 2014. The pro-Russians in eastern Ukraine violated the first Minsk

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<sup>1</sup> The Soviet –era surface to air missile (SAM) system known as the BUK SAM system.

peace proposal to seize the Donetsk airport. On 15 February 2015 a new ceasefire entered into forces with the France, Germany, Ukraine and Russia. The leaders such as Vladimir Putin, Angela Merkel, Francois Hollande and Petro Poroshenko were initiated a bilateral talk to settle the Ukraine crisis. It was an implemented version of Minsk Agreement known as Minsk II. It advocate for withdrawal of all heavy weapons by both sides, a bilateral agreement to end the Ukraine crisis and it offers full Ukrainian control over its border with Russia throughout the conflict zone, all prisoners has to be released, withdrawal of all foreign armed groups from Ukraine, to remove weapons and mercenaries from Ukrainian territory and new constitution by the end of 2015 (Bentez and Anosovs 2015).

The White House reacts to the Minsk II agreement was this agreement must now be followed by immediate, concrete step to fulfil the commitments by all parties. The ceasefire must be implemented and honoured. Heavy weapons must be withdrawn from the conflict zone. Russia must end its support for the separatists and withdraw its soldiers and military equipment from eastern Ukraine (Bentez and Anosovs 2015). The views of Europe Union on the Ukraine crisis is that crisis in Ukraine is not an internal conflict and not a military conflict between two countries outside the EU, but a continental hybrid war unleashed by Moscow (Gerasymuchuksergiy 2015). Table 1 given below provides the timeline of Ukraine crisis.

Table 1- Time Line, November 2013- February 2015

21/11/2013	President Viktor Yanukovich suspends the signing of Association Agreement with EU.
1/12/2013	Anti- government protest break out in Ukraine.
22/02/2014	President Yanukovich flees the country after parliamentary impeachment
28/02/2014	Unmarked forces occupied strategic facilities in Crimea
16/03/2014	Referendum in Crimean to join Russia.
17/03/2014	Putin identifies Crimea as sovereign state.



20/03/2014	EU adopted sanctions.
01/04/2014	NATO suspended cooperation with Russia.
25/05/2014	Presidency of Petro Poroshenko began in Ukrainian.
27/06/2014	Association Agreement has signed by Ukraine and EU.
17/07/2014	Malaysian airline flight 17 crash in eastern Ukraine.
29/07/2014	EU imposed broad sanctions on Russian industry.
07/08/2014	Russia's ban on western food imports.
05/09/2014	First Minsk Protocol has demanded ceasefire
12/09/2014	New EU sanction
16/09/2014	EP and Ukraine ratify Association Agreement
26/10/2014	Ukraine elects Pro-European parliament
29/11/2014	EU sanctions separatists
31/01/2015	Minsk talks failed due to the fighting deepens in the eastern regions of Ukraine.
12/02/2015	Minsk Second agreement signed
15/02/2015	Minsk Second agreement entered into force

Source: Ukraine crisis, European Parliament, 2015, URL: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/newsroom/20140203STO34645/Ukraine-timeline-of-events>

### **Profile of Online Newspapers**

The Baltic States online news portals such as The Baltic Times, Baltic News Network, Baltic Review and Postimees were reporting on the Ukraine crisis since the beginning. The language which they used to address the Russian and European presence in Ukraine helps us to understand the representation of Russia in the Baltic media. In fact these countries are member of both European Union and NATO. Most of the Baltic States news portals since 2013 appeared to focus on the Russian action and western reactions. Use of internet has increased over period of time. The details of percentage of news portal visitors and ranks are given below in Table 2.

Table 2: Online News Portals Percentage of Visitors and Rank

Country	Online news portal	Percentage of visitors	Rank in country
Latvia	Delfi Iv	72.7%	8
Russia	Delfi. Ivrus	11.2%	2,481
Lithuania	Delfi. It	79.6%	5
Russia	Delfi.Itrus	1.6%	9,468
Estonia	Delfi.ee	79.7%	6
Russia	Delfi.ee rus	4.2%	8,068
Estonia	Postimees.ee	79.6%	5
Russia	Postimees.ee rus	3.5%	6,496
Latvia	The Baltic Times	10.5%	8,248
Estonia	The Baltic Times	4.0%	13,999

Source: URL: <http://www.alexa.com/siteinfo>

Above table is showing the details of the percentage of visitors in online news portal in the Baltic states. This shows that a decent number of people following and updating their general awareness via online news portals.

Here the focus is on the terms which are commonly used in the news portals of Baltic states in the context of Ukraine crisis to address Russia. The terms such as ‘aggressor’, ‘threat’, ‘fear’, ‘unrest’, ‘provocation’ and ‘terrorist’. The repeated usage of words creates an image which will form a root to the creation of public opinion. The term aggressor or aggression has appropriate place in international politics. The term aggression is defined in social psychology as “any behaviour that is intended to harm another person who does not want to be harmed” (Baron and Richardson 1994). According to the UN resolution 3314(XXIX) defined the term aggression is the use of armed force by a state against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nation (Article 1). Article 3 categorize the act of aggressions-

(a) The attack by the armed forces of a state of the territory of another state or, invasion or any other military occupation.

(b) The use of any weapons by a state against the territory of another state or Assault by the armed forces of a state against the territory of another state.

(C) The coasts of a state by the armed forces of another state or blockade of the ports.

(d) An attack by the marine and air fleets of another state or armed forces of a state on the land, sea or air forces (UN Charter 1945).

The term threat can be divided into two categories verbal and physical. Simply the term “threats are socially constructed within and among private and public conversations of expert’s political leaders and public” (Meyer 2009). Fear is another term which commonly used in the news portals. Lactantius wrote “where fear is present, wisdom cannot”. Fear is exact contrary to the reason. In another way it is used to be a political instrument for hiding motives, evoking irrational emotions and mobilizing people under the flag of populist gain (Molder 2011). Media is an instrument to work out Politics of fear. The term unrest was a situation which people may feel them. In the political scenario the unrest is the atmosphere that people could emotionally blend with unfair treatment from the authority. Provocation is a term defined by Hall “as incident or actions that incline state actors toward rash, aggressive responses by eliciting outraged reactions” (Hall 2010). Terrorism constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted (Laqueur 2013).

