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**Eurasianism in pro-Russian Media in Lithuania: Discourse Surrounding War
in Ukraine**

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1. Introduction

2022 has marked the end of peace in Europe and changed the *status quo* established since the fall of the Berlin Wall. The full-scale invasion of Ukraine has shaken every aspect of European life – from fear and faith in a rules-based World to economic relations, energy policies, and diplomacy.

While without doubt, Ukraine has been affected the most, Russian aggression also trickled down to instill fear of the unknown in other countries – namely, the Baltic States, which have experienced Russian oppression and have been working towards Western integration since the Iron Curtain fell. This master thesis will focus on the case of Lithuania in the context of the war – especially, the way marginal media in Lithuania approach the largest geopolitical crisis in the region.

Lithuania, having joined the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 2004, has shown a determination to integrate into the West, which is largely reflected in Lithuanian society, democratic institutions, and media. Such direction was chosen after regaining independence from the Soviet Union in an effort to escape and minimize the influence and control of Russia, the successor state of the Soviet Union. The communist occupation, marked with deportations, human rights abuse, and attempts at cultural erasure that lasted five decades, has deeply scarred Lithuanian and other Baltic States' societies as many who witnessed the Soviet rule are still living. The Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, has triggered a deep collective psychological trauma in Lithuanian society which remained in peoples' psyche, as well as the uncertainty and insecurity that comes with the regional context – living in a neighborhood with the two aggressors – Belarus and the Russian Federation. On the state level, the full-scale invasion of another sovereign European country has caused the tensest geopolitical situation in the whole of Europe. According to a joint address by Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian diplomats in the United Kingdom from March 2024: “As we celebrate 20 years as NATO members, our countries have never in their history enjoyed stronger collective security – but nor have we faced a more daunting threat. That is the security paradox for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania...” In addition to past acts of aggression, including the Russo-Georgian war in 2008, annexation of Crimea, and war in Donbas in 2014, Russia showcased that it is willing to shift from hybrid warfare to combat. Eurasianism, as a geopolitical narrative employed by the Kremlin, perceives

the Baltic States as belonging to Moscow's sphere of control, thus it is actively trying to influence processes taking place in each of the countries, including politics, social movements, and cultural life, trying to destabilize the states from within, weakening civil society, and, long-term, attempting to pave the way for a potential future invasion of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

Considering that the Kremlin utilizes Eurasianism as a *modus operandi* for its foreign policy, the **objective** of the research is to determine what are the most prominent narratives, dominating the discourse of the marginal, pro-Russian media outlet regarding the Russian invasion of Ukraine; the **task** is to conduct a discourse analysis of the said outlet's content regarding materials discussing Russia's war in Ukraine, to see what are the main messages and eventually determine, how this media perceives the war and whether it aligns with the Eurasian imagination of the world. The narratives will be divided into three following categories: (1) the role of Lithuania within the context of Russia's war in Ukraine; (2) Ukraine and Russia; (3) the role and response of the collective West (mainly, NATO and the European Union). The content used will be that of an online media outlet, *Būkime vieningi*, (English: *Let's be united*) which was chosen to be the object of analysis for this research.

This thesis aims to answer the question – does marginal pro-Kremlin media in Lithuania represent the soft-power-driven geopolitical imagination of Russia that the Eurasianist school of thought promotes? The relevance of this thesis lies in the necessity to determine what role marginal media plays in possibly threatening national security if it promotes the narratives aligned with the Eurasianist imagination. Considering the importance of the foundational principle of free speech, it is essential to evaluate if the criticism (if any) towards Lithuania and its allies' foreign policies is just the expression of opinion or an active effort to spread propaganda, misinform the public, and undermine the democratically elected government in Lithuania and its ally states. The Threat Evaluation 2022 report by the Lithuanian State Security Department, which included intelligence data collected before the Russian aggression against Ukraine, had already flagged the intensifying informational attacks on Lithuania by Russian propagandists and their cooperation with local content creators, who broadcast Russian propaganda narratives to Lithuanian audiences – some of them, according to the State Security Department, are being recruited by the Russian state services.¹ These propaganda narratives aim to destabilize civil society and deepen divisions in

