

## Ukrainian vector in foreign policy of Lithuania in first years of independence

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### Summary

The problem posed in the article is the foreign policymaking of Lithuanian Republic as to Ukraine in the first years after the independence restoration.

Keywords: Lithuanian Republic, foreign policy of Lithuania, restoration of the independence, bilateral relations.

In August 2017 is the 25th anniversary of the opening of the Lithuanian Embassy in Ukraine. Traditionally, Lithuania acts "lawyer" Ukraine stands with the European institutions, and from 2014 – the most active donor countries, humanitarian, professional and military assistance to Ukraine. The issue of post-Soviet countries the state remains a hot topic among both domestic and European researchers. Relations between Lithuania and Ukraine given period is enough interest to analysts because their economies were transformed from planned to market, but despite the proximity of Lithuania with the EU, it was forced to maintain a long-established finding in the USSR economic ties with post-Soviet states. Along with the transformation of public institutions security systems of both countries also had to reform, but for each national scenario.

It is believed that Lithuania is an example of post-Soviet countries, which could make rapid reforms in all spheres of political and social life in order to join the European Union and NATO, but it should be noted that this process lasted almost 13 years. In comparison with Ukraine Lithuania transformation can be called rapid reform – profound and timely, and is made possible by the fact that Lithuania in the early years of the restored independence defined the vector of development towards the EU and NATO. This choice was dictated by the demands and the available balance bipolarity of international relations as whole, real fears of Russian aggression and, above all, European historical heritage of Lithuania.

Lithuanian origins activity internationally seen before the collapse of the Soviet Union, because of its independence Lithuania announced March 11, 1990, not without reason, backed by Western countries and the USA. For October 5, 1990 government program of Lithuania was the main directions of its foreign policy, aimed primarily at how to restore the independence of Lithuania and return to the international community of sovereign states through bilateral agreements with the Soviet Union already as an independent country; become a full player in the European political integration within the Council of Europe; become part of the European Economic Area. Less than a year Lithuania proclaimed the restoration of independence. Recall that the United States did not recognize the Republic of Lithuania as part of the USSR, exposing the devastating criticism of the existence of a secret "Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact" in which the Soviet Union and Germany divided its sphere of influence in the Baltic region, which today is classified under international law as an occupation. And it is the US issued the existence of such agreements the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany.

It should be added that the fact of occupation of the conviction Russia ARC in 2014 the United States once again showed the sequence of international support for US sovereignty

of countries internationally defined borders. US refusal to recognize the Crimea part of Russia after the occupation under international law with economic and political sanctions can be considered an important precondition for restoring the rights of Ukraine on the Crimean peninsula in the future.

Lithuania in its policy on supplies to Ukrainian territory of Crimea also demonstrates the consistency and determination. In 1994, when Russia carried out measures to destabilize the situation in Crimea in command of the Black Sea Fleet in Crimea, Lithuanian President A. Brazauskas became the third leader of the world (after the US and Germany), which reacted to the events in Crimea statement calling comply with international law and compromise [1]. It was later statement the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania for supporting Ukraine and its territorial integrity [2] and the declaration of the ruling political party "Union Center of Lithuania" condemned the separatist actions in support of Ukraine and its territorial integrity. Support for sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine was in Lithuania guarantee its independence and territorial integrity.

Along with other post-Soviet states, Lithuania after the restoration of independence passed to a new stage of development of the state, which will Historical Heritage Grand Duchy of Lithuania with sufficient precision formed a new foreign policy of Lithuania. It should be noted that unlike domestic policy exterior look more stable. It says at least that for the period from March 1990 to November 1992 has changed five prime ministers, foreign affairs while the same Minister A. Saudarhas (one of the founders of the Council of Baltic Sea in which Ukraine is an observer) represented Lithuania.