All these terms are having various dimensions. After the September 11 attack, the media stereotyped these words. The table below gives us details of the words discussed above as they appeared in the news related to Ukraine crisis and Russia’s role in it. The table 3 shows the data from BNN, The Baltic Times and Postimees.

Table 3: Words Repetitions in News Portals

<b>Term</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>How many times</b>	<b>News portals</b>
Aggressor or Aggression	3/20/214	2	BNN
	17/9/2014	1	BNN
	20/03/2014	3	BNN
	20/11/2014	2	The Baltic Time
	03/07/2016	1	The Baltic Times
	07/07/2014	1	The Baltic Times
	22/07/2014	2	The Baltic Times
	04/09/2014	2	The Baltic Times
	12/02/2014	1	The Baltic Times
	19/11/2014	1	The Baltic Times
	23/10/2014	1	The Baltic Times
	07/03/2014	1	Postimees
	03/03/2014	2	Postimees
24/03/2014	1	Postimees	
Threat	11/22/2014	1	BNN
	4/15/2014	1	BNN
	4/29/2014	4	BNN
	09/09/2014	1	The Baltic Times
	26/11/2016	2	The Baltic Times
	23/10/2016	3	The Baltic Times
	28/02/2014	1	Postimees
	07/03/2014	1	Postimees
	03/03/2014	1	Postimees
	24/03/2014	1	Postimees
Fear	2/20/2014	1	BNN
	20/03/2014	1	BNN
	26/09/2016	1	The Baltic Times
	26/11/2014	2	The Baltic Times
	03/03/2014	1	Postimees
	24/03/2014	1	Postimees
Unrest	07/07/2014	2	The Baltic Times
	18/07/2014	1	The Baltic Times
	18/08/2016	1	The Baltic Times
Provocation	20/03/2014	1	BNN
	24/03/2014	1	Postimees
Terrorist	20/11/2014	2	The Baltic Times

Source: Websites of online Newspapers cited above.

The collected material from the various news portals implied that on a daily basis those words used in the Baltic online news portals. This words particularly used in the context of Russia's role related to the Ukraine crisis. Media is an important tool of propaganda and image creations. This table shows the words which continually used in the news portal, repetition of words will make the stereotype images. The news has to fall in to the trap of sensationalism and exaggeration to attract readers. Here it contributes to the construction of negative images among the people regarding the role of Russia over the Ukraine crisis. The imposition of anti-Russian perception among the public through the medium of negative interpretation of events and media reports which are filled with terms used inappropriately. Especially in the case of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, since they are part of Europe now, fears a possible Russian attack. The possibility of an attack and insecurity are the major factors that lead to the situations where it is necessary to create counter responses. The propaganda is a good method to seek the support of the people also the means to protect from the adversaries.

### **Pictorial analysis**

The pictures have to play a good role in the presentation of news. Pictures predominantly narrate with silent implication. It produces an image creation through the context of the issue. The terms such as threat, fear, aggressor, and provocation can reflect in those of photographic depiction in the news portals. There was news in Baltic News Network on December 18, 2013 with the title of 'Despite protests Yanukovich signs trade deal with Russia' (*BNN* 2013). The news even gives space to the opposition leaders warning that 'not to bother coming back to Ukraine if he sells out to Russia'. The narration of the news itself shows that anti Russian stands, because the caption begin with the words despite protests it mean that the president was regardless to consider their interest, it implied irrelevances to the protests constituted by the people, and also give call to the readers to be prepare for more mobilised agitations.

Figure 1 .1:- Despite protests Yanukovich signs trade deal with Russia



Sources: *Baltic News Network*, URL: <http://bnn-news.com/>

The picture above is very useful in understanding the key terms ‘provocation’ and ‘fear’. This photograph appeared in the online news portal help us to draw conclusions on the attitude of the Baltic media in representing Russia’s role in the Ukraine crisis. This pictorial representation appears to be a tactics by the media to provoke the mob. . . . The concern of the media by giving this type of a pictorial representation not really intended to support the ongoing protests against the trade deal but it might be the agenda of the media to create anti- Yanukovich as well as anti-Russian feelings in the Baltic region.

Figure 1.2:- Editorial: Russia seeking to spite Ukraine via Crimea



Sources: *Postimees*, 28/02/2014, URL: [news.postimees.ee/](http://news.postimees.ee/)

This picture published by *Postimees* news portal in 28<sup>th</sup> February 2014, is part of an editorial. The cartoon tried to convey the message that Russia's incorporation of Crimea is part of larger agenda which might lead to possible annexation of Ukraine into the Russian state. . Russia's act of integrating Crimea posed security threat to the Baltic States because Ukraine will be divided after the incorporation of Crimea into Russia. The tricolour flag of white, red and blue is the flag of Russia and another one with golden yellow and the blue is the Ukraine flag. It has a symbolic meaning that the Russia a big and violent animal who reached the tip of Ukraine which shake the whole Ukraine up and above.

Figure 1.3: In pictures: Putin's vivid facial expressions, while insisting EU should not interfere in Ukraine



Sources: *Baltic News Network*, 29/1/2015, URL: <http://bnn-news.com/>

On 29 January 2014 *BNN* report with the caption of 'in pictures: Putin's vivid facial expressions, while insisting EU should not interfere in Ukraine'. The

caption is indicating that drama of Putin with expressive photographs. Terribly sarcastic and stereotype photo depiction in the news with various facial expression convey the effects of threat, aggression, provocation. The title of the news will fulfil with pro western readers. In this particular news end with the sentence that Putin emphasised his statements with a palette of facial expressions rarely seen among top politicians. Expression is by product of human emotions. Depiction of particular news has explicitly saying, the Baltic interest to narrate Putin image in a dreadful manner. What signify this picture, what information will it pass via this picture are a problematic to rise questions. The facial expressions of a president commonly used for the spoof creation, but this is grows to write under such a captions. The order which the photos arrange is explicitly indicate Russian attitude towards Ukraine not a satisfactory of Baltic States. The above mention code words such as threat, fear, and aggression unrest will become more intense when we see this pictorial depiction. The entire picture silently conveys some statements, or the thoughts in mind. The picture reinforces to contribute the threat perception more deep. It a media had tactics to narrate image construction.