¹ *State Security Department of Lithuania*, "Grėsmių Nacionaliniams Saugumui Vertinimas", Vilnius, 2023, pp.54-56, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/LT-el-.pdf>>

European countries, especially in the formerly occupied by the USSR. Additionally, it is important to note that since Ukraine is Lithuania's ally, narratives that are in favor of Russia – the aggressor – could be considered a threat to Lithuanian security.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

To understand how contemporary Russia interacts with the international community, it is important to understand that it is not necessarily willing to be a complicit part of the current international system. The world order, dominated by the liberal vision of the world, is seen as unipolar and imposed by the global West, which, in turn, contradicts the civilizational mission of Russia, as well as other powers that see themselves as centers of civilizations. It can be also seen as a piece of a larger civilizational puzzle – dissatisfaction with invasive overtly liberal policies, and oppressive principles of universalism that target the distinctness of cultures with a sprinkle of instrumentalized religion with “Christianity-as-culture” has gotten attention and support in Europe in the shape of the New Right movements. Eurasianism, which emphasizes the distinctiveness of Russian artifacts – culture, religion, language, etc., is an antithesis of the contemporary globalist world order, an environment that encourages globalism. Prominent is the New Right, particularly in Europe, which can be seen as a reaction against the America-led liberal coalition, which champions the values that thinkers in continental Europe and Russia disagree with. The contradictions to those values can be perceived as originating from various roots – from geopolitical to socio-cultural ideas.

While Eurasianism itself, and how it fits in the European and, by extension, Eurasian, civilization puzzle will be presented in more detail later, it is important to touch upon the broader ideology of the New Right. As Manni Crone explains, the New Right is part of a broad meta-political movement that navigates an agenda, based on the foundation of “civilizations” – winning a war of culture means gaining more power and influence in global politics. It even employs the Heartland theory by Halford Mackinder (1904), which divides the world into “sea powers” and “land powers” – a geopolitical division of the world that also determines the transcendental culture of the civilization, based on their geographic positioning. In this sense, the collective West is culturally unnatural, as the maritime powers – the United States of America and the United Kingdom are

grouped with Continental Europe, whose *modus operandi* and culture are based on the “logic of the earth”. Instead, according to the New Right thinkers, such as Alexander Dugin or Alain de Benoist, Continental Europe should be naturally attracted to Russia – the heart of Eurasia, which could stretch a telluric geopolitical power from “Lisbon to Vladivostok”, or even beyond, thus creating a post-American world order. The New Right thinkers dismiss the need for the whole world to develop towards the ideals, imposed by the liberal Western world, instead, different civilizations – geopolitical spaces – should be operating based on the principles, embedded in their nature and culture, creating their alternative ways.² Contrary to a long-established Huntingtonian perception, that saw religion as the main feature of civilization, the New Right sees it as one of the components that constitute civilization, along with value system, history, concepts of space and time, and culture. Dugin and de Benoist stretch civilization beyond nation-states and encourage diversity of nations within (which is not necessarily a common denominator in contemporary right-wing political movements), rejecting the need for representative government, and instead advocating for smaller self-sufficient and decentralized forms of governance. This way belonging is determined by ‘upbringing’ rather than race – the environment is what forms the behavioral ‘stereotypes’, characteristic of ethnos and can only be preserved by endogamy – mixing between different civilizations can be even perceived as ‘ethnocide’ as it threatens the survival of cultural uniqueness. In this sense, these New Right thinkers do not suppose the superiority of one or another civilization but suggest that the way for them to thrive is within their own geographical space.³

However, this civilizational debate is not primarily relevant in the context of practical policies that are a part of the New Right agenda that supports state sovereignty. Authors, researching the New Right mainly distinguish the clash of cultures as the largest threat to the identity, which is the result of the world’s increased mobility and globalism. In his empirical research, Rogers Brubaker describes the New Right movements as *national-populist*: in a traditional sense, the populist effort is to showcase the cleavage between ‘us’ and ‘them’ in society – by employing hierarchical struggle of the ‘humble and struggling people’ versus the ‘corrupt and out of touch elites’. Additionally, though, the horizontal dimension drives another wedge – the insiders – ‘people like us’ versus the outsiders – those who are a “threat to our way of life”. Brubaker explains that there