According to Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania L. Linkyavichusa (Minister of Defense of Lithuania from October 1993 – November 1996) in the Lithuanian Seimas lasted long discussion on the choice of security [3]. The key factor in this was the fact that while in Lithuania from the Russian Federation for a long time do not actually withdraw. In December 1993, after a noisy debate in the Diet on foreign policy issues, political parties Sejm consensus on the importance of Lithuania's accession to NATO. January 4, 1994 were sent a letter signed by the President of Lithuania A. Brazauskas Secretary General. Unlike the opposition party "Fatherland Union" V. Landsbergis (Chairman of the Seim of Lithuania from July 1992 to November 1992), the pro-presidential party "Democratic Labor Party of Lithuania" coming to Euro-Atlantic integration moderate understanding that Europe needs only Lithuania with normal relations Russia.

The difficult process of withdrawal of Soviet troops from Lithuania remained in the territory of the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation, which shares a border with Lithuania. Therefore, a key element in the formation of Lithuania's foreign policy remains the question of accession to collective security systems – such as the OSCE and NATO. If at that time, Lithuania and Ukraine join the NATO alliance just as partners, primarily due initiated by America program "Partnership for Peace" in 1994 in the hope of future membership in the alliance, the members of the OSCE (at the meeting on security and cooperation in Europe – CSCE) became Lithuania in 1991, Ukraine – in January 1992.

The desire to become an EU member Lithuanian government said the EU Council December 8, 1995. Almost two years later. This detail delay Lithuania's adoption of this decision is important in view of the fact that, for example, Petras Aushtryavichus (Director of the

European Commission under the Government of Lithuania for negotiations on the accession of Lithuania to the European Union from 2001 to 2003, a Lithuanian member of the European Parliament in 2014 ) states that the Lithuanian authorities allegedly did not make any difference between the European and Euro-Atlantic integration, because it was no alternative way [4]. However, decisions were adopted with a gap in time in almost two years. Mainly this delay was due to the fact that the President A. Brazauskas and government guided economic conditions of that time: almost 60% of exports and 86% of Lithuania's imports accounted for the CIS countries, as do clear leader of the country was in no hurry. [5] However, adherence to these European organizations as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (since 1995 – the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) and the Council of Europe, membership in which is not contrary to the participation of the EU and NATO showed a clear pro-European direction of integration of Lithuania and demonstrative distance from the descendant of Soviet Russia.

At the constitutional level, the Act on Non Lithuania to Post-Soviet Eastern Unions Lithuania, inter alia, decided to develop mutually beneficial relations with each country, formerly part of the USSR. [6] This principle actually began to be applied in relations with Ukraine as soon as the state recognized the independence of each other relevant resolutions of the national parliaments.

The official beginning of the establishment of bilateral cooperation was the Protocol on establishing diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Lithuania, which entered into force on 12 December 1991. Lithuania opened its embassy in Kiev in August 1992 and in August 1993 – his Ukraine in Vilnius. By the time the Ukrainian diaspora numbered about 45 thousand Ukrainian, while Lithuanians in Ukraine there were over 10 thousand. A month earlier, in July 1993, then-Prime Minister of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma made, in fact, the first visit by such a high level, during which signed a number of intergovernmental agreements on cooperation in transport, communications, international transportation, air transport, customs, science, culture and non-trade payments. All by 2000 there were 56 bilateral agreements at all levels, while today – there are more than 350.

In general, any state of bilateral relations, even if they do not have common borders, focus on a common contractual base and, most importantly, the duration of the history of cooperation, because no matter how accumulated was not a list of bilateral and multilateral agreements, if people do not prefer be friendly, no obligation, even recognized by the international community, not forced to respect each other.

The period of becoming the already independent Lithuania can not be called an intensive period of cooperation with Ukraine, in contrast to the period that began in 2004, but the number of signed interstate, intergovernmental and interdepartmental agreements and made reciprocal state visits at all levels indicates that Lithuania in their international politics saw Ukraine as a partner in several areas [7].

When asked why Lithuania and Ukraine have always supported ties in political, economic, social and cultural levels, the researchers Ukraine and Lithuania give different answers that are always positive common denominator. In one recent study Lithuanian sociologist and professor of Vilnius University Z. Norkusa states that "after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the former territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania restored independence not only in

Lithuania, but also formed two independent states (Belarus and Ukraine), which is used to design own national identity means "grand narratives" [8]. Of course, history is never simultaneously true for all objects of study that existed in the same time. After all, like Lithuania, Ukraine, although in the short term, however, declared its independence in 1918. And, therefore, the Ukrainian state is not only the result of the collapse of the USSR. There is no doubt correct when Lithuania include in its history Ukrainian people as an integral part of the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but must take into account the fact that, like Lithuania, Ukraine was the creation of the state of the USSR.