Figure 1.4:- Foreign Minister: Russian actions in Ukraine do not inspire optimism



Source: <http://bnn-news.com/foreign-minister-russian-actions-ukraine-inspire-optimism-113070>



BNN news portal on April 30<sup>th</sup> 2014 reported news with a picture of some people holding guns and hiding behind the car. The caption of the news is that “foreign caption of the news are dissimilar. The foreign minister said that people have minister: Russian actions in Ukraine do not inspire optimism”. The photo graph and the woken up after the events in Crimea this march. People now understand that freedom is not something self-explanatory. What happen in Ukraine is near Latvia’s borders. This made him and other members of the government reconsider certain aspects of the countries policy. The Latvians has held a flash mob in Riga in support of Ukraine (BBN, 2014). One of the reports came in the BNN; points that the flash mob which they organised is peaceful demonstration that Latvia care about what is happening in Kyiv. These reports convey that the Latvia is worry about Ukraine crisis.

Eastern Europe studies centre and news portal *Delfi* had an analytical project Putin’s Russia and they do focused on another analysis called Dmitry Recognizes clan: Visionaries and executors behind Aggression towards Ukraine by Marius Laurinavicius. The Baltic times reported on 17 June 2014 that “Germany Backs Baltic’s amid Ukraine”. The news portal quotes German Foreign minister Frank-Walter words we in Germany comprehend that the Baltic countries feel threatened because of the crisis in Ukraine. He says, “I’ll say it again, that your fears are our fears. The European Union and NATO express their solidarity not only in words but also in deeds” (*The Baltic Times* 2014). Statement which is given under particular caption is implied the German stand on Ukraine crisis and their security concerns. At late June 2014 Petro Pareshinko government agree to sign association agreement.

The Baltic states had a strong support to the Poroshenko government to do so. This was very much reflecting in the statement of Estonian president Urmas Paet that Estonia supports the European Union and Ukraine signing the Association Agreement and free trade agreement. The call for the US response in the matter of Ukraine crisis is evident in the news portals; in another sense Baltic States feel fear to Russian presences in Ukraine. To counter Russia they invite and give responsibility to NATO. The president of Latvia Raimonds

Vejonis has said that Russia's aggressive and unlawful action has changes the strategic balance in the region; therefore, it is important for the Baltic states that allied forces presence, especially that of land units, be permanent in this region. There were pro Ukraine supporters conduct protest demo in front of Russian embassy in Riga. The activists raise slogan like "Hand off Ukraine and Putin, Fascist". One protester told to *Baltic times* that Russia is breaking peace in the world. This was reported in the Baltic time news portal. People's persuasion regarding Ukraine crisis narrate a bad image of Russia (*The Baltic Times* 2014).

On the 2014/07/22 the foreign minister of Estonia had commented over the MH17 flight crash; "separatists supported by Russia". The title of the news was "Baltic Leaders call for arms embargo against Russia amid Ukraine crisis". Estonian Foreign Minister Urmas Paes says, "If you look at Russia's behaviour in the last few months in Ukraine and now, at the passengers plane being shut down by the so-called separatist, the dialogue that we still have to wait and see will only lead to new tragic consequences" (*The Baltic Times* 22 July 2014). The attitude towards Russia seems vulnerable because the statement which news reports depict is present a hate speech. The crash of Malaysian flight becomes an international issue now, the discussion and debates are crucifying Putin and Russian role in Ukraine separatist movements. Without proper investigation and evidence higher officials blames Russia.

Russian incorporation of Crimea and it's presences in Ukraine leads the Poland and Baltic states into a security dilemma. In another sense they were worried that the next Crimea could be Baltic States or Poland. The *Baltic times* reported that Crimean peninsula belong to Ukraine. On 9 September 2014 the NATO arranged training for the military exercises for member states. This report gives an assertion that the boarder countries of the Russia are preparing for the war. The news portals stated that Latvia and Estonian soldiers were participated in the training camp. Poroshenko were written in

tweeted that it is our land. We will not give it up to anyone. This was new presidential rhetoric to keep the pro-European support to the government.

Russia declared that it must create instruments for influencing how it is perceived in the world, develop its own effective means of information influence on public opinion abroad, and counteract information threats to its sovereignty and security (Russian Foreign Ministry 2013). The Poroshenko government banned the Russian channels. Moscow was condemned the seizure of Viktor Yanukovich (24 February 2014), and the report also mentions that Baltic states welcome the interim government of Ukraine.

The leaders of Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine signed a joint statement to condemn the Russian invasion of Crimea. They declared that “we condemn the act of aggression committed by armed forces of Russia and de facto occupation and annexation of a part of Ukraine’s territory”. Officially they create an alliance to deter Russia, and they proclaimed the act of Russia is a de-facto occupation and annexation. The alliance formation always comes from the threat of security. Basically these neighbouring countries have had fear that they can’t be able to hold their sovereignty for long because separatist tendencies always exist in those states.

The Estonian Prime Minister Taavi Roivas has stated in the meeting of deputy secretary general of the United Nations Jan Elisson that Russia’s aggression in Ukraine is a problem that requires more attention from the United Nations (UN) (2014). The terms which are used in official statements are very much significant to understand the undermined persuasion regarding Russia. The official statement reflects the diplomatic relation with other states and also it creates an image among the international community. On 4 September 2014, at the NATO summit, Taavi Roivas said that “Russia’s action against Ukraine as well as its aggressive demonstrations of power near the borders is a wakeup call for NATO” (NATO 2014). This statement explicitly says that Estonia had faced the security threat, they are trying to seek aid and help from other ways instead from Russia. At the NATO summit on 4 September 2014, Taavi Roivas called

to assemble all frontline neighbour to immediately react to the Russia's aggression in our neighbourhood, and also said that "our defence is developed on two interrelated pillars, on the one side, we build on our strong relations with our allies and the credibility of NATO's collective defence" (Taavi Roivas 2014). The Estonian prime minister had ensured themselves that their security not falls into threat. They are in a way mobilising deterrence against Russia with the soft power mechanism.

The Lithuanian foreign minister was critic the Russian humanitarian aid to eastern Ukraine. He said that "humanitarian aid is extremely important to the Ukrainian people, but the international community is the one that needs to provide the assistance and not Russia; citizens of Ukraine are suffering from terrorist". He again claims that they won't rely on Russia due to bitter experience. In fact, Russia is also a part of international community who is capable to assist the other states, even though Ukraine is a neighbour state of Russia. The trust need a fearless atmosphere, Lithuania is terribly under security threat. (Ann Charles Bureau Chief of Baltic Review 2014 ).

