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UKRAINIAN-LITHUANIAN RELATIONS: CURRENT STATE AND PROSPECTS

(UKRAINOS IR LIETUVOS SANTYKIAI: DABARTINĖ BŪKLĖ IR PERSPEKTYVOS)

Final bachelor thesis

Political science study program, state code S6121 JX037 Social Sciences Study Field

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APEC - Asia-Pacific Economic Community

ASEAN - the Association of Southeast Asian Nations

ECOWAS - the Economic Community of West African States

EU – European Union

MERCOSUR - the Union of Latin American Nations

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization

ABSTRACT

The bilateral relationship between Ukraine and Lithuania holds significant importance due to their shared historical, cultural, and geopolitical ties. This bachelor thesis aims to analyze the current state of Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations and explore the prospects for future cooperation and collaboration.

The research begins by providing a comprehensive overview of the historical background and key milestones that have shaped the relationship between Ukraine and Lithuania. It examines the factors that have influenced the bilateral ties, including political, economic, and cultural aspects, as well as their mutual participation in regional organizations such as the European Union and NATO. Using a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods, this thesis analyzes the key areas of cooperation and collaboration between Ukraine and Lithuania. It focuses on political dialogue, economic cooperation, cultural and educational exchanges, as well as security and defense cooperation. The research identifies the challenges, opportunities, and achievements in each of these areas, shedding light on the current state of the relationship. Furthermore, the thesis explores the prospects for future cooperation between Ukraine and Lithuania. It assesses the potential areas for further collaboration, including trade and investment, energy cooperation, joint infrastructure projects, and people-to-people exchanges. Additionally, it examines the role of both countries in promoting regional stability, enhancing European integration, and contributing to the security architecture in the Baltic Sea region.

The findings of this research contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics and potential of Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations. The analysis of the current state and prospects provides valuable insights for policymakers, diplomats, and stakeholders involved in fostering and strengthening bilateral cooperation between Ukraine and Lithuania.

Keywords: Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations, bilateral cooperation, current state, prospects, political dialogue, economic cooperation, cultural exchanges, security cooperation, regional stability, European integration.

SANTRAUKA

Dviejų šalių - Ukrainos ir Lietuvos - dvipusiai santykiai yra svarbūs dėl bendros istorinės, kultūrinės ir geopolitinės sąsajos. Šio bakalauro darbo tikslas yra analizuoti dabartinę Ukrainos-Lietuvos santykių būseną ir išnagrinėti ateities bendradarbiavimo ir bendradarbiavimo galimybes. Tyrimas pradedamas pateikiant išsamią istorinės aplinkybės ir pagrindinių etapų apžvalgą, kurie formavo Ukrainos ir Lietuvos santykius. Analizuojami veiksniai, darę įtaką dvišaliams ryšiams, įskaitant politinius, ekonominius ir kultūrinius aspektus, taip pat abiejų šalių dalyvavimą regioninėse organizacijose, pvz., Europos Sąjungoje ir NATO. Naudojant kokybinį ir kiekybinį tyrimo metodus, šis darbas analizuoja pagrindines bendradarbiavimo ir bendradarbiavimo sritis tarp Ukrainos ir Lietuvos. Jis skiria dėmesio politiniam dialogui, ekonominei bendradarbiavimui, kultūrinėms ir švietimo mainams, taip pat saugumo ir gynybos bendradarbiavimui. Tyrimas nustato iššūkius, galimybes ir pasiekimus kiekvienoje iš šių sričių, atskleisdamas dabartinę santykių būseną.

Be to, darbe nagrinėjamos Ukrainos ir Lietuvos ateities bendradarbiavimo perspektyvos. Įvertinamos galimybės tolesniam bendradarbiavimui, įskaitant prekybą ir investicijas, energetikos bendradarbiavimą, bendrus infrastruktūros projektus ir žmonių mainus. Taip pat nagrinėjama abiejų šalių vaidmuo skatinant regioninį stabilumą, skatinti Europos integraciją ir prisidėti prie Baltijos jūros regiono saugumo architektūros. Šio tyrimo rezultatai prisideda prie geresnio supratimo apie Ukrainos-Lietuvos santykių dinamiką ir potencialą. Dabartinės būsenos ir perspektyvų analizė suteikia vertingų įžvalgų politikams, diplomatinėms tarnyboms ir suinteresuotoms šalims, siekiančioms plėtoti ir stiprinti dvipusį bendradarbiavimą tarp Ukrainos ir Lietuvos.

Raktažodžiai: Ukrainos-Lietuvos santykiai, dvipusis bendradarbiavimas, dabartinė būsena, perspektyvos, politinis dialogas, ekonominis bendradarbiavimas, kultūriniai mainai, saugumo bendradarbiavimas, regioninis stabilumas, Europos integracija.

INTRODUCTION

Relevance of the topic. Cooperation with geographically close states aims to expand the band of stability and peace around Ukraine, to help it establish itself as an influential European state, and to pave the way for "broad relations with Central, Northeastern Europe. Ukraine's extensive and stable relations with geographically close states are a prerequisite for Ukraine's full integration into the family of European nations and its active participation in regional and subregional cooperation". In addition to Ukraine's main course to the EU and NATO, Ukraine, in order to strengthen its state independence and effectively ensure national interests, will pursue a course of inclusion in cooperation within the framework of the Central European Initiative, seek to maintain contacts with the Visegrad Group, the Nordic Council and the Council of the Baltic Sea States. The main objectives include the active development of both bilateral and multilateral relations with the states of the Black Sea-Baltic zone.

Consequently, the development of relations with the Baltic states, in particular the Republic of Lithuania, occupies an important place among the foreign policy priorities of Ukraine. Recent years have been marked by a significant breakthrough in the establishment of a fruitful partnership between Ukraine and Lithuania. As a result of the establishment of an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding in bilateral contacts at various levels, primarily at the level of the presidents of both countries, a number of treaties and agreements were signed, which will ensure the further development of mutually beneficial relations in various areas of bilateral cooperation.

Theoretical developments in the field of diplomacy and its role in the development of interstate relations have been dealt with by such scholars as Sharov [10], Nizhnik [4], Flissak [9] et al. In particular, Sharov reveals the essence of economic diplomacy as a political-economic category [10]. In the work of Nizhnik substantiates the issue of economic diplomacy and economic security of Ukraine [4]. The role of diplomacy in international economic relations, as well as the main directions of the implementation of economic diplomacy by Ukraine are analyzed in the work of Flissak [9].

A number of scientific works of such Ukrainian scientists as: Hlaziev, Hrinevetskyi, Zakhmatov, Kochubei, Perstneva, Pyla, Serov, Skorokhod, Tokarev, Fashchevskyi, Tsyhychko, Shved. [1, 2, 3].

The purpose of the graduate qualification work is a comprehensive analysis of Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations, their historical background, current state and prospects.

To achieve this goal, the following tasks are expected to be accomplished:

- 1. Consider the peculiarities of Ukraine's regional policy after the declaration of state independence;
 - 2. Analyze the history of Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations;
 - 3. Identify the main directions of Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations;
- 4. Identify key areas of foreign policy cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Lithuania;
 - 5. Analyze the prospects for Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations.

<u>The object of the study</u> is Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations.

<u>The subject of the study</u> is the current state and prospects of relations between Ukraine and Lithuania.

<u>Research Methods.</u> Methods of cognition and special methods of economic theory were applied. Also, structural-functional; factor analysis, dialectical; sociological analysis; abstract-theoretical method.

<u>Information base of the study</u> is scientific literature, articles of foreign and domestic scientists in periodicals, information materials, etc.

<u>Scientific novelty</u> lies in the fact that the author has carried out a comprehensive study of Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations: current state and prospects. Using a comprehensive approach to the assessment of internal and external factors that influenced the development and implementation of the analysis allowed us to trace the evolution of Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations.

<u>Theoretical and practical significance</u> of the graduate qualification work is that the factual material of the work, the main provisions, conclusions and recommendations can be used when writing term papers, graduation works and in the educational work.

<u>Graduate qualification work</u> consists of an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion and a list of references

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS BETWEEN UKRAINE AND LITHUANIA

1.1. Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations in the context of regional cooperation

The era of globalization has brought neighboring countries closer together, primarily in economic terms. These processes are defining a new history of the world, in which the formation of economic and humanitarian networks of good-neighborly relations, as opposed to the entire previous history of wars, victories and defeats, the achievements of the victors and the losses of the vanquished, is triumphant. Despite certain political, economic, religious and other contradictions, the global system of international relations is developing and modernizing. One of the new directions of globalization is the formation of local integration unions as systems of established interaction between states. Modern science views most of these processes as integration processes, which can take place at the intercontinental, continental and regional levels. The experience of the European Union, the Asia-Pacific Economic Community (APEC), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Union of Latin American Nations (MERCOSUR) and others has been successful. Within the European Union, the Visegrad Four grouping functions as an association of the internal type. It was founded in 1991, originally outside the EU, to prepare the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia for accession to the European Union.

The course towards European and Euro-Atlantic integration, which Ukraine has taken and which has become a constitutional norm since 2019, has above all economic grounds. Ukraine, as the largest country on the eastern borders of Central Europe, has much in common in all spheres of the state and cultural and historical heritage, especially its right bank regions, which is not only worth preserving, but also using as a basis of mutual enrichment for socio-economic development of both Ukraine and each of the V4 countries.

At the present stage, the Visegrad Four realize the goal of assisting Ukraine in its European integration. Now this is done through participation in the preparation and implementation of reforms, which is already beginning to have some effects. In addition, the development of cooperation leads to the realization that there is great potential that can be tapped in the future, subject to greater convergence of economies, as evidenced precisely by the V4 experience. For Ukraine, which is at war with its northern neighbor, deepening economic integration with the countries of the Visegrad Four creates a chance to exit the crisis on the basis of a transition to a favorable and conducive environment for sustainable

development. Consequently, a strategy that prioritizes the integration of Ukraine and V4 can and should become a roadmap for solving the problems of European and Euro-Atlantic integration of the country.

The territorial factor is the greatest uniqueness of Ukraine, because the people who have never waged wars of aggression in history have the largest territory in Europe. However, the territorial and spatial aspects of solved problems of economic integration are usually not included in the subject of research. They are considered to be closer to the geographic and governmental context. Nevertheless, the buildup of centrifugal tendencies in the EU and especially Brexit show that territory, as the bearer of a certain amount of capital, can have a significant impact on the effectiveness of integration unions. Changing the territory of the grouping is a relatively independent socio-economic phenomenon, through which it acquires a new geo-economic and geopolitical quality. The territorial factor of integration of the Visegrad Four countries in the creation of the grouping has not been the subject of special consideration in the context of socio-economic development. When examining it on the fact of the existence of the association, it should be noted that in terms of territorial size only Poland has a significant advantage over the other members of the V4, whose share is 58.6% of the area of the association. The territory of the Central European states with the inclusion of Ukraine in the integration union will be 1,137,237 km², almost doubled, and Ukraine will account for 53.1% [6]. Consequently, territoriality in integration processes becomes the common caftal that works for each participant. By creating infrastructure adapted to the interests of countries united to address certain common goals, states increase the flow of capital, goods, services, labor, and information. The result is the value added to the GDP of each. The advantages of the territorial nature manifest themselves and are realized if territorialization "is seen as sectoral territorial economic-legal (but not political) autonomy in an expanding and deepening globalization. This could be internal or inter-regional distribution of health resources, territorial distribution of activities and involvement of civil society in addressing the use of new behavioral patterns, and the like" [6].