The phenomenon of social and genetic memory, and positive, a factor which encourages Ukrainian and Lithuanian support and develop friendships. Close Lithuanian-Ukrainian relations, even in the absence of a common border on the modern world map is historically conditioned.

Among some skeptical observers of that period, it is believed that there are no alternatives to European and Euro Lithuania not reviewed and that any bilateral contacts than strategic, did not care. Chronology of bilateral cooperation in research is often cited fragmentary [9], although every year since 1990, been signed agreements, protocols, memoranda of mutual visits at all levels. It should be noted that, despite the decision of the first independent leadership headed by V. Landsbergis minimize relations with former Soviet states, in practice it is concerned over Russia, after all, some called paranoid fears of alleged Russian aggression, the fact remains that only after treatment Baltic Council of the UN, OSCE and the Group of Seven (G7), Russia was forced to withdraw Soviet troops from Lithuania.

After the election in February 1993, the first president of Lithuania A. Brazauskas Ukrainian side made the first state visit to Vilnius on 8 February 1994. President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk returned with the signed Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Ukraine and Lithuania and has a number of agreements. The visit was considered to build the foundation of international relations, but for some reason some Ukrainian writers produce the event timeline of bilateral relations [9].

From the contents of the interview initiated by the Ukrainian side President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk to Lithuanian newspaper "Lietuvos Rytas" a month before the visit [10] clearly stated that the Ukrainian president first proposed to meet the Lithuanian counterpart through the media, thus confirming the president's lack of dialogue by the time even in an informal way. Given the questions that he answered the president, his main messages was "prudent" decision support for Ukraine to join NATO Lithuania and Vilnius condemning the official statements of the then political leaders of Russia (Vladimir Zhirinovsky and others), who tried to deny the legitimacy of the recognition of Ukraine as independent state.

His visit Ukrainian president sought support in the countries that experienced the danger from the side of Russia, Ukraine's decision to abandon nuclear weapons on the eve of signing an agreement with Moscow and Washington. V. Landsbergis said then that the Ukrainian leadership showed no special interest in Lithuania until there was a threat from Russia. He definitely agreed that Ukraine really need support, because its fate is important for Lithuanian independence. [10]

During the visit, both presidents stressed that no agreement on the establishment of regional military alliances were not the leaders of both countries with Russia only want to

build positions and compromise agreements. [10] But the results of the presidential elections in Ukraine in the summer of 1994 will change the emphasis in this regard.

Economic relations between Lithuania and Ukraine after the collapse of the Soviet Union gained new momentum. As of 1993, Ukraine was in fourth place for investment after Russia, Poland and Germany in the company of Lithuania – 5.7% of Lithuanian enterprises with foreign capital were Ukrainian capital. [11]

An important stage in the development of economic relations with Ukraine launched free trade agreement signed August 4, 1993 during the visit of Prime Minister of Lithuania A. Shlyezhavichusa to Kyiv. This aspect was very important signing of mutual settlements, as “transitional” economy is not focused on a particular currency.

So, for the first two years of the restored independence of Lithuania not immediately determined the directions of its foreign policy, because, like other post-Soviet states, it could not avoid a deep economic and political crisis. Ukrainian trend was interesting for Lithuania pragmatic reasons, because for the preservation and expansion of Ukrainian investment needed continued international dialogue, simplify cross-border trade via the mechanism of individual transactions, the introduction of new conditions of settlements. Political dialogue also had only pinpoint, pragmatic approach, the heads of Lithuania and Ukraine were cautious about a possible merger of new military alliances and to join the existing alliance because of pressure from Russia.

Lithuania became one of the first countries which has made a declaration in support of the territorial integrity of Ukraine due to the destabilization of the situation in Crimea, Ukraine strongly supported the decision to abandon nuclear weapons in exchange for guarantees from the United States and Russia, which was caused by its own security interests of Lithuania.

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