According to Ambassador Murmokaite, Crimea's annexation and now the destabilization of eastern Ukraine is not about the protection of Russian speaking minorities or alleged Ukraine's radical extremism. It's about obstructing and preventing the May 25 elections. The government officials are suspicious about the Ukraine crisis and the presence of Russia in Ukraine. In this particular region Russia is the predominant power than any other states, so the presence of Russia is obvious. Ethnic Russian is part minorities in Ukraine as well as in Baltic states. Putin Russia is concern about the Russians abroad, the Baltic state want to make the point that the Russia is not concerned about Russians abroad but they have other motive. Above mention statement of Lithuanian ambassador in the new portal must narrate an image in the readers whether they are ethnic Russian or Ukrainians, they may fall into deep steep of confusion.

On 20 November 2014 *the Baltic times* reported with the caption of “Lithuania president calls Russia terrorist state”. Dalia Grybauskaitė said that Lithuania, as other European countries, understands that peace has to be fought for, peace has to be defended, and independence and sovereignty are untouchable. Every nation has a right to have its own state and no one can dictate how it should live, regardless of whether a country is big or small. Hence we must clearly tell the current Kremlin and current Russian leadership that such actions will never be tolerated. (*The Baltic Times*, 2014) Such a statement meant how Lithuania pursues Russia’s action. On 15 January 2015, *The Baltic times* reported that Estonia, Lithuania, UK, Denmark call for EU action on Russian information warfare; Latvia refuses to join; Rinkevics admitted that it is possible to sign anything, but it is important to understand that the opportunities to solve these issues within six months are very limited.

The Latvian Saeima has strongly condemned Russia’s military aggression in Ukraine and expressed its strong support for territorial integrity and Ukraine’s sovereignty (BNN, 2014). It also mentions Russia to stop doing aggression and provocation against Ukraine and to negotiate with international regulations. The editorial had come in *Postimees* on 24 March 2014 is Russia still threat to Eastern Ukraine. It began with the statement of ‘aggressive behaviour by Russia continues’, (*Postimees* 2014).

### **Implications of Ukraine Crisis**

The Ukraine crisis had a wide range of inferences. Russia and Baltic States relation due to the Ukraine crisis had different dimensions. Before Ukraine crisis the Russia and Baltic states have poor relationship, now it’s deteriorating. Latvia and Estonia were much more moderate than Lithuania to avoid an open confrontation with Russia (Vitkus, 2015). Lithuania had a much more aggressive attitude towards Russia. The president of Lithuania Grybauskaitė said that “Russia as a terrorist country” (*Delfi* 2014). Baltic States are located in the mid of west and east. It creates those countries to be more deprived to decide the role of Baltic States in maintaining the cooperation among both this side. The Europe and Russian perspective

regarding Baltic states are relevant to study. Whether to act as a periphery or a centre of all these issues are arranged through the conditional circumstance.

Government of US and Russian were attempting to shape events in Ukraine in their own interests, not for the benefit of the Ukrainian people (Joanne Landy). Spaulding Hugo argues that Vladimir Putin's belief in the need to maintain a buffer between NATO, the European Union and Russia. Some western journalist reported that after the crime annexation in April 2014, similar sort of event happen in the Narva and the Ida-Virumaa region of Estonia. There are Russian speakers who may have separatist tendencies to alienate with their origin states. This sort of event can be insists the pro Russian's to move towards Russia to deviate from the land where they are staying.

Those states news portals reflect strong fold of Russophobia. The pictorial representation and the news are directly hit the Putin administration and policies. Official statements of the Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are pro – European in persuasion. They are suspicious of Putin policies and approach Ukraine and Baltic states. They are creating themselves in an insecure situation. This arose out of enmity and atrocious attitude towards the Russia. The news which depict in the news portals are jeopardize the Russia relation with the neighbour. The identity of Russia becomes a critical venture in relation with neighbourhood. The media propaganda, the involvement of EU and NATO jeopardise the Ukraine- Russia relation. Till to solve Crimean crisis the Ukraine government won't be able to think about the membership of EU and the NATO.

The thematic representation of news reports regarding EU sanctions to Russia, US response to Russia and Baltic states reaction to Russia in the juncture of Ukraine crisis and the use of words like aggressor, threat, fear, provocation and unrest in these context will be conditionally fill in to those titles.

### **Foreign Policy Identity the Baltic Media Narration of the Ukraine Crisis**

The online news reports which are available in internet used below to analyse the foreign policy identity narration of Baltic states over Ukraine crisis.

- News report: - Nordic and Baltic foreign ministers have called for closer defense cooperation amid the crisis in the Ukraine. Estonian foreign minister Urmas Paet said closer cooperation in joint military training exercises and cyber security would be seen...(*The Baltic Times*,12/09/2014)
- Analysis: - This was a clear defence strategy to counter the Russia. The multilateral move from the foreign ministers and the intension has to deter the Russia. It is evident that Estonia has initiating general dialogues with neighbouring states. Baltic states trying to be a counter part of regional player. This cooperation was hard and soft power policy. This statement reflects they are ‘othering’ Russia.
- News report: - Russian pop singer to turn to courts after being banned from Latvia amid Ukraine crisis. Russian pop singer Joseph Kobzon will turn to European courts after being blacklisted from entering Latvia. Kobzon was banned from entering Latvia earlier this year over his pro-Russian view amid the crisis in the Ukraine (17/09/2014, *The Baltic Times*).
- Analysis: - This news made me to understand that they are incapable of dealing with state separatist tendencies. The ban of a singer to enter in Latvia means that how indifferent the government even to allow a Russian to the state. It is possible to understand that their suspicious among themselves rather than a singer. If the singer can influence the mob create friction inside the state that will be the cause unworthy and non-trustful government. Taking such a decision will lead the perception that they are pro Ukraine supporters, and their solidarity with the Europe.
- News report: - The largest security and foreign policy forum in northern Europe launches in Latvia. Latvian foreign minister Edgard Rinkevics has said, the war in Ukraine has irreversibly altered the security situation on our continent. That is why it is symbolic that

before Latvia's presidency of the European union council in 2015, conference members will outline possible scenarios in order to find answers as to how best to strengthen mainstream values in the euro Atlantic space(12/9/2014, The Baltic Times).