In all of these areas, activities beneficial to each side can be developed. By the way, Polish and Hungarian health care institutions, where private forms of providing medical services are developed, could be involved in the processes of Ukrainian reforms and develop virtually the market of pharmaceutical and medicinal services in Ukraine. The directions of the use of the territorial factor in Ukraine's relations with the V4 countries correspond to the

territorial priorities of the European Union, which are focused on building an inclusive, reasonable and stable Europe of different regions [7].

In particular, such positions as polycentric and balanced territorial development; integration of cross-border and transnational functional regions; ensuring global competitiveness of regions based on strong local economies; improving territorial connectivity for individuals, communities and businesses; managing the combination of environmental, landscape and cultural values of regions seem promising.

The policy of expanding the integration grouping must have as its component the role of the demographic factor. The economic boom correlates directly with changes in population. On the other hand, a decrease in its growth rate determines the increased burden on the younger generation in terms of pension services and, accordingly, reduces the competitiveness of the economy.

The competitive advantage of V4 countries in using labor migrants from Ukraine is the relative low language barrier. Despite the widespread use of Russian in secondary and higher education and the dominance of Russian-language media in the information space, historically many citizens of Ukraine retain a certain level of proficiency in the languages of their Western neighboring countries or study them independently. In particular, almost 85.0% of labor migrants with Ukrainian citizenship understand or speak Polish at different levels. The vast majority of migrant workers have no language barrier in the Czech Republic either. At the same time, one-third of migrant workers in Hungary did not speak or understand Hungarian, which can, to some extent, explain their lower numbers in this country.

The European integration strategy, which is the basis of Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy, requires first of all a choice of the vector of economic and social development. This problem must be solved in the context of the country's position on the European periphery. In 2017, Lithuania, which ranked last among eurozone countries in terms of GDP per capita in constant prices at purchasing power parity and in international dollars in 2011, was 3.2 times higher than Ukraine; and Bulgaria, with the lowest index among EU countries outside the eurozone, produced 2.5 times more than Ukraine. The situation looks similar in calculating GDP per capita by other methods in dollar terms: in current prices Lithuania produces 5.2 times, and Bulgaria 3.1 times more than Ukraine. Lithuania also has the lowest index among the members of the euro area in terms of GDP production per capita, expressed in current prices at purchasing power parity, which, however, is higher than in Ukraine by 3.2 times, and Hungary with the lowest level among EU members outside the euro area by 1.1 times. Luxembourg and the Netherlands, which are the leading countries in the EU according

to these indicators, produce more than Ukraine by 11.8 and 6.2 times; 39.8 and 18.3 times; 11.8 and 6.2 times, respectively [13]. These indicators show the extremely low starting conditions for Ukraine as a country that has begun to implement a strategy focused on accession to the EU. In general, it is in a kind of "divergence trap," from which it is necessary to ensure a high rate of development. Meanwhile, during the years of independence (1991-2017), the country's GDP in constant prices in U.S. dollars grew 4.2 times. This corresponds to the growth rate of developed countries (Luxembourg's indicator is 4.5 times). But for developing countries, they must be much higher, so as not to allow divergence to freeze or, even worse, to deepen.

For the conditions of Ukraine, the convergence policy should be based on the strategy of advanced economic development. This requires a concentration of all kinds of resources on the industries that determine the country's competitive advantage. In discussions during the 2019 presidential election, industries related to IT, tourism, and the agricultural sector were favored. This cannot be denied, although for such a large country in terms of territory, population and natural resources, the competitive advantages of Ukraine are far from limited to these areas. But there must be reforms that can form the drivers of a nationwide boost to entrepreneurship and the creation of jobs with a high level of productivity and wages. In addition, the drivers of the Ukrainian "convergence machine" should stop the migration flows from the country and the gradual return of migrant workers to the country. This system should be extremely attractive to foreign investors and high-tech imports. It should be built using the best foreign experience, not copying it, but taking into account national peculiarities and ensuring that Ukraine is positioned as a reliable partner and a promising player.

Russia's aggression has revealed the crisis state of the national security and defense system and its unpreparedness to independently ensure the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state. The effectiveness of Ukraine's current defense and security system relies heavily on the U.S. and EU sanctions mechanism against Russia, as well as the mediation by France and Germany in the Normandy format. However, further preservation of this mechanism by the EU is problematic. On December 23, 2014, the Verkhovna Rada decided to renounce non-aligned status, which paved the way for Ukraine to cooperate more closely with the EU and NATO in the military-political sphere. However, the process of creating an effective security and defense system in a united Europe, capable of defending the interests of the union's least protected neighbors such as Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, has not been completed. In these conditions, given the problem of obtaining membership in the EU and NATO in the near future, as well as given the trend of gradual decrease of solidarity

of EU member states with Ukraine (initiation by the Netherlands of lifting sanctions against Russia, attempts to remove from the association agreement a paragraph on defense cooperation between Ukraine and the EU), our state must seek a new format of relations with the EU or individual EU member states and NATO in the politico-military sphere, which would contribute to strengthening its security and defense

In contrast to Ukrainian scientists, foreign politicians and experts take this project quite seriously. Particular attention is paid to this project in Poland, where the concept of "two-track" is being replaced by the idea of creating a military-political association Intermarium, which was supported by presidents Kaczynski and Duda (after being elected as a President, Duda said that Poland no longer wants to be a "buffer zone", but really become the eastern wing of NATO). Poland's support for the project may be due primarily to its concern over the statements of Merkel, who declared that the common cause must be the return of Germany to the leadership of Europe [10, P. 25]. It is also necessary to take into account the fact that the idea of Polish Foreign Minister Sikorski concerning the refusal, and in fact — correction of the Jagiellonian idea (Giedroyc-Mieroszewski doctrine), which he expressed in 2009, received friendly opposition of Polish politicians, as it will lead not only to the weakening of the positions of Ukraine and Lithuania, but also Poland itself, which will turn into a provincial state on the edge of the EU and will be deprived of the opportunity to conduct its own eastern policy [10, P. 192-193]).

The Intermarium is also supported by U.S. analysts, in particular George Friedman [19; 20]. Instead, German experts (e.g., Andreas Umland [17; 18]) are skeptical about the project, given the possibility of Poland becoming a regional leader, which could limit Germany's influence in the EU and in the Eastern European region, and therefore not in its national interests. This argument is not without merit, because, as Oleksandr Irkhin notes, the formation under the aegis of Poland of military-political regional union will allow it to gain critical geopolitical mass, which will automatically give Poland the status of regional states and allow for a qualitatively new level of interaction not only with France and Germany within the EU, but also with Russia [8]. Also, it would be a mistake to claim that Intermarium is a foreign (mostly Polish) geopolitical project. In fact, the possibility of deepening military-political cooperation of the Baltic-Black Sea region by creating a confederative association aimed at protection against aggression from Russia (and to some extent from Germany), at the level of 1918-1934 idea was raised by both foreigns (Józef Piłsudski – the Inter-Sea Project; Carl Mannerheim and Rudolf Holsti – the Baltic Union; Zigfrīds Meierovics – the Baltic-Black Sea Union [1]; Juliusz Mieroszewski – the ULB doctrine [9]; Władysław

Sikorski – Polish-Czechoslovak Confederation), and Ukrainians (Mykhailo Hrushevskyi – Baltic-Black Sea Alliance [6]; Stepan Rudnytskyi – Baltic-Pontic Federation [15]; Yurii Lypa – Black Sea-Baltic Federation) by public and state figures. It should be noted that the ideas of these authors can only be a starting point for the project of creating a political-military association, since current conditions (especially the membership of Poland, the Baltic States, Bulgaria and Romania in the EU and NATO).

The modern world is an extremely complex, contradictory, but integral system of countries and peoples that make up the earth civilization of the beginning of the XXI century. Ukraine takes its rightful place in this system. There is hardly an area in which Ukraine does not play a role today or will not play a role in the future, from cooperation agreements with the EU to arms and consumer goods markets.

The forms of foreign economic relations of Ukraine are diverse: trade, international specialization and cooperation of production, export and import of capital and labor, providing and receiving services (production, shipping, insurance, consulting, marketing, export and import-mediatorial, legal), international joint entrepreneurship, joint construction of economic objects, currency and financial-credit relations, tourism, holding exhibitions, fairs, auctions and the like on a commercial basis.

Geopolitical and economic factors are a powerful incentive for the development of Ukraine's foreign trade relations with the countries of the region, as they are interested in developing economic cooperation with Ukraine. Ukraine is the most promising market for the Baltic States, access to which for their goods is much easier and more accessible than in Europe, due to the fact that in the past there were close industrial and cooperative ties between them.

For Ukraine, the Baltic States are of geopolitical interest both for the development of Baltic-Black Sea cooperation and for the realization of its own political and economic goals on the way to European integration. Ukraine considers effective economic cooperation and cooperation with the Baltic states as a necessary prerequisite for entry into the European Economic Area. The leadership of the Baltic States has repeatedly confirmed its support for our country's European and Euro-Atlantic choice.

The favorable development of events allowed the President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma to state that 1995 was decisive in activating Ukraine's relations with the countries of Northern Europe and the Baltics, their pragmatization "and to characterize this year as the year of the Baltics" in international relations of Ukraine in the European direction [4]. Ukraine in the development of its bilateral relations with the Baltic states and, in particular,

with the Republic of Lithuania, should also take into account the noticeable integration processes that are taking place between Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. According to analysts, the integration processes in the Baltic Sea area and in Northern Europe will only intensify, and in a few years, we can expect the emergence in Europe itself of a zone, which in many respects will exceed the level of integration in Western Europe as a whole [5].

Such a variety of processes taking place in the international life of the region, important from all points of view, requires, of course, a fundamental and long-term study, especially given the interest that Ukraine shows in further strengthening of mutually beneficial bilateral relations, deepening of joint cooperation at the regional level and in international organizations with its Baltic partners and, above all, with the Republic of Lithuania. Without a systemic, comprehensive study of the current state of Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations and the prospects for their further intensification, taking into account all interrelations and their levels, it is impossible to correctly assess the qualitatively new changes that are taking place in the whole region of Central and Eastern Europe. The leadership of the Republic of Lithuania is pleased to note the consistency, balance and predictability of Ukraine's foreign policy. His readiness to use all possible ways to support our country in contacts with leaders of other states demonstrates that Lithuania considers Ukraine as one of its important foreign policy priorities at the present stage.