² Manni Crone, “Towards great ethno-civilizations and spiritual empires? How the European New Right imagines a post-liberal world order”, *New Perspectives*, Vol.29(4), 2021, pp.322-324

³ Ibidem, pp.325-327

are also ‘internal outsiders’ – citizens but not members of the nation, as well as institutional ‘outsiders’ – such as the European Union, radical Islam, and globalizing processes that are perceived as distorting the “our way of life”. The elite in the thought of European national populism, as well as Trumpism, is presented as arrogant towards the way of life of the common folks, sharing little cultural ties and economic struggle. Brubaker notes that the New Right movements in particularly Continental Europe are civilizational, meaning that the threat to the European way of living primarily comes from Islam. This fixation on anti-Islamic sentiment has created a rather paradoxical situation and instrumentalizes Christianity – many right-wing groups across Europe support various levels of liberal values in sociocultural spheres – gender equality, LGBTQ+ rights and freedom of speech, secular stance – yet these liberties seem to be only offered to ‘us’ – the members of the Christian civilization.⁴ The increasing secularity and fixation on Christianity-based slogans at the same time signal the trend where Europeans seek common indicators of belonging and identity, treating Christianity as a basis for culture and not necessarily as religion.⁵ While some New Right populists defend inclusivity within society, some stand firmly in defending traditional family values, and community-centered sentiments. This point, however, is more of an example of cleavage within the populist New Right of Europe, rather than a competing thought, as it, as a whole, still maintains its anti-Islamic, xenophobic stance.⁶

While Brubaker focuses more on the threats brought by Islam, de Orellana and Michelsen add another dimension to the New Right. The key objective of the New Right is to abandon and dismantle the international value-based system, making Reactionary Internationalism the main political, discursive, and conceptual framework.⁷ According to them, the new imagination that is adopted by the anti-liberal New Right, also functions as the antithesis, a negative reaction to the oppression of the liberal state and its values, as in more radical cases it argues the principles of general equality, and questions cosmopolitan, inclusive values. Right-wing political figures in the Western World do not necessarily want to reject international cooperation, however, they want to exercise it on their terms, rejecting the normative sentiment, ‘imposed’ by liberal structures. Despite employing the origin of radical right ideas of the early 20th century, the New Right has

⁴ Rogers Brubaker, “Between nationalism and civilizationism: the European populist moment in comparative perspective”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40:8, 2017, pp.1191-1194

⁵ Ibidem, pp.1199-1200

⁶ Ibidem, pp.1204

⁷ Pablo de Orellana, Nicholas Michelsen, “Reactionary Internationalism: The Philosophy of the New Right”, *Review of International Studies* (2019), pp.19

since adapted to the current perceived issues, therefore, as mentioned, it fights the universality of liberal principles, attempts to bring the power back to ‘the societies of sovereign states’ rather than prioritize international market or focus primarily on international relations. In an Otto von Bismarck-manner, contemporary right-wing actors perceive universal liberal rights as threatening to the state and its security, which can only be maintained in an established hierarchal system.⁸ Universalism is interpreted as oppression, which, over time, will completely erase the distinctiveness of existing cultures – it is dangerous and therefore rejecting liberal notions means protecting the identity. The European New Right’s driving force in some cases originates from three main arguments: 1) legitimacy gained by the public support; 2) the point of distinctiveness that must be protected; 3) the potential need for an ongoing process of ‘ethnocultural purification,’ essentially, biopolitics, that could be utilized to eventually secure birth-cultural environments. The New Right attempts to preserve the culture, and traditional values, to protect the pan-European lifestyle from interracial mixture, from ‘promotion’ of Islam, and exaggerated minority rights, which are forced upon people as some ‘progress.’ They tend to advocate for positive discrimination in favor of the citizens and threaten deportation to those who fail to assimilate.⁹ The politics of the New Right comes from the basis of narratives surrounding birth rights, cultural identity, and autonomy, but also an acknowledgment of transnationalism, which should not be completely neglected.¹⁰