- Analysis: - They were preparing for a multilateral alliance of the discourse of Ukraine. They are trying to reconfirming the western/ European identity and the aspiration to be as a regional player to make more involvement of Europe union in the affairs and settlements of the post-soviet states. Latvian presidency in European Union council will be big hope for them to be known as a true European.
- News reports: - Baltic call for permanent NATO presence amid Ukraine crisis. The U.S should install a permanent military presence in the Baltic's amid the Ukraine crisis, Latvian minister of defence Raimonds Vejonis has said. During his visit in the United States, he discussed the situation in Ukraine and challenges concerning security in the Baltic states (07/07/2014, The Baltic Times).
- Analysis: - Why did the Ukraine situation become a challenge to the Baltic states, yet they won't assured protection and promotion of ethnic Russian minorities in Baltic states. It is a feeling which they had from hereditary simply calls Russo-phobia. Seeking NATO presences is a hard power politics. They pursued the crisis with the acquisition of military capability to ensure their safety through the Ukraine crisis. It is a tactic of Baltic states to inform the Russia that they are protected by NATO.
- News report: - Latvia blacklists 16 people amid Ukraine crisis. The individuals, who have not been named, have been accused of inciting unrest and discord in Latvia. The list includes Russian citizen and citizens of European countries. (11/07/2014, The Baltic Times)
- Analysis: - Latvia is doing such a kind of hypocrisy with the tool of Ukraine crisis to entrap the innocent people. The country which is



promoter of democracy and rule of law has fall into take a decision like a horror to the people. Just because of the fake assumption regarding the crisis, and the fear that the next crisis may be happen in Latvia. It can be manhandled the Russian minorities in Latvia into a cocoon of state mandate rules.

- News report: - Baltic leaders call for arms embargo against Russia amid Ukraine crisis. Estonian foreign minister UrmasPaet said the EU should consider imposing an arms embargo against Russia (22/07/2014, The Baltic Times).
- Analysis: - The identity of otherness in the surrounding world which was constructing under the discourse of Ukraine. The Baltic states had shown political solidarity with pro Europeans in Ukraine is a clear intension of Europe. This is evident that containment of Russia by the material capabilities. It depicts the Baltic state deviated from the post soviet union paths to reach the high spot of Europe.
- News report: - Lithuania slams France warship deal with Russia amid Ukraine crisis. Grybaukaite a former EU budget commissioner said that the sale of military technology to Russia the under current circumstances cannot be tolerated (22/07/2014, The Baltic Times).
- Analysis: - This was a bilateral alliance negotiation to entrap the Russia in all sorts of means. These implied that Lithuania's involvement in Ukraine crisis to make an identity. Russia becomes a means to reach a Lithuania's goal of regional player.
- News report: - Lithuania FM criticizes EU stance on Russia, Ukraine crisis. The European union's decision to give Ukraine more time to fully implement a trade pact to assuage Russian pressure is a potentially dangerous step that leaves the gate open for Moscow to press for major changes to the deal , Lithuanian foreign minister Linaslinkevicius has said (26/09/2014,The Baltic Times).

- Analysis: - Lithuania criticism on European Union is unnecessary. The Europe and Russia has good economic partners, the dependency on comparative advantage of both will be large, and not even Lithuania can assure that much comparative advantage to Europe. These countries are capitalist their priority is capital accumulation.
- News report: - Latvian foreign minister Edgars Rinkevics has called the EU to demonstrate a strict and unified reaction to recent events in Ukraine. According to him the situation there has drastically escalated and seems not unlike the scenario of Crimea (15/4/2014, BNN).
- Analysis: - Latvian foreign minister publicizing the Crimean instant in the way of their security threat perception. European union response will be moderate and lenient because structural delimits of the institution. Latvian foreign policy one of the priorities was to Eastern partnership enlargement. Russia is a hindered which not allows the Ukraine to sign the eastern partnership. Latvia has to mobilise more for to take of Russian presences in Ukraine.
- News report: - Ukraine, Moldova and Turkey have the highest rating in peoples under threat. Ukraine, Moldova and Turkey are among the European states that have climbed up the most in the peoples under threat global rating, as reported by minority rights group international. Russian protesters in from Moldova's Transdnistria have been voicing their wish to join Russia (29/04/2014,BNN).
- Analysis: - Such kind of report in Baltic news portal means they are enlarging the threat of fear among the region with the narration of such a small events. This report has narrating those states in the category of Europe. The possibility of separation of us and other identity in the affairs with Russia and other set of states.
- News report:- More pressure on Russia needed amid Ukraine crisis, says Lithuania FM. Baltic officials have been put on edge amid the

crisis in the Ukraine, with some analysts saying a crimes style scenario could be repeated in the region (17/10/2014, The Baltic Times).

- Analysis: - Implicitly it means to say Russia doing the criminal activities. Lithuania tactics to make friction between west and the east no longer getting success. Assumption is that the Russia is getting targeted, alienating Russia from the region will be the ultimate resistance measure of Baltic states soft alliance formation but it not came to succeeded.

### **Domestic, Bilateral and International Politics of Memory**

- News report: - The residents of Riga to protest against Russia's military aggression against Ukraine. President of Lithuania and Estonia reminded that Ukraine is currently engaged in a struggle for their country and our freedom. For a Europe where other countries borders and people's rights are respected. For Baltic and Eastern Europe that does not want to live in the shadow of imperialistic Kremlin. This is why the war in Ukraine is also our war.
- Analysis: - The misconception of state official narrated history of kremlin lead the people to categories issues. People may violent because their notion and the orientation is like that. The report shows that propaganda against Russia emerged out of the memory war. Pretending they are under threat and manipulating with ambivalent fear.
- News report: - Germany backs to Baltic's amid Ukraine crisis. Germany has expressed its solidarity with the Baltic states amid the Ukraine crisis. We in Germany understand that the Baltic countries feel threatened because of the crisis in Ukraine. I'll say it again, that your fear is our fear. The Europe union and NATO do not express their solidarity not only in words but also in deed (17/06/2014, The Baltic Times).