In this context, it is significant that the Lithuanian leadership has repeatedly emphasized the priority nature of the development of good-neighborly, partnership relations with Ukraine. In particular, this approach was reflected in the joint statements of the Baltic presidents regarding diplomatic support for democratic processes in Ukraine in March and June 1994. And the next year, during the traditional meeting of the presidents of the three Baltic states (September 7, 1995, Tallinn, Republic of Estonia), the heads of state stressed the importance of Ukraine in the pan-European security architecture. This vision of the Baltic leaders of the extraordinary role of our state, in general, opens up broad prospects for a flexible application of the strategy and tactics of Ukrainian foreign policy in the North-Baltic area. The vivid evidence of the consistency of the Lithuanian state's course towards Ukraine, which is perceived by the leading local politicians as a great European state, whose role in the creation of the new European architecture acquires a special weight, in particular in the preservation of the European security system, especially in the Baltic Sea region, was the speech of the Lithuanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Gilis. The head of the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry stressed that Ukraine "is a very important factor for the security and stability of Central Europe".

The modern history of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Lithuania has impartially recorded numerous examples of Lithuania providing the necessary political and diplomatic support both for the course of economic reforms in Ukraine and for its integration into influential European structures. First of all, we should recall the statements of President Algirdas Brazauskas of the Republic of Lithuania in his letter to the President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in support of our state's accession to the Council of Europe: "Ukraine pursues a European-type foreign policy, which aims to improve relations with neighboring countries and support pragmatic relations both with the East and the West. I consider it very necessary for Ukraine to attract the experience of other Central European countries and use it during the reform of the economy of the country and the strengthening of democracy. Active participation in the Council of Europe, which is in the interests of Europe, may be one of the main forms of such activity" [7].

Lithuania's special interest in Ukraine is primarily due to the powerful economic, scientific, military and technical potential of our state, the need to restore the disrupted cooperative and industrial ties between enterprises that existed in the times of the common national economic complex of the former USSR, the prospects of commodity- and service-intensive Ukrainian market, its extremely favorable geopolitical location and transit opportunities, the special role of our state in the existing system of relations in the Commonwealth of Independent States. Further development and deepening of partnership and cooperation relations with the Republic of Lithuania in political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical spheres and so on is in the national interests of Ukraine. Comprehensive development of bilateral relations with Lithuania is of paramount importance as one of the essential elements of the long-term course of political and economic rapprochement of Ukraine with the Baltic States and with the countries of Northern Europe. The absence of any problems of principle in the political part of bilateral relations creates favorable conditions for further deepening of both bilateral political contacts and cooperation in the economic sphere.

Ukraine is interested in expanding bilateral economic cooperation, intensifying regional cooperation, in particular, with the Council of the Baltic Sea States, and introducing real mechanisms of cooperation on those issues where our interests coincide or are close.

Military-technical cooperation between the two countries does not yet match the potential capabilities of both countries. In relations with Ukraine, as well as with other CIS member states, Lithuania primarily focuses on the development of mutually beneficial bilateral economic relations, excluding integration into economic and military-political

structures, since the latter contradicts the constitutional act "on non-adherence of the Republic of Lithuania to the post-Soviet eastern unions.

So, the Baltic states, in turn, see Ukraine as a pivotal state designed to stabilize the climate of trust and security not only in the Baltic-Black Sea region, but also in Europe as a whole. There are no obvious obstacles to full-fledged, full-scale relations between the states. This relationship is not clouded by negative factors of the past or present or possible future rivalries. Ways are open to develop ties both in political and economic cooperation.

1.2. Ukrainian-Lithuanian Relations: The History of Development

Conceptually, the development of friendly and mutually beneficial Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations covers three stages. The beginning of the first stage was marked by an important event-the establishment of diplomatic relations. By the decision of the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of August 26, 1991, Ukraine recognized the state independence of the Republic of Lithuania. On November 21, 1991, diplomatic relations were established. On December 4, 1991, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania adopted a statement recognizing the independence of Ukraine. Since August 1992 in Kyiv operates the Embassy of the Republic of Lithuania, and the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Lithuania was opened in August 1993. A characteristic feature of this stage was the formation of a reliable contractual and legal framework for bilateral relations. With the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in 1994 the next stage in the development of Ukrainian-Lithuanian cooperation began, the main content of which should be considered the actual completion of the formation of the legal framework of cooperation, creating the necessary economic, scientific and technical infrastructure of bilateral contacts, the transition to a qualitatively new level of interaction, with elements of coordination of foreign policy decisions and actions to ensure the necessary mutual diplomatic support.

The third stage began with the adoption of the historic for the Republic of Lithuania decision of the Helsinki Summit of the European Union on December 10-11, 1999, to start negotiations on Lithuania's membership in the European Union. Consequently, its main content should be the use of euro-integration experience of the Lithuanian side, which gains special weight from the moment of Ukraine's declaration of its strategic goal of EU membership (in particular, in the field of addressing issues of coordination of state authorities on the implementation of euro-integration course, bringing national legislation closer to relevant EU norms and standards, migration, EU technical assistance) and elimination of a potentially negative impact on the level of interest of the Lithuanian side in continuing to

actively support Ukraine in the international arena, is related to the different speed of integration of the two provinces into the common European space. In conceptual terms, the strategy of foreign policy of Ukraine in relation to the Republic of Lithuania should be based on taking into account the specifics of both states, which consists primarily in a certain limited national production, raw materials, financial and other resources, primarily of Lithuania, significant dependence of economies on imported energy resources, staying in a relatively politically unstable zone almost along the entire perimeter of state borders.

Successful activities of Ukrainian diplomacy in the Baltic area will undoubtedly be facilitated by the undeniable fact that Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations are developing in an upward direction, acquiring the necessary dynamism. There are no fundamental disagreements in the relationship between the two states that could significantly affect the high level of bilateral cooperation achieved in various spheres. Also, in a historically short period of time, the parties have already managed, in general, to form a reliable and promising basis for cooperation.

The support of Lithuania at such a difficult time for Ukraine is evidence of a strong relationship for the development of our countries. It is very important that Lithuanian politicians and experts directly participate in the process of reforming Ukraine.

How useful the Lithuanians' comprehensive assistance to Ukraine will be will be seen over time, when the reforms have had their effect. Lithuania demonstrates its interest in Ukraine's return to the European family. We have a lot in common with the Lithuanians in the historical dimension.

To summarize the above, it is worth emphasizing that Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations at the present stage are full of remarkable dynamism. Despite the fact that in recent years the Republic of Lithuania has been far ahead of Ukraine in many aspects, the countries continue to maintain a special interest in each other, both politically and at the level of civil society.

Diplomacy uses tools such as negotiations, maintaining trade relations, preparing and implementing joint documents, creating permanent bilateral bodies of interstate cooperation, joint intergovernmental commissions on economic cooperation, and the like. Tools of economic diplomacy are used to protect and implement the economic interests of the state. As for economic diplomacy of Ukraine, first of all, it is aimed at the implementation of necessary and beneficial for the country directions of structural transformation of the economy, actualization of diplomatic instruments for effective state activity on foreign markets, capacity building in promising sectors of national economy, diversification of geographical structure of foreign trade with minimization of critical dependence on separate

states and markets, which will eventually ensure economic security of Uk

Diplomacy plays an important role in the development of bilateral Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations, which are an example of many years of dynamic interaction, cooperation and mutual support in the context of global and regional challenges and threats. Today, Lithuania is not unreasonably called an "advocate of Ukraine's European aspirations," a "friend" and "strategic partner" of Ukraine [8].

Ukraine and Lithuania develop mutual trade and economic cooperation on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and principles of international law. Important areas of common interest are green energy, logistics, transport infrastructure, energy conservation, biotechnology, environmental protection, investment cooperation, etc. Thanks to a strong regulatory and legal framework of bilateral relations, systematic cooperation and dialogue between the authorities and business, Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations are developing dynamically and Lithuania is a leader among European countries in the pace of development of bilateral trade turnover with Ukraine [7].

2. CURRENT STATE OF UKRAINIAN-LITHUANIAN RELATIONS

2.1. Ukrainian-Lithuanian Relations: Current Status

After the Revolution of Dignity, the successful transition from the Soviet model to the model of liberal democracy became Lithuania's soft power in Ukraine. In this regard, Lithuanian politicians, officials and experts have become directly enmeshed in Ukraine's reform processes.

Many hopes were associated with the appointment of Lithuanian businessman Aivaras Abromavičius as Minister of Economic Development and Trade. Ukrainian and international business welcomed the news that former Lithuanian minister and European commissioner Algirdas Šemeta took the position of business ombudsman in Ukraine.

Since February 2016, the chairman of the European Union Advisory Mission (EUAM) has been Lithuanian Kęstutis Lančinskas, who prepared Lithuania for accession to the EU and later to the Schengen Area.

Former Lithuanian Prime Minister Andrius Kubilius became an advisor to Ukraine's president in 2015, joining the Consultative International Reform Council. An adviser to Oleksandr Turchynov, Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, is a signatory of the Lithuanian Independence Act, former Foreign Minister Petras Vaitiekūnas.

How successful the Lithuanian euro-reformers will be in Ukraine, we can only speak in time, when the reforms will yield their results.

There is an opinion that the potential for success is there because, working in Ukraine, Lithuanians have a free hand and their actions are not limited by the influence of the domestic political context, which had to be taken into account in Lithuania.

Lithuanian business, however, is in no hurry to enter the Ukrainian market, although Lithuanian companies already present here have not yet curtailed their activities. In addition, there is a category of business that left or was forced to leave the Ukrainian market in previous years.

In order for them to reinvest their capital in Ukraine, there must be an effective reform of law enforcement, especially the prosecution and the courts.

Also, there are cases when large Lithuanian businesses tried to enter with a new project, but did not receive the appropriate interest from the Ukrainian side.

Special mention should be made of the joint projects of the two states.

One of them is the Viking transport route between the ports of Chornomorsk and Klaipeda, which has been implemented since 2003.

The main route Chornomorsk-Kyiv-Minsk-Vilnius-Klaipeda, which is 1,734 km, should be overcome in 54 hours. Therefore, its attractiveness, as conceived, lies in the speed and cost-effectiveness compared with other cargo transportation routes from Asia to Scandinavian countries.

In times of the Chinese boom and growing competition for PRC funds and involvement in the New Silk Road project, Viking is well positioned to attract investors and customers.

However, for this to happen, Ukraine needs to complete customs reform and ensure that customs procedures do not hinder the delivery of cargo. It takes 30 minutes to check the train on the Lithuanian-Belarusian border.

Therefore, among the challenges of this project-promotion and advertising of the route itself and services to increase the load, as well as the elimination of all obstacles during customs control in Ukrainian ports.

Kyiv should understand that Viking will become attractive only when potential customers are not afraid of the number of borders and various customs procedures that must be passed. Therefore, the short-term goal of the relevant ministries and departments should be to advertise the speedy border crossing not only on the Belarusian-Lithuanian, but also on the Ukrainian sections.

Lithuania is on the list of countries that are most active in helping to reform Ukraine's security and defense sector.

Also, Lithuania is the only state that transferred lethal weapons to Ukraine in 2016 – about 150 tons of ammunition. Thus, Vilnius has set a precedent and set an example for other Alliance countries to demonstrate their level of support for Ukraine.