Regarding economy-related questions, the New Right advocates for the benefits of the local population rather than the global decision-makers. The international institutions, such as the European Union in the case of Brexiteers, were seen as the binding organ, which prevented the prosperous development of the United Kingdom while fostering other countries and focusing on their growth at the expense of the British. The New Right does not see the need to defend a liberal democratic setup, since it does not grant prosperity and economic growth – the *de facto* power holders shall remain in power since the lottery of voting in national elections does not necessarily guarantee the desired results and favor internationalist interests. Instead, it advocates for illiberal regimes that would protect the national interest by controlling the economy. The rules, created by supranational institutions, oblige states to operate within a normative framework that does not necessarily represent the values of a state in question, misrepresents its ‘identity’ and interests, and

⁸ Ibidem, pp.1-2, 4-7

⁹ Ibidem, pp.13-15

¹⁰ Ibidem, pp.16

prevents the state from solving existing economic issues.¹¹ This way the states are attributed the role of functioning based on patriotism and loyalty to the nation rather than representation of international norms, utilizing democracy as a tool. In practice, per findings by Abrahamsen, et al., the New Right movements operate as a network united by illiberal agendas, broadcasting similar discourses and rhetoric. The New Right provides the public with a response to the liberal status quo, trying to provoke ‘a war of position’ – a Gramscian concept of ideology formation based on challenging hegemony and struggling for power and influence.¹² While Reactionary Internationalism is an international vision, it advocates for withdrawal from certain normative aspects rather than from the whole international system. The New Right movements cooperate internationally as a web, struggling for survival, attempting to reshape international order together.

A part of this right-wing ideological web is the Eurasianist thought, instrumentalized in Russia. Eurasianism is a conservative theory that defines Russian imperial identity, which surpasses the borders of contemporary Russia. According to Marlene Laruelle, Eurasianism explains the duality Russia is faced with by being located in both Europe and Asia and therefore adopting features of both continents, rather than being on the periphery of either. The conceptions constituting Eurasian identity are ambiguous and contain various, sometimes even contradictory, ideologies – from ethnically inclusive (which allows peoples of various ethnicities to identify themselves with and feel loyal to Russia) to fascist (as propagated by Russian philosopher Alexandr Dugin).¹³ In the book *Dangerous Liaisons. Eurasianism, The European Far Right, and Putin’s Russia*, Laruelle explains that Eurasianism is instrumentally used to highlight Russian self-perception as superior and entitled to have its interests considered in the decision-making of the bordering countries.¹⁴

The early concept of ‘Eurasia’ noted its autarchic synthesis of culture and geography where multiple nations exist, united by their similar historical destiny. The Russian Eurasianist interpretation, mainly propagated by Nikolai Trubetskoy, saw the Eurasian imagination of Russia as the natural next step for Russia, which is supposed to replace atheist Bolshevism (as religion is

¹¹ Ibidem, pp.16-17

¹² Rita Abrahamsen, Jean-François Drolet, Alexandra Gheciu, Karin Narita, Srdjan Vucetic, Michael Williams, Confronting the International Political Sociology of the New Right, *International Political Sociology*, Volume 14, Issue 1, March 2020, pp. 95-96

¹³ Marlene Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism: an ideology of empire*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008; pp.1-2

¹⁴ Marlene Laruelle, “Dangerous Liaisons. Eurasianism, The European Far Right, and Putin’s Russia,” in *Eurasianism and European Far Right: Reshaping the Europe-Russia Relationship*, ed. Marlene Laruelle, (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2015), pp.3.

an important notion in Eurasianism). According to Aidanas Barzelis, Trubetskoy saw the positive side of Bolshevism in its internationalism, which surpassed nationalist and separatist movements, and therefore helped to maintain Russia's territorial unity. Early Eurasianists, vocal until the 1940s, believed that if Eurasianism did not replace Bolshevism, Russia would inevitably crumble down.¹⁵ In the second half of the 20th century, Lev Gumilev's Eurasianist geopolitical ideas got momentum as he developed the thought of Eurasia being super-ethnos or civilization, which is a byproduct of biosphere eruptions. And these super-ethne live as long as they maintain passion within them. Gumilev considered Russia as a young civilization in comparison to European super-ethnos, and therefore, it had more time before collapsing.¹⁶