- Analysis: - Germany alliance with Baltic was relevant to memories the holocaust of jews. Giving motivation speeches will tries to eradicate the new image of Germany. The Baltic states purposefully ignored the German holocaust instead of consciousness about the Russia's aggression. Soviet union is no were exists in the contemporary world it was dissolved in 1991 but Baltic states nevertheless saying the past soviet union brutal histories don't want to repeated, if something is not existed how it will again repeat and soviet union not only composed of one state it is a union of states. They don't make critical questioning on Germany because in way Nazism got space in the Baltic states.
- News report: - War in Ukraine causes increase in illegal immigration through Baltic states. The war in Ukraine has unexpected consequence for Latvia, increasing the flow of illegal immigrants. War in eastern Ukraine on the border with Russia has cut off one of the largest immigrant corridors. Now the flow has turned to Baltic states (10/11/2014,BNN)
- Analysis: - This news will create sympathy towards the Baltic states. The Ukrainian is the third largest ethnic group in Estonia. They have to offer austerity measures to Ukraine because there are other minority Ukraine also. Estonia offer refugee camp for the Ukrainians. It is a politics of priorities which giving the Estonia to take care and concerns of neighbourhood.
- News report: - Lithuania calls on Russia to stop spreading disinformation and anti-European propaganda which came from a quote by the Lithuanian ambassador Raimonda Murmokaite. According to ambassador Murmokaite, Crimea's annexation and now the destabilization of eastern Ukraine are not about the protection of Russian speaking minorities or alleged Ukraine's radical extremism. It is about obstructing and preventing the May 25 elections (28/04/2014, Ann Charles, Baltic Review).

- Analysis: - The diplomatic description has always shows the national interests. Russian speaking minority need to incorporate with Russia but the Baltic media narratives could be strong favourable to the pro European stand because media also got attention from the Ukraine crisis.
- News report: - The Brezhnev doctrine of 2014: Russia's threat to invade the Crimean peninsula brings to mind the soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Fear of a Russian military invasion in the Crimea is growing. Ukrainian border troops report that Russian tanks have already been deployed after Vladimir Putin obtained permission for intervention from parliament on Sunday. The G7 states have now interrupted preparations for the G8 summit in Sochi this summer. Some commentators urge the west to show restraint, other demand harsh sanctions against Russia (03/03/2014, Baltic Review).
- Analysis: - This report reflects the memory politics to link with the current Ukraine crisis. Media is good at manipulative narratives with fear plus historical connections will make the burning sensation of the news.
- News report: - Slesers links his failure in elections in Latvia with the conflict in Ukraine. The previous pre-election topics were Latvian, do not surrender, Russian come, were replaced with the question, do you support Putin or are you against Putin? Do you support Russia or are you against Russia? Said the businessman. He believes people become afraid of the armed conflict in Ukraine of the green men and the annexation of Crimea (9/12/2014, BNN).
- Analysis: - This is evident that the Latvian domestic politics even discussing and using Ukraine crisis as a tool to gain game of politics. Asking such a question will lead the centrifugal forces to enshrine in Latvia. The standard of politics of Latvia is very much deteriorating with oligarchic powers.

## EU Sanctions Against Russia Over Ukraine Crisis

- ❖ EU foreign ministers set to review Russia sanctions amid Ukraine crisis....

(The Baltic Times  
11/05/2014<http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/35727/>)

- ❖ West plans more Russia sanctions amid Ukraine crisis, the fresh sanctions will target Russia's defence, national bank, energy sector and Russian president Vladimir Putin's allies amid the crisis in the Ukraine...(The Baltic Times, 05/09/2014<http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/35513/>)
- ❖ EU adopt new sanctions against Russia amid Ukraine crisis, depending on the situation on the ground , the EU stands ready to review the agreed sanctions in whole or in part...(The Baltic Times, 09/09/2014<http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/35523/>)
- ❖ EU to impose more sanctions on Russia amid Ukraine crisis sources, Russia said sanctions would not change its stance on Ukraine. Russia has repeatedly denied arming pro Russian troops in to the country. Earlier this week, the EU impose fresh sanction on Russia amid the crisis in the Ukraine... (The Baltic Times, 11/09/2014,<http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/35541/>)
- ❖ Dombrovskis to discuss Ukraine crisis at key conference, newly appointed
- ❖ European commission vice president Vladis Domobrovskis is in Ukraine to discuss the Ukraine crisis and EU, Russia sanctions. Talks with also centre around solving the Ukraine crisis and recently imposed sanctions against Russia...(The Baltic Times, 12/09/2014,<http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/35546/>)
- ❖ EU foreign affairs council to hold an emergency meeting on the situation in Ukraine, the Latvia's foreign ministry believes the council

should discuss the possibility of introducing sanctions against person responsible for violent clashes in Ukraine...(BNN,19/2/2014)

### **US Response to Ukraine Crisis**

- ❖ U.S on Ukraine : no meeting with Putin Until U.S proposals are accepted, U.s Secretary of state John Kerry has declined a meeting with Russian president Vladimir Putin saying it will not take place until Moscow is ready to engage in negotiations on crisis in Ukraine on the basis of U.S proposal...(BNN,11/03/2014)
- ❖ U.S voices increased support to Ukraine; Russia accuses interim government in violating Geneva accord...(BNN,22/04/2014,<http://bnn-news.com/u-s-voices-increased-support-ukraine-russia-accuses-interim-government-violating-geneva-accord-112675>)
- ❖ U.S; Russia funds, coordinates and fuels separatist movement in Ukraine, Russia is promoting instability in Ukraine, and the administration of the U.S. president will impose additional sanctions against Moscow if it does not act up to its promises made in Geneva to help de-escalate the crisis, U.S secretary of the state john Kerry has announced on April 24...(BNN,25/04/2014<http://bnn-news.com/u-s-russia-funds-coordinates-fuels-separatist-movement-ukraine-112863>)
- ❖ Pro – Russian gangs continue to occupy state building in Ukraine’s east; Obama call on Putin to control separatists, U.S president Barack Obama has called on Russian president Vladimir Putin to use his influence to make separatists in eastern Ukraine leave occupied building...(BNN ,15/04/2014,<http://bnn-news.com/pro-russian-gangs-continue-occupy-state-buildings-ukraines-east-obama-calls-putin-control-separatists-112494>)

### **Baltic States and Neighbourhood Reaction towards Ukraine Crisis**

- ❖ Russia’s Actions in Ukraine and Demonstration of Military Power Pose Threats to the Security of the Baltic States and Poland: President

Dalia Grybauskaitė met with the vice president of the United States of America, Joe Biden, to discuss measures to ensure the security of the Baltic states. A bilateral meeting focused on NATO's collective defence guarantees, Lithuania – us strategic partnership, the situation in Ukraine, and the international community's efforts to preserve peace in Europe.-(The Baltic Review- march 29, 2014).