An important component of Lithuanian policy toward Ukraine in the context of strengthening regional security is the consistent promotion of deeper cooperation between Ukraine and NATO.

Kyiv's Euro-Atlantic aspirations are supported by Lithuanian Foreign Minister Linas Linkevičius and Lithuanian diplomats on all international platforms. According to the minister, Ukraine is a key partner of NATO.

Until the end of 2018, the Embassy of the Republic of Lithuania in Ukraine serves as NATO's contact embassy in our state.

This means that Kyiv will be able to count on Lithuanian support during the major reforms that will take place in accordance with the implementation of the strategic defense bulletin. In particular, we can expect that the embassy will continue to initiate various programs aimed at improving the level of awareness of the Ukrainian population about NATO.

Military cooperation with Lithuania offers Ukraine the prospect of close cooperation with a NATO country without membership in the Alliance.

First, through the training of Ukrainian inspectors, primarily at the Desna Training Center (but also in Yavoriv and Khmelnytskyi). Secondly, by inviting to study in Lithuania.

Third, the experience of multinational cooperation between member countries and those outside the alliance, gained by Lithuania before 2004, is also transferred.

The best example of cooperation in this format is the trilateral peacekeeping brigade LitPolUkrBrig.

It is based on the experience of the Lithuanian-Polish battalion (included in the EU rapid reaction force in 2000) and also uses the experience of the Polish-Ukrainian battalion (1998-2010; a joint format, also involving Lithuanians, was used during participation in the NATO mission (KFOR) in Kosovo).

Whatever the brigade's future fate, it is important that it is already a model for engaging Ukrainian servicemen in permanent cooperation with NATO countries as part of a joint military compound.

For officers, this means a practical and thorough introduction to NATO staff procedures and routines. In the context of the transition of the AFU to NATO standards, this experience is invaluable.

The Ministry has identified six main areas of support for Ukraine in 2023. In particular, we are talking about the contribution to the International Fund to Support Ukraine for the purchase of heavy weapons, transfer and repair of weapons and military equipment, military training, rehabilitation, expert support for defense reforms, as well as strengthening cyber security.

"The weapons, equipment and other military support that we and other countries provide makes a critical contribution to the way the war unfolds. Ukraine's fight is our fight, we must adapt to Ukraine's changing needs and continue to try to ensure that the amount of support does not decrease," commented Lithuanian Defense Minister Arvydas Anušauskas.

The Ministry of Planning will purchase and transfer to Ukraine additional equipment of Lithuanian production: night vision devices, thermal imagers, means for fighting against drones. Also-purchase additional equipment for the soldiers.

Already more than a hundred wounded Ukrainians have been sent from hospitals in Dnipro and Kharkiv to be rehabilitated in Lithuania. In this way, Vilnius helps cope with the

lack of adequate rehabilitation centers in Ukraine by offering the Druskininkai Military Rehabilitation Center and other medical facilities.

Another problem area in the Ukrainian system-psychological rehabilitation is also reflected in the Lithuanian approaches to rehabilitation and offers of assistance.

In total, in 2014-2016, Lithuania provided assistance to Ukraine worth 4.5 million euros, of which more than 1.18 million euros were allocated for humanitarian aid.

Kyiv, Lithuania remains one of the few countries that does not decrease, but rather increases the number of visas issued to Ukrainian citizens every year.

This is reflected in the non-governmental organization Europe Without Barriers rating of the consulates of the Schengen Agreement. It defines Lithuania as one of the three most friendly states to Ukrainian citizens.

Moreover, the Ukrainian government should not deceive itself and perceive the pro-Ukrainian policy of Vilnius as a manifestation of political romanticism. Lithuania's policy is more than pragmatic.

Therefore, it is more appropriate for Kyiv to perceive Vilnius as a partner, rather than as part of the formula "they have nowhere to go, they will help us anyway."

The only category of the population that is less positive about Ukraine are Lithuanian citizens of Polish descent.

The activities of the Polish minority (6.6% of the population) in the Republic of Lithuania are a challenge to Lithuanian-Polish relations and Ukraine.

On the one hand, the Polish minority relays the messages of Russian propaganda regarding Ukrainian events. On the other hand, their criticism of Lithuania's national policy is destructive and often increases the level of tension between Lithuania and Poland.

2.2. Military and Economic Cooperation Between Ukraine and Lithuania

The economic sphere has always been and remains an important object of cooperation between states. Economic security of the country, its sustainable economic development is provided by coordinated activities of both state and non-state bodies and various structures, which by means of economic diplomacy realize the interests of the state in its relations with international partners. The tasks of economic diplomacy are not only the promotion of mutually beneficial foreign trade in goods and services with partner countries, but also the development of international transport, energy and telecommunications systems, improving the functioning of markets, the introduction of international standards, reducing the means and risks of cross-border transactions, etc. [10, P. 15]. To build a developed, successful state,

the economic diplomacy of Ukraine should ensure the opening of new markets for Ukrainian goods and services, attracting foreign investment, actively develop mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation with partner countries, promote joint projects in various industries, etc.

The Republic of Lithuania is a strategic partner of Ukraine and supports it both in bilateral relations and at the level of multilateral diplomacy. In the current conditions of Russian military aggression in Ukraine, it is especially important to strengthen international support for Ukraine and attract investment in the post-war reconstruction of Ukraine's infrastructure. Therefore, the study and analysis of tools of economic diplomacy in relations between Ukraine and Lithuania, features and prospects of trade and economic cooperation between the countries at the present stage is a relevant issue of scientific research.

In terms of the volume of trade in goods with Ukraine in 2021. Lithuania ranked 13th among European countries, accounting for 3.4% of the total. The value of goods and services that Ukraine exported to Lithuania in 2021 exceeded the figure for 2020 by 32% and amounted to 643.5 million dollars. [6].

Machinery, boilers, timber and wood products, grain crops, and railway locomotives dominate in the structure of Ukrainian exports to Lithuania [5].

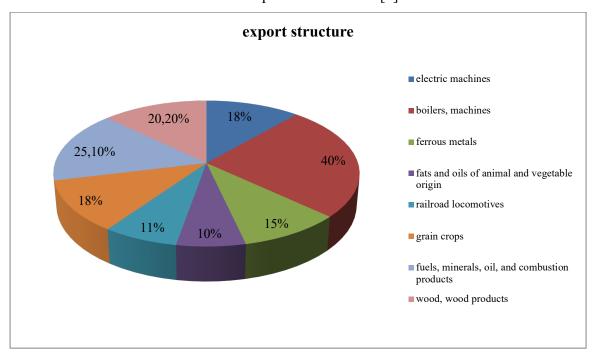


Fig. 1.1. Export structure of Ukrainian goods to Lithuania

If we consider the structure of imports of goods from Lithuania to Ukraine, we can note a significantly higher share of mineral fuel, oil and petroleum products (49.1%). Ukraine

imports fertilizers, plastics, polymeric materials and means of land transport in much smaller volumes from Lithuania (Fig. 1.2) [5].

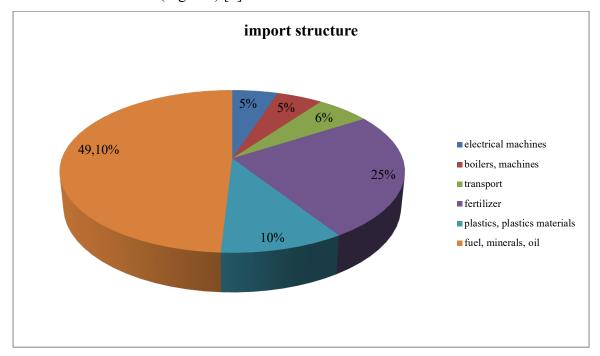


Fig. 1.2. Structure of imports of goods from Lithuania to Ukraine

The dynamics of foreign trade in services between Ukraine and Lithuania is characterized by steady growth during the last years. In particular, foreign trade in services between Ukraine and Lithuania increased from 14,477.9 thousand dollars to 77,367.9 thousand dollars in 2015 (Fig. 2.3), i.e., there was a growth of more than 5 times [3]. A slight decline was observed only in 2020, which can be explained by the consequences of the pandemic. In 2021 there was another significant growth in the volume of Ukrainian-Lithuanian trade in services, which indicates the deepening of cooperation between the countries.

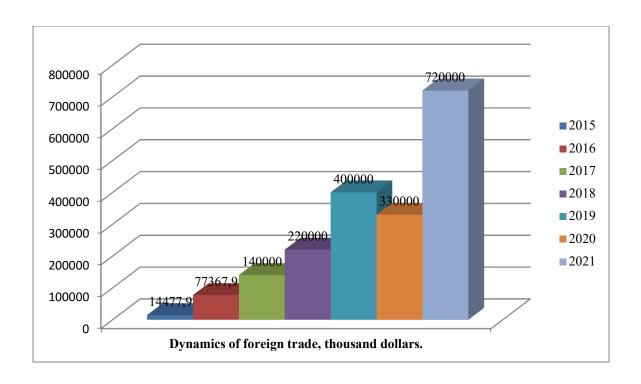


Fig. 1.3. Dynamics of Ukraine's foreign trade in services with Lithuania 2015 - 2021 (thousand USD)

In the structure of Ukrainian services exports to Lithuania, the largest share belongs to transport services (55.7%), as well as information, computer, telecommunication and business services [5].

The main sectors in which Lithuania invests in Ukraine are real estate management, trade, accounting, legal and research activities. As of 2020, there were 61 companies with Lithuanian investments in Ukraine. The volume of Lithuanian investments in Ukraine amounted to 706 million dollars [7].

Permanent bilateral bodies of interstate cooperation, joint intergovernmental commissions on economic cooperation between Ukraine and Lithuania are important bodies of economic diplomacy. In particular, the Ukrainian-Lithuanian Business Council functions effectively, the Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs actively cooperate with the Confederation of Lithuanian Industrialists [7]. The result of their work is a number of signed bilateral documents, which are aimed at implementing joint projects and initiatives. Following a meeting of the Lithuanian-Ukrainian intergovernmental commission on trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation in June 2017, a Protocol was signed, which aims to strengthen cooperation between Ukraine and Lithuania in such areas as trade, investment, healthcare,

transport, energy, space and tourism industries, and agriculture. The implementation of the memorandum on cooperation between Ukrainian and Lithuanian seaports, as well as joint transport projects within the framework of the EU program Eastern Partnership is noted as an important task [14].

Economic diplomacy uses such tools as negotiations, maintaining trade relations, preparing and implementing joint documents, establishing permanent bilateral bodies of interstate cooperation, joint intergovernmental commissions on economic cooperation, and the like. Tools of economic diplomacy are used to protect and implement the economic interests of the state. As for economic diplomacy of Ukraine, first of all, it is aimed at the implementation of necessary and beneficial for the country directions of structural transformation of the economy, actualization of diplomatic instruments for effective state activity on foreign markets, capacity building in promising sectors of national economy, diversification of geographical structure of foreign trade with minimization of critical dependence on individual states and markets, which will eventually ensure economic security of Ukraine [2].