The revival of Eurasianist thought in the shape of Neo-Eurasianism was seen after the fall of the Soviet Union, which was a meeting point for both xenophobic-chauvinists and communists. The revived movement included the states and religions of the "Former Empire" – by drawing attention to the state of Russian ethnic minorities in the formerly controlled countries (which is important to stabilize the region), without perceiving it as an imperialist ambition as well as economic development.¹⁷ One of the most famous figures in modern Eurasianism, Alexandr Dugin, himself describes Eurasianism as a view of Russia as a civilization, distinct from others; he rejects Western universality and its defining concepts, such as individuality, capitalism, modernity, ethnocentrism, and others, posing the West and Euro-centrism as the antithesis of Eurasianism, it challenges the unipolarity of the global order. And despite the rejection of the European normative system, geographically, the Eurasianist vision of Russian civilization is not seen as being contained in the borders of today's Russia.¹⁸ Geopolitically, Alexandr Dugin advocated for a Russian union with (or rather, incorporation of) Armenia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, and Uzbekistan, as these states, per Dugin's view, have proven to lack statehood and have failed to prove themselves as able to operate independently. To maintain Russian imperial power, it would need to establish a Moscow – Berlin axis with the gravitation of Paris towards it, to counterweight "Atlanticism", as well as create Moscow – Tokyo, and Moscow

¹⁵ Aidanas Barzelis, "Susvetimėjes identitetas: Rusijos identiteto formavimosi metamorfozės", *Inter-studia humanitatis. Šiuolaikinės susvetimėjimo formos, vol.11*, Šiauliai: VšĮ Šiaulių universiteto leidykla., 2010 pp. 123

¹⁶ Alexander Yanov, "The "Enlightened Nationalism" of Lev Gumilev", *Institute of Modern Russia*, 2013-12-02, <<https://imrussia.org/en/nation/613-split-science>>

¹⁷ Aidanas Barzelis, "Susvetimėjes identitetas: Rusijos identiteto formavimosi metamorfozės", *Inter-studia humanitatis. Šiuolaikinės susvetimėjimo formos, vol.11*, Šiauliai: VšĮ Šiaulių universiteto leidykla., 2010 pp.123

¹⁸ Alexander Dugin, *Eurasian Mission– An Introduction to Neo-Eurasianism*, Arkto 2014, pp. 8-10, 14

– Tehran axes. The Baltic states, together with Poland are seen by Dugin as the “buffer” zone, that should be considered the zone of Moscow’s privileged interest and employ the pro-Russian orientation.¹⁹ According to Manni Crone, Dugin does not perceive the Russian World as an exclusively Orthodox state – it is an empire that crosses borders and incorporates religions that geographically fill in the former Soviet space. Dugin advocates for a “spiritual empire” which, unlike a nation-state is led by an idea to which various ethne voluntarily submit – this empire is determined by choice and therefore its borders are fluid.²⁰

Originating from European fascist ideology, Eurasianism, according to Gerard Toal, is a vision of the post-Soviet space through the prism of Russian nationalism. This theory poses Russia as the superior power over those falling into its perceived territories of interest.²¹ When it comes to the soft power in Eurasianism, the central concept is the “Russian World” (Russian: *русский мир*). This geopolitical soft-power strategy accounts for the collection of lands that can be characterized by containing Russian language, culture, and (or) Orthodox Christianity. The flexibility of this strategy lies in the principle that to belong to the Russian World, one does not necessarily need to be ethnically Russian – someone who feels close or chooses to explore or appreciate the Russian culture or language can be considered a part of the Russian World. The religious narrative can be seen more targeted towards the core of Russia – Ukraine – Belarus – the three contemporary countries that are perceived by the Kremlin and Russian Orthodox Church as descendants of Kyivan Rus’, the ‘nest’ of Orthodoxy. The role is also given to the territories that have formerly fallen into the Soviet Union – the legitimation for their belonging originates from the ‘common’ past – long-lasting historical and cultural ties. Most importantly, Moscow is positioned in the center of the Russian World – it is seen as the central piece of the communities that belong to this civilizational vision.²² What is seen in this is also a contradiction – which can be interpreted as the instrumentality of the Eurasianist view of the world. The pragmatism of the Russian World can be noticed in the way it actually simultaneously contradicts Eurasianism – according to Gintautas Mažeikis and Tomas Kavaliauskas, this concept is manipulative because it implies the unity of