- ❖ Lithuania President calls Russia “terrorist state”, if a terrorist state that is engaged in open aggression against its neighbour is not stopped, then that aggression might spread further into Europe...(The Baltic Times,20/11/2014,Rayyan Sabet-Parry and wire<http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/35799/>)
- ❖ Germany backs Baltics amid Ukraine crisis- Germany has expressed its solidarity with the Baltic states amid the Ukraine crisis. German foreign minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier said; we in Germany understand that the Baltic countries feel threatened because of the crisis in Ukraine. I'll say it again, that your fears are our fear. The European Union and NATO do not express their solidarity not only in words but also in deed...(The Baltic Time, 06/17/2016<http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/34971/>)
- ❖ Russia still threat to eastern Ukraine –massed to Ukraine's eastern border. Destabilisation-operations by Russia in eastern Ukraine keep unfolding. By propaganda, a supporting image is being created about possible <<referendum>>to join Russia in other parts of Ukraine, in addition to Crimea... (24/03/2014, Postimees,<https://m.postimees.ee/section/1474/2737888>)
- ❖ More than half of Latvians live in fear war due to Ukraine crisis, survey shows, the public's perception of risks that threaten each individual has changed, according to the survey. The number of residents who fear the threat of war due to the Ukraine crisis has risen



from 35 percent in 2011 to 51 percent this year...(The Baltic Times,26/11/2014<http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/35812/>)

- ❖ Poland, Baltic vow to counter Russian propaganda amid Ukraine crisis, the four presidents reviewed the implementation of decisions adopted at the NATO summit in Wales, as well as energy, information, and cyber security issues in the region...( The Baltic Times, 02/12/2014)<http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/35824/>
- ❖ Baltic's call for the permanent NATO presence amid Ukraine crisis, Russia's aggressive and unlawful action has changed the strategic balance in the region in the region, therefore, it is important for the Baltic states that the allied forces presence, especially that of land units, be permanent in this region...(The Baltic Times, 07/07/2014, <http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/35105/>)
- ❖ Protesters rally outside Russian embassy amid Ukraine crisis; protesters have rallied outside the Russian embassy in Riga today amid the Ukraine unrest. Activists chanted slogans including "hands off Ukraine and Putin, fascist" whilst other held up Ukrainian flags... (The Baltic Times, 07/18/2014,<http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/35167/>)
- ❖ Ukraine leaders call for arms embargo against Russia amid Ukraine crisis...( The Baltic Times,12/07/2014,<http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/35180/>)
- ❖ Lithuania slams France warship deal with Russia amid Ukraine crisis, Grybauskite warned "indecisive" EU policy would mean a direct invitation for the aggressor to be more aggressive and go further...(The Baltic Times, 22/07/2014,<http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/35179/>)
- ❖ U.K forces plan major war games in eastern Europe amid Ukraine crisis , the Russian- Ukraine conflict is Europe's most important security challenge since the end of the cold war, Poland's president Bronislaw Komorowski has said strengthening NATO's eastern flank

is fundamental...(The Baltic Time, 29/07/2014,  
<http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/35220/>)

- ❖ Resident of Riga to protest against Russia's military aggression against Ukraine, Russia's military aggression has been continuing in Ukraine for months. Russia has been providing active support to pro-russian separatist in Ukraine with human resources and military equipment. Because of Russia's `aggression, many civilians have died...(BNN,02/09/2014)

## **Chapter 5**

### **Conclusion**

Since 2013, the international media communities have been discussed about the role of Russia in Ukraine. The whole events passed took a major discourse in place in the media world. The depiction of the crisis of Ukraine went into different viewpoints of each national interest. In this particular study focused on Baltic media representation of Russia over Ukraine crisis has been went into trap of European sphere of influence. Therefore, the worrisome of Baltic states regarding Russia and the implications of Crimean incorporation has lead Baltic media to play a major role to generate adequate public opinion and attitude over crisis of Ukraine.

The presence of Russia over Ukraine crisis is a dialectical inquiry. The major narratives of media reports based on pro-European and anti-Russian. Anti-Russian narratives are the salient feature of Baltic media and politics. Majority of Baltic media narratives were against the Russia over Ukraine crisis. The Baltic media can be characterized Russia as an arrogant, foolish, hypocritic criminality and lack of moral ethics state. Lack of understanding and imprudent errors are the outcome of online news portal discourse in Baltic states. They give mocking depiction of important figures of Russia. The caricatures are spreading salient hatred via the news portals. The intrusion of sensationalization and commercialization in Baltic media industry had drawn the fourth estate to fall into the deep steep of yellow journalism. The use of particular terms to stereotype the activities of Russia was evident in this study. Announcing Russia as a “terrorist state” is defect of the politics and also the outcome of conspiracy. The politics of representation can be seen in most of the Baltic media reports. The examination of reports in the online news portals and the official statements reveals that anti-Russian elements are implied in these.

NATO membership offer to Georgia and Ukraine had opened Russia to look into the relations with NATO on an account of suspicion. If Georgia and Ukraine has become member of NATO, it will be a security threat for the Russia. There is a possibility of separatist tendency within Russia because of the NATO expansion. Allegations against Russia are in large numbers. The propaganda war which was the major criticism on Russia that the glorified and fake news reporting in news portals. This is very critical to see how a foreign power can simply hack the entire media. New advanced technologies have come into the markets, the state should be more advance as much, and even the states are incapable of identifying the cause. The news portals which were prevailed in Ukraine and Baltic states are preachers of Europhilia.

State sponsored terrorism is the manipulative outcome of western media. The concept of state sponsored terrorism has risen after the declaration of Russia's near abroad policy. Putin will ensure and protect the Russian minorities abroad according to this policy. The post-Soviet states become vigilant to counter this move. They and the western powers narrate the events with the pits and pins to exaggerate to conclude that Russia is sponsoring Ukrainian separatists. The manipulative narrations will continue till there is a change in the international political system happens. The interferences of various powers in Ukraine issue led the fragile internal and external relations into more deep and intense.