Economic diplomacy plays an important role in the development of bilateral Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations, which are an example of many years of dynamic interaction, cooperation and mutual support in the context of global and regional challenges and threats. Today, Lithuania is not unreasonably called an "advocate of Ukraine's European aspirations," a "friend" and "strategic partner" of Ukraine [8].

Ukraine and Lithuania develop mutual trade and economic cooperation on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and principles of international law. Important areas of common interest are green energy, logistics, transport infrastructure, energy conservation, biotechnology, environmental protection, investment cooperation, etc. Thanks to a strong regulatory and legal framework of bilateral relations, systematic cooperation and dialogue between the authorities and business, Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations are developing dynamically and Lithuania is a leader among European countries in the pace of development of bilateral trade turnover with Ukraine [7].

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The energy sector is an important area of Ukrainian-Lithuanian cooperation. During the meetings of the Lithuanian-Ukrainian intergovernmental commission on trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation, Lithuania pledged to support the implementation of reforms in the energy sector of Ukraine, expressed interest in deepening cooperation in renewable energy, exchange of experience in the use of bioenergy and the latest technologies [14].

As a result of the meeting of the Council of Presidents of Ukraine and Lithuania, chaired by Volodymyr Zelenskyi and Gitanas Nauseda on November 27, 2019 signed a number of documents concerning further cooperation between both countries: a declaration on the development of strategic partnership between Ukraine and the Republic of Lithuania for 2020-2024, a declaration of intentions regarding mutual recognition of electronic identification and trust services for electronic transactions between the Ministry of Digital Transformation of Ukraine and the Ministry of Economy and Innovation of Lithuania and declaration of intent regarding cooperation in cybersecurity between the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and the Ministry of National Defense of Lithuania [12].

During the Ukrainian-Lithuanian Economy and the Pandemic: Crisis and New Opportunities forum, which was held in March 2021, the parties discussed a number of issues of cooperation in the development of infrastructure, logistics, transport, renewable energy and

the fight against the COVID-19 pandemic. As a result of joint discussions, several agreements were signed, in particular the Agreement between the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and the Confederation of Lithuanian Industrialists on cooperation in the field of transport, infrastructure development and logistics, an agreement on cooperation in combating the COVID-19 pandemic, an agreement between Ukrainian and Lithuanian companies to promote the advanced Lithuanian system of oil product collection at Ukrainian enterprises and the Agreement on the introduction of green technologies in the agricultural sector [7].

It is also worth noting the development of Ukrainian-Lithuanian cooperation at the local and regional levels. On November 27, 2019, a cooperation agreement was signed between the Kherson Regional State Administration and the Vilnius Chamber of Trade, Industry and Crafts, aimed at strengthening contacts between businesses. Areas of cooperation include the development of joint production of solar panels in Kherson region, the promotion of agricultural products on the market of Lithuania, the opening of the region for tourism from Lithuania [12]. On April 29, 2022, during the event "bridges of trust: empowering Ukrainian and EU municipalities through municipal partnership development" organized by the U-LEAD with Europe program, a partnership agreement was signed between the Ukmerge district of Lithuania and the Korosten community of the Zhytomyr region. The parties agreed to cooperate and implement joint projects in the economic, cultural, tourism, energy and humanitarian spheres [15].

Lithuania has been particularly supportive and helpful to Ukraine since the start of Russia's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine. During the visit to Kyiv in April 2022, Lithuanian Minister of Economy and Innovation Aušrinė Armonaitė noted her readiness to assist in the reconstruction of Ukraine and become a springboard for its business to return to the EU market, and participated in a discussion on ways to support trade between Ukraine and Lithuania. Today Lithuania provides significant assistance to Ukrainian businesses and citizens of Ukraine. Lithuanian companies left Russia and Belarus as soon as the war started and stopped supporting the economies of these two countries with their taxes. Through various initiatives, Lithuanian business has donated more than 50 million euros to Ukraine [11].

The sphere of digital technologies is one of the most promising in the Lithuanian-Ukrainian cooperation. The Ministry of Economy and Innovation is assisting Ukraine in the area of digitalization. The equipment that provides the necessary Internet infrastructure is supplied jointly with partners in the European Union. And the Center of Registries has already handed over to Ukraine the equipment necessary to ensure data security. Also, a Lithuanian-Ukrainian expert exchange program can significantly improve cybersecurity in both countries [11].

Business and social partners in Lithuania are discussing possible investments in rebuilding Ukraine's infrastructure, and are also studying the most appropriate funding model to ensure the transparent and efficient use of funds. Moreover, a new platform and a new financial instrument, the Rebuilt Ukraine Facility, is being developed, which in the future will combine all support for Ukraine from Lithuania, international institutions and other EU member states [13].

Thus, economic diplomacy plays an important role not only in the development and deepening of Ukrainian-Lithuanian interstate relations, but also in confronting contemporary challenges and threats. Ukraine and Lithuania have sufficiently strong potential for further activation and deepening of cooperation. Lithuania continues to be a strategically important international partner for Ukraine in both multilateral and bilateral cooperation. The objectives of economic diplomacy in relations between Ukraine and Lithuania are further deepening of trade and economic cooperation between the countries, attracting investment in the Ukrainian economy, helping Ukrainian business to expand exports of Ukrainian products, the successful implementation of joint Ukrainian-Lithuanian projects in the energy and transport sectors, opening new markets for Ukrainian products, exchange of scientific achievements and experiences, as well as participation of Lithuania in investment projects to restore Ukrainian infrastructure.

2.3. Russian Invasion and Influence on Ukrainian-Lithuanian Relations

The majority of Europeans believe that NATO (62%) and the European Union (60%) should defend Ukraine, i.e., it is a common cause. The role of individual governments plays a smaller role here, only Poles for the most part, 65%, are ready to get into a conflict on our side without looking back at their neighbors, but they, too, and more than others, rely on NATO and the EU -80% or more.

The process of enlightenment of the West is taking place before our eyes, and what the results will be in a while, we can only speculate. But in Germany, for example, whose position has been rightly criticized many times, the majority of Greens and Social Democrats voters are in favor of Ukraine. If you take the annual GDP, these threats are somewhere around 0.1% of the country's GDP, which is not insignificant. As for the financial economy, finance is more sensitive to various negative information shocks. There is a theory that economic processes are influenced more by expectations than real facts. If businessmen and people expect negative events, it has a very strong impact not only on finances, but also on the underlying economy.

The negative consequences of the war are undoubtedly serious within the EU itself, since we live next door to a country where military action is taking place, as well as having close economic ties with both Ukraine and Russia. Moreover, the EU faced a flow of refugees unprecedented since World War II. The European Commission has already addressed issues related to this and will continue to do so, particularly on the energy front, as part of the plan.

The war against Ukraine is accompanied by a sharp rise in inflation under pressure from food, energy and basic commodity prices. Inflation was already rising during 2021 as a result of increased demand caused by the economic recovery and the prolonged disruption of value chains, but the war accelerated the process. Inflation is more pronounced in developing countries and has the greatest impact on the poorest and weakest, as well as contributing to rising inequality worldwide.

Rising inflation leads central banks to significantly raise interest rates and tighten monetary conditions. And this trend is becoming even more pronounced in transition and developing countries. This comes at a time when the foreign debt of these countries has risen again in recent years because of the pandemic. With this in mind, transition and developing countries have less fiscal space to deal with crises and mitigate the effects on their citizens than developed countries do. This has happened before, but today it is even more tangible.

Moreover to objective factors such as economic difficulties and energy problems, according to EU citizens, the Kremlin's hybrid interventions may also have an impact. So, we analyzed how effective Russia's tools have been in undermining European unity over the past seven months and whether they have the potential to undermine European societies in the future.

A special aspect of Russia's business and economic influence was the energy component, which was used to put effective pressure on EU member states.

However, even high energy prices did not make the EU cave in to Russian pressure. The EU's storage facilities have been filled as much as possible in order to be secure for the winter period of 2022-2023 and not to succumb to Moscow's energy blackmail. The

explosions on the two branches of Nord Stream were also tended to be interpreted in the West as deliberate sabotage, carried out in order to affect the energy sustainability of the EU.

Anušauskas specified that material aid can be both lethal and non-lethal and humanitarian, for example, treatment and rehabilitation of Ukrainian servicemen in Lithuania.

The minister added that Lithuania intends to transfer thermal imaging surveillance equipment to Ukraine in the near future, and the Lithuanian government undertakes to transfer the necessary equipment for at least one million euros annually.

The Ukrainian Armed Forces received a batch of Stinger anti-aircraft missile systems from Lithuania as part of the expansion of military assistance. Defensive ammunition is also included. The plane with the cargo was met by Deputy Minister of Defense of Ukraine Volodymyr Havrylov and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania to Ukraine Valdemaras Sarapinas. Moreover, military materiel and equipment was delivered to meet the needs of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, in particular body armor.

On February 24, 2022, Lithuanian authorities imposed a state of emergency in the country because of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Lithuanian President Gitanas Nausėda said he condemned the Russian Federation's aggression against Ukraine and said that after Russia launched a war against Ukraine, NATO should clearly state that Russia is a serious threat to Euro-Atlantic security. On April 4, 2022, Lithuania decided to reduce diplomatic relations with Russia "in response to Russia's military aggression against sovereign Ukraine and the atrocities committed by the Russian armed forces in various occupied Ukrainian cities, including the horrific massacre in Bucha. Lithuania expels the Russian ambassador, recalls its ambassador and closes the Russian consulate in Klaipeda [9]. On May 10, the Seimas of Lithuania, noting that the Russian military "deliberately and systematically selects civilian targets for bombing," recognized Russia as a "state supporting and implementing terrorism" and its military actions against Ukraine as a genocide of the Ukrainian people.

Since the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Lithuania has more than 50,000 Ukrainian refugees, most of them women with children. The only direction of foreign trade became Western. In this context, it is quite logical that the share of the EU in the geographical structure of foreign trade in goods in the first half of 2022 will increase to 52.2% (against 40.8% in the same period of 2021).

Also, the Lithuanian support is based on several pillars: the definition of areas of cooperation within NATO, the delegation of its experts to Ukraine (about 50 instructors help to reform the AFU), participation in trust funds, military education and training of the

Ukrainian military, the development of the trilateral group, treatment of wounded Ukrainian soldiers in Lithuania. In total, we are talking about 14 projects that are being implemented either independently or together with other states. The Lithuanians are assisting the newly created special operations forces. For the Ukrainian side, the assistance of Lithuanian instructors in the reform of the AFU non-commissioned officer corps is especially important. The sergeant corps in Ukraine is not as effective as in the armies of Western countries. Since the Lithuanian Armed Forces developed from the Soviet foundation, Lithuanians are well aware of the transformation phase and the step-by-step development of military units according to NATO standards.

It is important that one of the main formats for the development of such friendly and strategic relations between the states is the Institute of the Council of Presidents of Ukraine and the Republic of Lithuania.