¹⁹ Aidanas Barzelis, “Susvetimėjės identitetas: Rusijos identiteto formavimosi metamorfozės”, *Inter-studia humanitatis. Šiuolaikinės susvetimėjimo formos*, vol.11, Šiauliai: VšĮ Šiaulių universiteto leidykla., 2010 pp. 128

²⁰ Manni Crone, “Towards great ethno-civilizations and spiritual empires? How the European New Right imagines a post-liberal world order”, *New Perspectives*, Vol.29(4), 2021, pp.327-328

²¹ Gerard Toal, *Near abroad: Putin, the West, and the contest over Ukraine and the Caucasus*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017, pp.76-77

²² Valentina Feklyunina, “Soft power and identity: Russia, Ukraine and the ‘Russian world(s)’”, *European Journal of International Relations*, 2015, pp. 783-784

various nations in Asia, Siberia, and European Russia, however, it is still mastered and employed by the official Moscow. It operationalizes contradictory narratives by combining the importance of the Orthodox Church with atheist Soviet nostalgia, nationalism with transnational Eurasian ideas, and cooperation between all religious groups.²³ The Russian World is also an overlapping concept with the “Near Abroad” – the territories formerly controlled by Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union, which Moscow considers as its spheres of influence and peripheries where Russia’s interests need to be taken into account by the local governments. These territories are seen by Moscow as semi-sovereign and Russia seeks to influence their internal and external processes. These states are important to Russia also because after the fall of the Soviet Union, many Russian-speakers and ethnic Russians remained in those areas and thus Russia uses these people as an excuse to meddle in the affairs of other countries, motivating their security as Russia’s security priority.²⁴ Another important factor within the Russian World concept – the so-called “compatriots” – or as the Federal Law on the State Policy of the Russian Federation in Relation to Compatriots Abroad describes:

1. Compatriots are persons born in one state, living or having lived in it and possessing characteristics of a common language, history, cultural heritage, traditions and customs, as well as the descendants of the said persons in a direct descending line.
2. Compatriots abroad (hereinafter referred to as compatriots) are citizens of the Russian Federation permanently residing outside the territory of the Russian Federation.
3. Compatriots are also recognized as persons and their descendants living outside the territory of the Russian Federation and, as a rule, belonging to the peoples historically living on the territory of the Russian Federation, as well as persons who have made a free choice in favor of spiritual, cultural and legal ties with the Russian Federation, whose relatives in the direct ascending line previously lived on the territory of the Russian Federation, including: persons who were citizens of the USSR, residing in states that were part of the USSR, who received citizenship of these states or became stateless persons; people (emigrants) from the Russian state, the Russian Republic, the

²³ Mažeikis Gintautas, Kavaliauskas Tomas. 2019. Rusija anapus didžiųjų pasakojimų, arba kodėl Peterburgas yra imperinis, o Maskva – carinė. *Kultūros barai* 3, pp.14-15

²⁴ Gerard Toal, *Near abroad: Putin, the West, and the contest over Ukraine and the Caucasus*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 82-85;

Marlene Laruelle, *The “Russian World” Russia’s Soft Power and Geopolitical Imagination*, Center on Global Interests, 2015, pp.1

RSFSR, the USSR and the Russian Federation who had the appropriate citizenship and became citizens of a foreign state or stateless persons.²⁵ The compatriots are also among the tension points between Russia and the countries around it. It goes beyond just the basic relation of neighboring countries into transcendent as it supposes that people, spiritually connected to Russia, reside within the borders, blurring the line between ‘their’ and ‘our’ territories – it does not directly deny the state borders, yet, according to Dovilė Jakniūnaitė, it awards the compatriots with a status of “people who live outside our borders but within ‘our’ territory”. This way Russia projects its ‘ownership’ onto the neighboring countries and establishes that the neighbor “must be a neighbor to Russia alone” – creating any alternative ties is a security issue for Russia by itself.²⁶