Ukraine has the "self" and "other" dichotomy among the political identities. More or less, the government is using "divide and rule" strategy to establish their power and to protect their interest. Otherwise, they do negotiate with the particular sections called pro-Europeans and pro-Russians to solve the problems. The internal us to the external us will be a new outcome of the Ukraine-Russia relations. Traditionally, Ukraine has been facing friction between Russian speakers and ethnic Russians. The people of Russian origin in Ukraine show the "we" feeling among the Russians. Putin government ensuring special concern of the Russian origin peoples abroad. It is not only because of the Putin's policies but also the discriminatory treatment of eastern

Ukraine states, internally that ethnicity has the attitude that the people who are supporting Europe are others who has different collective memory.

The negative images of Russia in the Baltic media over Ukraine crisis are implied that the Baltic states strategies to attain a regional role as well as to seek a place in the international community. The Baltic states foreign policy are changing according to the rule of political elite. In the context of Ukraine crisis the Baltic media need to protect the ideal type of democracy in the eye of western powers. The politics of information is an evolving strategy in the international studies. The information's via media has strengthened over time because the canvass of the media grows as fast as the technological development.

The basic problem of those countries is identity crisis which has Russian speaking minorities with potential allegiance towards Russia. The Baltic states fear that this could be cause for the further uprising. The media has played a vital role in creating public opinion over Ukraine crisis. The media world itself split into two: the west and the Russian. The unleashed flow of particular language, words, expression and depiction of pictures lead to an information war. It can be media war to get an exclusive possession of information by one provider and can influence the whole viewers, then their perception will be the same as what the top media or the monopoly media would think. The modern media would be assigned in a way to achieve the prior position; nevertheless, the information war can be an intelligentsia of Russia because it was first discussed by the USA. In another sense it was a western media trial over Russia to describe Russia in a pessimistic way. The Baltic states are maximizing the Ukraine dialogues and discussions with the broader framework of international community, specially the online news portals narratives enlarge the scope publicity of Ukraine crisis.

NATO expansion towards the eastern realm leads the polarization of whole into two because NATO's close affiliation with US proliferate role in the eastern parts. To seek membership is a complex issue of the Ukraine political

administration. Even with the Baltic states their basic military expenditure is comparatively very less. Their basic requirement is larger than the nation building in terms of international principles. The NATO involvement in the Ukraine crisis is limited because of the membership problem. The NATO expansion will lead to encircle Russia in the region.

The whole events brought a wide range of viewers around the Ukraine – Russian relations. These consecutive events have deep roots in traditional composition of ethnicity and culture. The way in which political manuscripts are followed by the political elite for the people is jeopardizing the life of common people in Ukraine. They used their power as a means to reach or accumulate capital rather than ensuring liberal, equal and justice to society.

The narratives of Baltic media regarding Russia over Ukraine crisis is the crux of this work. Major news portals had illustrated Russia in a pessimistic way. Baltic states political elites especially having hatred towards Putin and Russia. They believed that the Russia can possibly attack them after the Crimean annexation, but the situation of each individual state is different. The condition of Ukraine would be leading the entrapment of Russia in the region. Ukraine have a diverse ethnic composition. The ethnic Russian and the native Ukraine's are struggling to attain their basic rights. The basic problem in Ukraine is the inconsistent government policies and middle class democracy. The political elite govern the peoples who have complex feeling that they are inferior power in the European countries. The Baltic states political officials and other government staffs always reinforces that they are a European state, they wanted to be acknowledged as European. They wanted to states that Europe has enlarged. Prof. Krupavicious once said that EU people only know Europe as Britain and Germany nothing else. This shows that the government appointed propagandist to spread they are also part of peripheral Europe.

Lithuania, Latvia and Lithuania is a sovereign democratic states seek the label of European is an irrevocable truth sleeping in the politics of reality. The accumulated reason for the Europhile never substantiates the Russophobic

tendencies of Baltic states. The Russia is a trade partner of the most of European countries. The study went to find that Baltic states played a significant role in the Ukraine crisis. The Lithuanian presidency in EU has contributed more international attention to the Ukraine crisis. Baltic states takes the issue of Ukraine crisis as crisis of themselves because they found insecure in the insurgency. The media is the instrument to formulate public opinion. The Baltic states media has done a state sponsored service rather than the genuine information's. The information which all comes across the 2014s online news portals was cornering Russia and Putin policies to safeguard the European interests. The media discourses of that time have maintained a syndrome of animosity towards Soviet Union, Putin and Russia. Baltic media has succeeded to create public opinion against the little Green men's entry to the sovereign Ukraine.

The Baltic media mediate anti-Russian sentiments via the news reports; it is not possible to find a neutral position in media. The media ethics has blended with the politics of state or the so called political elites. Baltic media represents Russia in negative way because of political incompatibility, historical frictions, identity and memory politics and increase of tendency of Europhilia, fear of insecurity etc. The Baltic political system is based on the middle class politics they believed that they are part of neither Europe nor Russia.

The study intended to test the following hypotheses.

1. Baltic media uses different means of communications such as official statement, propaganda reports, persistent discourse in shaping and propagating about Russia's policy towards Ukraine crisis of 2014.
2. Baltic media representation of Russia over Ukraine crisis reflects the influence of politics of identity, memory and history, and supports national interest, national security and foreign policy of state by mediating a pro-western discourse of Ukraine crisis in international politics.

Relatively the above hypotheses are tested positively. However, there are several factors related to role of media in Baltic states which requires further scrutiny. The role of media in political mobilization, the propaganda and the disinformation campaigns, media culture, role of media in social integration, media state relations, external and security implications of mediated messages, role of social media, influence of Soviet legacy, impact of globalization on Baltic media are some of the areas identified for further research.



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# Appendices

## Ukraine Crisis 2014

### 1. The Euromaidan Protest



Source: URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-27308526>

### 2. Dark Side of Ukraine Crisis

#### a) Odessa Massacre





b) Shelling of civilians in Eastern Ukraine by Ukrainian Government



c) Neo Nazi Involvement



d) People of Donbass Protest against Ukraine Government





e) US officials support for Neo Nazi Maidan Protesters



Victoria Nuland distributing candies among Maidan protesters

John McCain among Maidan protesters



f) Protest in Baltic against Russia over Ukraine Crisis



g) Ukrainian Government Officials with John Kerry