Other formats of bilateral cooperation – Ukrainian-Lithuanian permanent commission on European integration, intergovernmental Ukrainian-Lithuanian commission on trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation, Ukrainian-Lithuanian business council and others – are also developing actively. The experience of cooperation within the Interparliamentary Assembly of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, Seimas and Senate of the Republic of Poland is unique.

Recognizing the development of bilateral cooperation within the framework of strengthening the territorial integrity and pro-European course of Ukraine, the main mutual interest of both states among other interests can be defined as the following:

Ukraine in relation to Lithuania:

- support for Ukraine in the international arena (in the EU, NATO, OSCE, and UN);
- assistance in the final ratification of the AA with the EU, in obtaining a visa-free regime with the EU and in other formats of cooperation between Ukraine and the EU;
 - expanding defense and security cooperation;
 - strengthening economic, energy and infrastructure cooperation;
- access of Ukrainian business to the markets of Lithuania and the EU, obtaining loans by businesses from international and Lithuanian banks;
 - expanding regional cooperation.

Lithuania in relation to Ukraine:

- reforming Ukraine and the implementation of laws adopted in the framework of the implementation of the AA of Ukraine with the EU;
 - improving the business climate in Ukraine;

- increase in economic cooperation;
- development of the Viking project with increasing the attractiveness of its services in the region and removing obstacles to the intensification of transit of goods at customs;
 - restoration of the historical heritage of the GDL in Ukraine;
- increasing cooperation among nongovernmental organizations and developing student exchanges; strengthening multilateral regional cooperation;
 - new cooperation projects in the fields of energy, ecology, and IT-sector.

Therefore, cooperation between Ukraine and Lithuania can be seen today as an example of using the past to strengthen relations in the present. It is important to note that this positive example is unique in Central and Eastern Europe.

Moreover, analysis of bilateral trade cooperation cannot be limited to statistical data. After all, Ukraine also has a lot to learn from Lithuania in the field of economic diplomacy. First, economic diplomacy is part of the activities of the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry (acting as a coordinator). Secondly, its development is Vilnius's response to the 2008 crisis, Russian aggression and the 2022 war against Ukraine, as well as a consequence of EU membership, which particularly encourages this type of diplomacy and supports its development with structural funds. Third, for its successful implementation, the Council of Economic Diplomacy was created, the purpose of which is to establish a dialogue between state institutions and business associations and to develop existing and search for new markets [22]. Promotion of Lithuanian economic interests abroad lies on the shoulders of either economic ambassadors, or trade attaches, or Enterprise Lithuania representatives (a state institution that promotes business and export).

An important step was the creation of the Ukrainian-Lithuanian Business Council. Contacts have begun between the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and the Confederation of Lithuanian Industrialists, which are also working to create a successful platform for cooperation [24]. Cooperation with the Industrial Chamber of Ukraine is also developing. However, there is a lack of materials and data, which would indicate the development of clear strategies for entering the Lithuanian market by Ukrainian business.

Thus, in matters of transport and infrastructure cooperation with Lithuania, Ukraine needs to effectively and without delay do its homework on customs reform.

The potential for cooperation in the Odesa-Brody-Płock-Gdansk oil pipeline project remains unrealized. The prospects of its use were discussed in the roadmap of strategic partnership between Ukraine and Lithuania.

Lithuania is on the list of countries that are most active in helping to reform Ukraine's security and defense sector today.

Lithuania is also the only state that transferred lethal weapons to Ukraine in 2016 – about 150 tons of ammunition. Lithuania has its own ammunition production, so the transfer was possible and did not require coordination with other NATO countries. The cooperation between embassies and defense ministries contributed to this (although it took about two years to carry out the operation). Ukraine was handed over ammunition that "Lithuania did not need," because Soviet-style weapons are not used after the Lithuanian armed forces switched to NATO standards. Thus, Vilnius has set a precedent and set an example for other Alliance countries to demonstrate their level of support for Ukraine.

An important component of Lithuanian policy toward Ukraine in the context of strengthening regional security is the consistent promotion of deeper cooperation between Ukraine and NATO.

Accordingly, it is advisable to use this experience of the Embassy in finalizing the draft state program of informing the public about the Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine.

For Lithuanian Ukrainians, an important part of their activities today is spreading information about Ukraine, drawing attention to Ukrainian events, and initiating fundraising events.

Given the maximum assistance and support that Ukraine receives from the Republic of Lithuania, Kyiv should carefully study the Lithuanian experience of transformation and European integration in order to identify priority areas for further cooperation between the states. In particular, attention should be paid to the transparency of the Lithuanian judicial system, which is recognized as one of the best in the EU as a whole. The experience of strategic planning and tax reform should be taken into account, as well as the reform of the management of state-owned companies. In order to use state budget revenues more effectively and transparently, it is advisable to study the experience of the National Audit Office of the Republic of Lithuania. For a better implementation of the AA with the EU, the experience of the implementation of the common legal heritage and the Lithuanian negotiating process on the way to EU accession should be taken into account.

The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry should pay attention to the Lithuanian experience of economic diplomacy, paying special attention to the role of the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry as a coordinator of foreign economic activity and to the principles of Enterprise Lithuania (access of domestic business to world markets) and Invest Lithuania (attracting investments).

The energy reform that Lithuania has undertaken over the past few years has not only led to diversification of supplies, but also diversification of energy sources. The growing share of bioenergy in the structure of the country's energy market is also a Lithuanian knowhow that Ukrainian cities and towns should learn from. The example of Lithuania must convince Kyiv that giving the green light to renewable energy sources is to ensure full energy independence of the country.

Ukraine, which counts on Lithuania's help in entering European markets, should carefully study Lithuanian business culture. It is based on competition and does not tolerate protectionism. At the same time, it is important for Kyiv to understand that half-hearted reforms reduce the attractiveness of the Ukrainian market (which is now defined as potentially attractive) and also reduce the development potential of the Viking project. Therefore, Lithuania, whose exports account for an important share of GDP, can hardly afford to wait long for Ukraine to finally evaluate the potential of bilateral economic cooperation and refocus on other markets.

In order to more effectively oppose the "war" and Russian propaganda in the region, Ukraine, together with Lithuania and Poland, should initiate the creation of a Russian-language television channel for broadcasting in Central and Eastern Europe. There have already been talks about this between Kyiv and Vilnius, but so far, the idea has not been realized. Other countries in the region should be invited to participate in the project if it is to develop successfully.

3. PROSPECTS FOR UKRAINIAN-LITHUANIAN RELATIONS

3.1. Development of the System of Relations of Ukraine with the Countries of Europe, NATO, Lithuania

Since the beginning of Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine, Ukraine's prospects for joining NATO have increased significantly. Thus, on September 30, 2022, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyi, Chairman of Parliament Ruslan Stefanchuk and Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal signed an application for Ukraine's accession to NATO under the accelerated procedure. The relevant procedure provides for accession to NATO without a MAP. In this matter, Ukraine is guided by the experience of Finland and Sweden. While the Ukrainian side will wait for approval from all members of the Alliance, it proposes to implement proposals on security guarantees for Ukraine under the Kyiv Security Treaty.

NATO Secretary General Stoltenberg said on the same day that Ukraine's accession to NATO depends on the agreement of all 30 allies. Now 11 out of 30 NATO members have declared their intention to support Ukraine's accelerated accession. These are mainly Eastern and Central European countries.

The presidents of nine Central and Eastern European countries officially supported Ukraine's membership in NATO. Among them are the leaders of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Northern Macedonia, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia. Canada also expressed support for Ukraine's accession to the Alliance.

Bulgaria and Slovenia did not publicly support Ukraine's accession to the Alliance. On October 3, Bulgarian President Rumen Radev stated, "A decision on Ukraine's accession to NATO should be made only after clear parameters of a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine have been developed, which should be agreed upon and implemented by both sides. And on October 4, Slovenian Foreign Minister Tatjana Fajon stated that her country refrained from supporting Ukraine's accelerated accession to NATO "because of high security risks". The White House believes that Ukraine's accession to NATO is not on the agenda at the moment.

With the beginning of Russia's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine, NATO became a platform for discussing and promoting a new format for providing defense support to Ukraine by creating a U.S.-led Contact Group, the so-called "Ramstein format" (called Ramstein Air Force Base in Europe, where the first meeting of the Group took place on April 27, 2022), which already brings together some 50 countries.

European assistance, both financial, political and military-technical, played a major role in this progress. The trend of strengthening of Ukrainian-European relations gives hope for an even greater rapprochement of our state with the countries of Europe and its subsequent accession to the NATO bloc.

On December 23, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania unanimously passed an amendment to the resolution on the participation of Lithuanian Armed Forces units in international operations, which was urgently submitted by the President of the Republic of Lithuania at the suggestion of the Ministries of National Defense and Foreign Affairs.

According to the same decree approved back in 2017, a Lithuanian military training operation for Ukrainians can also be carried out in EU and NATO countries, if they invite Lithuanian instructors to participate in the exercise of the AFU on their territory.

Also, Lithuanian politicians have repeatedly expressed their support for Ukraine's accession to NATO.

At the international conference on reforms in Ukraine 2021, held in Vilnius, Lithuanian President Gitanas Nausėda stressed, "We need a clear vision of what Ukraine can contribute to the Euro-Atlantic community and how it can come closer to the EU and NATO. Ukraine needs clear plans in order to move forward. And the international community expects assurances that a consistent reform process will continue. An ambitious agenda is what motivates people".

For example, in 2023, during a meeting with NATO Secretary General, Lithuanian President Gitanas Nausėda said that Ukraine's membership in NATO would strengthen the security of the Alliance and increase its stability. He stressed that Ukraine is a key partner of NATO and that its accession to the Alliance is of strategic importance.

Nausėda is convinced that Ukraine's membership would serve as a deterrent to Russian aggressive actions in the region. President Nausėda also praised Ukraine's progress on reforms and modernization of the Armed Forces, which he said are necessary steps toward membership. The Lithuanian president demonstrates Ukraine's continued support for NATO membership and the Alliance's commitment to its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Ukraine has been seeking NATO membership for years, but its progress is hampered by Russia's opposition and the ongoing conflict in eastern Ukraine. However, President Nausėda's statements demonstrate Lithuania's support for Ukraine's aspirations and its willingness to work toward its possible membership in the North Atlantic Alliance.

Speaking at the opening of the Baltic Assembly in 2022, Speaker of the Seimas Viktorija Čmilytė-Nielsen noted the importance of the role of parliamentarians in the face of

the war in Ukraine, in supporting the determination of people not to give up, said the Seimas public relations department. "I see helping Ukraine and strengthening NATO's eastern flank as two sides of the same coin," said Čmilytė-Nielsen.

The head of parliament stressed that it was necessary to provide Ukraine with advanced air defense systems and to ensure that those responsible for Russian crimes in Ukraine were brought to justice.

For the speedy integration of Ukraine into NATO, Lithuania prepared a resolution on the eve of the NATO Summit in Vilnius. The document was voted for by 129 deputies of the Sejm, no one was against and no one abstained. Presenting the draft resolution, Žygimantas Pavilionis, chairman of the Seimas Committee on Foreign Affairs, said that it lists tasks for Lithuanian politicians to achieve three months before the summit.

"We oppose gray security zones; we want to refute the thesis that Russia has a veto over Ukraine's membership. We believe that Ukraine will contribute to our security and make NATO stronger," he said. The document states that at the NATO summit to be held in Vilnius, Ukraine "should be invited to become a member of NATO by signing accession protocols and begin the ratification process when conditions for this arise".

The Lithuanian Ministry of Finance will send 10 million euros in aid to Ukraine. Consequently, in 2023 Lithuania will increase its military support to Ukraine by training even more Ukrainian military personnel.

The decree establishes the legal framework and maximum number of military and civilian personnel to participate in the new EU military support mission to Ukraine (EUMAM Ukraine) and the international operation to train the Ukrainian army in Great Britain Interflex. Up to 40 Lithuanian military and government personnel will be able to participate in the EUMAM operation and up to 25 in the Interflex.

"The alliance's efforts to increase support for Ukraine through military training are expanding, and new missions of support for Ukraine are being launched. Lithuania will actively contribute to them, because our security depends on the security of Ukraine. We will support Ukraine until victory, and after the war we will continue to train the Ukrainian military," said Lithuanian National Defense Minister Arvydas Anušauskas.

Also, a resolution adopted by the Seimas provides that a Lithuanian military training operation to train the Ukrainian armed forces, which was approved by the Seimas back in 2017, can be conducted in EU and NATO countries if these states invite Lithuanian

instructors to participate in the exercises of the Ukrainian armed forces on their territory. Up to 60 Lithuanian military and civilian personnel may be involved in the operation.

According to the Ministry of Defense of Lithuania, in 2023, the Lithuanian Armed Forces will train about 1,500 Ukrainian soldiers, of whom 1,100 will be in Lithuania. Part of the training planned in Lithuania in 2023 will be part of a newly established European Union military support mission to Ukraine. In total it is planned to train about 15 thousand Ukrainian military on the territory of EU countries. These events and actions demonstrate Lithuania's support for Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic path, and Ukraine's approach to NATO standards.

3.2. Cultural Diplomacy Between Ukraine and Lithuania

Cultural diplomacy is one of the main aspects of soft power, which not only forms a positive image of the state in the international arena, but also acts as a separate foreign policy tool, whose task is to increase socio-cultural cooperation and promote the national interests of the country abroad. This aspect of the study of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Lithuania acquires particular importance in the conditions of the officially declared status of strategic partnership between the states and joint challenges related to Russia's hybrid aggression against Ukraine. Ukraine and Lithuania are united not only by shared history, values and interests, but also by their shared responsibility for the future of the region, which in recent years has been at the center of global politics. Intentions to strengthen and expand cooperation between Lithuania and Ukraine were confirmed by signing the Declaration on the Development of Strategic Partnership between Ukraine and the Republic of Lithuania (RL) for the period from 2020 to 2024 during the official visit of the President of Ukraine to Lithuania in November 2019 [1]. An important confirmation of strategic cooperation between Lithuania and Ukraine was the creation in July 2020 of the Lublin Triangle – a trilateral platform for political, economic, cultural and social cooperation between Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine, which aims to coordinate the three states to effectively counteract current challenges and threats to common security [2].

In the Ukrainian professional literature, there are already developments of the strategic foundations of cultural diplomacy, in particular O. Rozumna, N. Mysiienko, Shamborovskyi and others. However, the first and most difficult task of such documents is their implementation. It is also worth adding that cultural diplomacy of Ukraine abroad (on the example of specific countries) in the context of the given problems has not been studied practically in depth. Considering the above, Lithuania now has almost the best conditions for effective cooperation in various spheres, including in the context of projects in the field of

culture, and the Republic of Lithuania is one of the priority countries of the Ukrainian Institute. Consequently, the purpose of the article is to analyze the main aspects of cultural foreign policy and cultural diplomacy of Ukraine in Lithuania. "Cultural diplomacy" is a set of targeted actions focused on the exchange of ideas, information, values, traditions, beliefs, and other aspects of culture in order to promote intercultural understanding [3]. The concept of "cultural diplomacy" is already a concept of "public diplomacy," which should be understood as a set of activities carried out by both central and foreign bodies of foreign relations of the state for the purpose of research attitudes and informing the foreign public, as well as establishing contacts abroad, in order to improve the state image and achieve national interests [4]. Thus, art and culture are part of international relations and an important tool in an era of new global challenges. The cultural presence of a country within another culture creates unique opportunities, forums, and platforms for interaction between people of different countries, thereby laying the foundation for friendly and enduring social and economic ties between citizens and governments.

Cultural diplomacy helps build a "foundation of trust" with other peoples, a key factor in political, economic, and military agreements [5]. As you know, the effectiveness of the cultural diplomacy strategy of a modern state directly depends on the level of development of its own cultural industry. Producing the necessary cultural material requires a holistic public policy and the combined efforts of a large number of stakeholders. In particular, the cultural presence of Ukraine in the world is designed to ensure a huge number of Ukrainian and foreign entities. If we start from the definition of cultural diplomacy as the exchange of cultural potentials of different communities to achieve trust, mutual understanding and good neighborliness of different countries, such interaction is not the monopoly of the state, because it occurs both at the level of official state policies, civil society, and at the level of individuals, who are also carriers of different cultures [5]. According to the analytical study "Ukrainian Prism", the bilateral relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Latvia during 2015-2019 are an exemplary example of almost perfect interstate cooperation, the rate of which is increasing every year [6]. Obviously, the catalyst for such cooperation was the illegal annexation of Crimea and Russian aggression. Lithuania has been and continues to be a kind of "advocate" for Ukraine in the international arena, demonstrating unanimous support for Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty, as well as for sanctions against Russia.

It is important to note that Lithuania was the first state that not only provided powerful military and humanitarian aid, but also continues to promote the Euro-Atlantic course, intensification of reforms and anti-corruption activities of Ukraine in every possible way. At the same time, analyzing the events organized by the Ukrainian Embassy (UE) in Lithuania, one gets the impression that they are mostly declarative in nature, and a positive image of Ukraine in Lithuania is constructed rather situationally, mainly by non-state players, and sometimes even by the Lithuanian side. Consequently, there is a need to analyze and systematize the information received from official sources and collected during the stay in Lithuania during 2016-2020, as well as to provide recommendations for improving the image of Ukraine in Lithuania by means of culture. We consider it appropriate to structure the analysis around such main subjects as UE in Lithuania, the Ukrainian Institute, and Ukrainian-Lithuanian community in the Republic of Lithuania. First of all, it is worth noting the absence of information about cultural and humanitarian cooperation between Ukraine and Lithuania on the UE webpage [7], although the activities of Ukraine in the RL in the humanitarian direction during 2016-2020 are focused on strengthening the cultural and humanitarian component in the overall context of Ukraine's presence in Lithuania.

The main focus is to familiarize the Lithuanian public with the history and cultural heritage of Ukraine, the outstanding dates and figures in Ukrainian history, in particular through the organization of certain cultural and artistic events. According to UE sources, the relevant cooperation is carried out in an atmosphere of mutual understanding due to the absence of controversial/acute historical issues in relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Latvia. Priorities for the development of cultural and humanitarian cooperation between Ukraine and Lithuania are: promoting deeper practical cooperation between relevant ministries of Ukraine and Lithuania in the field of culture, education, science, youth and sports; promoting bilateral cooperation in the field of preservation and protection of cultural heritage of Ukraine and Lithuania; holding cultural and artistic events to promote Ukrainian culture in Lithuania; supporting close ties with the Ukrainian community; holding cultural events to support Ukraine

Having analyzed the reports made public on the Embassy's website, cultural events are mainly concentrated around public events (memorials and anniversaries), among which: events honoring prominent figures, celebrations of State Flag Day, Ukraine Independence Day, Ukraine Unity Day, Crimean Tatar Flag Day, Vyshyvanka Day, Heavenly Hundred Heroes Day, celebrations of the Day of Memory and Reconciliation and the anniversary of victory over Nazism in World War II, honoring the victims of political repression and deportation of Crimean Tatar people, commemoration of Holodomor victims of 1932-1933, etc. [7].

Undoubtedly, such measures are extremely important in the context of drawing the attention of Lithuanian society and politicians to the current situation in Ukraine due to the opposition to Russia's ongoing aggression, as well as conveying truthful information about important milestones in Ukrainian history. However, according to Ukrainian experts, Ukraine should not concentrate all cultural events only around the exploitation of the image of the victim, because this strategy does not work in the long term to build a positive image of Ukraine, and the themes of "sharovar" borders with primitive advertising.

We should not limit ourselves to this, because Ukrainian culture is much broader, richer and can tell much more about the values, problems and opportunities of Ukrainians to the recipient country, so Ukraine should promote a new image and a European future. The embassy notes that during 2015-2019 there was a deepening of bilateral cooperation in the promotion of Ukrainian cultural heritage in Lithuania. In particular, leading Ukrainian artists, musicians, and creative groups took an active part in various cultural events organized in Latvia. The positive image of Ukraine was also promoted by a number of measures of the PU in the Republic of Latvia in the field of public diplomacy to develop joint projects in various sectors and further strengthen ties [7].

However, analyzing and, in fact, personally observing the events organized by the Embassy and the Ukrainian community in Lithuania the question arises about the quality of the offered content and effectiveness (meaning attracting partners, building new connections, public resonance). In the context of organized events during 2016-2020, the Embassy predominantly resorted to the motifs of traditional Ukrainian culture, inviting folk song and dance groups. Such sectors of the creative industries as design, photography, visual arts, architecture and book publishing are almost absent. However, a great deal of attention is paid to film production, as evidenced by the annual Days of Ukrainian Cinema, as well as numerous film screenings of films about the Russian-Ukrainian war (Cyborgs, Battle for Sevastopol, Frost, etc.) [7]. As A. Rozymna points out, events aimed at "popularizing" Ukrainian culture are perceived by diplomats rather superficially, because such a goal does not motivate to develop, to create new cultural products, to reach a new level of creativity, to search and discover new opportunities. Thus, officials choose a rather convenient format for holding events in the sphere of culture — "for a tick" [8].

With the powerful development of creative industries in Ukraine in recent years, the presence of a broad base of artists and cultural players, the great demand and interest from Lithuania, there is not only the possibility but also the need to create a high-quality and competitive cultural product. Obviously, it will be appropriate to specify the experience of

the cultural presence of Ukraine in Lithuania through the prism of separate cases, which will create an understanding of the real situation, will allow to draw conclusions on such positions as used and unused opportunities of activity and its prospects. In November 2018, the Ukrainian band DahaBraha, called "the cultural ambassador of Ukraine to the world," played a concert at the Congress Hall in Vilnius [9]. It was a private concert that was in no way supported by the Embassy. The artists were called back for an encore several times, and the auditorium was completely full of audience members, who were delighted. Having personally attended most of the cultural events in the RL, it was one of the brightest displays of Ukrainian cultural diplomacy in Lithuania. The performers performed with the flag of Ukraine, communicated a lot, and also expressed their support for the Kremlin's political prisoner Oleg Sentsov.

This once again confirmed the fact that art speaks louder than speeches. At a time when the Baltic concert industry is overflowing with Russian show business content, there is an urgent need for quality representation of Ukraine abroad, because not just images, but meanings are conveyed through art. The author of the article also made her own contribution to the representation of Ukraine in Lithuania by cultural methods. In particular, in 2016, after winning the international student competition "Erasmus Got Talent" at Mykolas Romeris University, where she performed several Ukrainian and foreign musical compositions, representing Ukraine and Vasyl Stus Donetsk National University. The administration of the University of Lithuania initiated a bilateral agreement of cooperation with Vasyl Stus Donetsk National University. This agreement made it possible for students from both universities to study and train in Lithuania in the discipline of international relations [10]. She also participated three times in the Armed Forces Day celebrations, performing Ukrainian folk and contemporary compositions [11].

Thus, it has been shown from my own experience that even the smallest amount of cultural product in events of a political, economic, or military nature attracts significantly more attention than a long speech, leaves pleasant impressions, and lays the foundation for further dialogue. A remarkable feature of the cultural diplomacy of Ukraine in Lithuania is the active, sometimes initiative participation of Lithuania itself in this process. A positive case study of using cultural tools to build cooperation was the Okean Elzy benefit concert with the St. Christopher's Lithuanian Chamber Orchestra at St. Catherine's Church Vilnius 2018, which was initiated by the Orchestra and implemented with the assistance of Lithuanian Ambassador to Ukraine Marius Janukonis. Especially for the performance of the band with the orchestra, famous Lithuanian artists and performers have developed an

instrumental arrangement of the band's songs and a unique light show for the performance. The proceeds were used to help orphanages in eastern Ukraine [12]. This precedent generated considerable publicity in the Lithuanian media and was ultimately a resounding success [13,14].

As the former head of the orchestra, Milda Gostautaite, notes, "The event was designed for 400 people, most of whom were invited guests, and of the 120 tickets sold, about 10,000 euros were raised. The idea of the concert was to limit the number of tickets for sale (despite widespread demand) and rebroadcast it on Lithuanian TV. The goal of the organizers was to present the project to the Lithuanian establishment, cultural figures and opinion leaders, to remind them of the importance of the Ukrainian theme in the international context and to inspire similar projects in the future. Unfortunately, such a case turned out to be rather exceptional and was realized, to a great extent, thanks to the persistence of Lithuanian activists, supported by representatives of the Lithuanian diplomatic corps and the cultural sphere.

There was no information about the event on the web page of the UE in Lithuania, and the domestic media did not pay any attention to the event. Also starting in 2017, Lithuania organizes an annual charity television marathon in support of Ukraine Together to Victory, initiated by Jonas Ohman, chairman of the Lithuanian volunteer organization Blue/Yellow, with support from the government, cultural workers and national television LRT. Starting in 2019, the marathon took the format of a telebridge with Ukraine and was broadcast on the TV channels Direct and Channel 5. During the telethon, the most famous Lithuanian performers performed live, presenting musical works in Lithuanian and Ukrainian. Among them was the Ukrainian group TaRuta, which is quite popular in Lithuania and has in its repertoire many songs in the Lithuanian language. The last such marathon helped raise about 130,000 euros for the Ukrainian army.

The event was attended by Lithuanian President Gitanas Nausėda, Lithuanian Foreign Minister Linas Linkevičius, Lithuanian Defense Minister Raimundas Karoblis, LRT director general and representatives of the Ukrainian Embassy in Lithuania. In addition to public events, the non-governmental organization Blue Yellow Ukraine supports Ukraine on a permanent basis and has already provided humanitarian aid and military equipment to the amount of nearly \$1 million. [15]. In general, such a measure is not only a manifestation of Lithuania's strong support, but also an exemplary example of interaction through culture. Under such conditions, Ukraine could have been much more active, especially when it comes to the Ukrainian issue itself. In particular, it would be advisable to include more Ukrainian

artists in the framework of such events, thus reaching a wide audience with an interest in Ukraine. As we know, Culinary Diplomacy is an effective diplomatic tool, as well as a symbol of the culture and traditions of a particular nation. Consequently, the current, diverse gastronomic image of contemporary Ukrainian cuisine can play a great role in the context of the application of soft power.

On the culinary map of Vilnius, Ukraine is represented by such establishments as Borsch and Leleko" which are located in the historic center of the city. However, according to visitors' reviews, the share of Ukrainian culture has remained only in the names of establishments, so they are more of a commercial project of local business representatives, although there is a great demand for Ukrainian national dishes. Thus, the institutions of Ukrainian cuisine in Lithuania largely distort the perception of Ukrainian culture, both by the local population and by foreigners, narrowing the view of Ukrainian cuisine. An exemplary case in this direction can be the case of the restaurant 100 Years Backwards and the collaboration with Yevhen Klopotenko in his project Borsch. The Ukrainian Institute is also one of the important players in Ukraine's cultural diplomacy abroad. Analyzing the UI activity report for 2019, we can say that in Lithuania it was represented by only 2% [16].

Compared to the money Russia devotes to promoting its own culture abroad, these efforts are paltry. Russian diplomats plan their actions in the sphere in advance and systematically hold large-scale cultural events in the capitals of leading countries. That is, Russia pursues an active policy, while Ukraine pursues a reactive one. Also, as noted by Ukrainian experts in cultural diplomacy, the Ukrainian Institute lacks a system for evaluating the success of its efforts [8]. Only in the fall of 2019, the UE launched an information and analysis department that will research the effectiveness of the institute and the projects implemented. UE also recently presented a development strategy for the period 2020-2024 in which Lithuania is noted as a priority country, but the geography of the Institute's activities towards the Baltics is planned to expand only in 2024 [18].

An important factor in the implementation of cultural diplomacy of Ukraine is also the diaspora and organizations of Ukrainians in Lithuania. As of 2019, the Ukrainian community made up the largest share of foreign communities in Lithuania, numbering 17,000 Ukrainians, a 42 percent increase over 2018. In such circumstances, it is important to actively involve and coordinate the efforts of Lithuania's foreign Ukrainians as an integral element of public diplomacy. Also, young people, as well as a wide range of representatives of business and IT Ukraine in Lithuania as potential partners for cultural projects should not be overlooked. Today, the community of Ukrainians in Lithuania is not consolidated, it is

formed mainly by people of advanced age, and young people are more likely to assimilate with the local population. One of the places of regular meetings of the Ukrainian diaspora and the center of the spiritual life of the community is the Greek Catholic Church of the Holy Trinity in Vilnius, built in 1514 with funds from the Lithuanian hetman and Ukrainian prince Konstantin Ostrozhsky. Services are conducted in Ukrainian and take place weekly. The church is located in the historic center of the city and is always in the center of attention of citizens and tourists. The church building was significantly damaged during the Soviet occupation and is now being renovated. Nevertheless, it is open to visitors and has repeatedly served as a platform for the organization of various cultural events [7].

According to the UE, the most emotional response and interest in Lithuanian society are those measures that symbolize the common historical fate and heritage of the two peoples – Ukrainian and Lithuanian. Considering the above, the Church of the Holy Trinity in Vilnius could become something like the Anne of Kyiv Center in France, which is now successfully functioning to better position Ukrainian culture in Europe. Thus, we can conclude that during 2016-2020 the Embassy of Ukraine paid insufficient attention to the presentation of Ukrainian projects in Lithuania. The use of the resource of cultural and public diplomacy of Ukraine in the RL is also insufficient. A general analysis of the presence of Ukrainian culture in Lithuania shows that these cases are the basis for the development of horizontal connections, the implementation of more innovative cultural projects, the involvement of contemporary Ukrainian artists and the creation of new information occasions to more successfully fulfill the tasks and mission of cultural diplomacy.

Thus, only the involvement and synergy of efforts of many agents of cultural diplomacy will allow to adequately respond to numerous external challenges and threats, to promote Ukrainian culture in the world and, at the same time, create conditions for its full-fledged development.

CONCLUSION

During the work on the declared topic of research, the following conclusions and results were obtained, which indicate that the goals and objectives of the study are fully met:

- 1. With gaining independence, Ukraine faced the challenge of developing regional cooperation in the field of economy, politics, social and cultural issues. The positive experience of regional cooperation in the form of the Visegrad Four, the Intermarium project and regional cooperation of the Baltic states give the Ukrainian state the opportunity to integrate into regional structures.
- 2. A special place in the foreign policy of Ukraine is occupied by cooperation with the Baltic States, in particular with the Republic of Lithuania. The historical roots of interaction between the two states testify to the positive experience of bilateral relations at the level of independent states. In a historical retrospective we can distinguish several stages in the development of Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations, which indicated the deepening of bilateral relations, the improvement of both diplomatic structures and the use of so-called "people's diplomacy.
- 3. Considering the issue of the current state of bilateral relations, we can note that economic diplomacy plays an important role not only in the development and deepening of Ukrainian-Lithuanian interstate relations, but also in confronting contemporary challenges and threats. Ukraine and Lithuania have sufficiently strong potential for further activation and deepening of cooperation. Lithuania continues to be a strategically important international partner for Ukraine in both multilateral and bilateral cooperation. The objectives of economic diplomacy in relations between Ukraine and Lithuania are further deepening of trade and economic cooperation between the countries, attracting investment in the Ukrainian economy, helping Ukrainian business to expand exports of Ukrainian products, the successful implementation of joint Ukrainian-Lithuanian projects in the energy and transport sectors, opening new markets for Ukrainian products, exchange of scientific achievements and experiences, as well as participation of Lithuania in investment projects to restore Ukrainian infrastructure.
- 4. The economic sphere has always been and remains an important, key object of cooperation between states. Economic security of the country, its sustainable economic development is provided by coordinated activities of both state and non-state bodies and various structures, which by means of economic diplomacy realize the interests of

the state in its relations with international partners. The objectives of modern economic relations are not only to promote mutually beneficial foreign trade in goods and services with partner countries, but also to develop international transport, energy and telecommunications systems, improve the functioning of markets, introduce international standards, reduce the means and risks of cross-border transactions, and so on.

- 5. Bilateral relations take on special significance in the context of Russia's military aggression against Ukraine. The Republic of Lithuania is a strategic partner of Ukraine and supports it both in bilateral relations and at the level of multilateral diplomacy. In the current conditions of Russian military aggression in Ukraine, it is especially important to strengthen international support for Ukraine and attract investment in the post-war reconstruction of Ukraine's infrastructure.
- 6. Further prospects for interstate cooperation between Ukraine and Lithuania are seen in the consistent policy of the Republic of Lithuania to support Ukraine's European integration strategy and the Ukrainian state's NATO membership course. Lithuania, as well as the other Baltic states, has repeatedly stated its unwavering position on Ukraine's prospects for European integration.

Cultural diplomacy can and should become another promising direction for the development of Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations. Half a lifetime experience of Ukrainian-Lithuanian cultural, educational and scientific contacts will continue to contribute to strengthening bilateral relations between the states.

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