Another widely used ideological construct is one of Russia as the ‘besieged fortress,’ which has been important in forming the anti-western, anti-liberal state order.²⁷ This concept promotes the narrative of Russia being surrounded by enemies that threaten the state and its people and has been employed since the early 2000s. It has ever since been utilized by various tools, including the media, in such a way as to transfer geopolitics into the public sphere. One of the examples of its employment is promoting the ‘our’ sphere, referring to the territories that used to fall under Soviet control and using information manipulation in the said now-sovereign countries in efforts to amend the political behavior in a way that would benefit the Kremlin regime.²⁸ Additionally, the concept of ‘besieged fortress’ aims at creating a sense of unity within the society – consolidation around the regime, that is actively defending against the external threats.²⁹ In this sense, Robert Kagan refers to Russian geopolitical thinking as a traditionalist state *modus operandi* from the 19th century – utilization of modern resources that encourages aggressive neocolonial policy. Instead of

²⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, “ФЕДЕРАЛЬНЫЙ ЗАКОН О ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ ПОЛИТИКЕ РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ В ОТНОШЕНИИ СООТЕЧЕСТВЕННИКОВ ЗА РУБЕЖОМ”, May 24, 1999, <https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/compatriots/zakon/1723236/>

²⁶ Dovilė Jakniūnaitė, “Baltijos Valstybės ir Rusija: Liminali Dvišalių Santykių Būsena”, *Politologija*, 71(3), 2013, pp.33-34

²⁷ Maria Lipman, “Putin’s ‘besieged fortress’ and its ideological arms”. In: M. Lipman & N. Petrov (eds.), *The state of Russia: What comes next?* 2015, pp.110-136

²⁸ Nerijus Maliukevičius, *Rusijos informacijos geopolitikos potencialas ir sklaida Lietuvoje*, Doctoral dissertation. Vilnius: Vilnius University, 2008, pp.10-11

²⁹ Alexey Malashenko in “Duma Elections: Expert Analysis”, By Dmitri Trenin, Maria Lipman, Alexey Malashenko, Sergei Aleksashenko, Natalia Bubnova, and Nikolay Petrov, *Carnegie China*, 2011-12-13, <<https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2011/12/duma-elections-expert-analysis?lang=en¢er=china>>

seeking to become a part of Europe, Russia was, and is, determined to regain its superpower status.

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A more recent institutionalized example of Eurasianist ideology is the tactics of hybrid warfare, which has gained special focus post-2014 Russian annexation of Crimea. The hybridity in Russian warfare includes non-military dimensions – it is noted that Russia has achieved its goals in Crimea without going into full confrontation but instead by employing strategies of pressuring economic, diplomatic, and energy corpora, conducting information, cyber-attacks, utilizing unmarked ‘green men,’ diversion tactics by the secret services.³¹ While hybrid threats, according to Christopher S. Chivvis, have existed for a long time, Russia has largely updated them since the Cold War period – the change has happened not only in the capabilities that the progress of technology has created but also in the Russian ambition.³²

One of the most important frameworks regarding Russian hybrid warfare is the so-called Gerasimov’s doctrine, named after the Russian Chief of the General Staff, General Vitaly Gerasimov. It is important to note that there are disputes in academia, about whether the hybrid concepts of warfare, outlined by Gerasimov are even real, and even the creator of the term, Mark Galeotti, has since renounced the strategy stating that the main problem of “Russia’s infamous high-tech military strategy” is that it is non-existent.³³ However, it does signify the Russian shift from traditional combat to contemporary non-physical warfare and utilization of soft power.³⁴

The article, published in 2013 in the Russian newspaper *Military-Industrial Courier* emphasized the importance of hybrid warfare where information is instrumentalized to destabilize the perceived enemies’ societies by deepening existing social and cultural cleavages. Such destabilization is aimed at weakening local governments, creating distrust in institutions and political order – weakening the states’ structures and thus paving the way for a potential future

³⁰ Robert Kagan, “New Europe, Old Russia”, *The Washington Post*, reposted by *Carnegie Endowment*, 2008-02-06 <https://carnegieendowment.org/2008/02/06/new-europe-old-russia-pub-19898>

³¹ Eitvydas Bajarūnas and Vytautas Keršanskas. "Hibridinės grėsmės: turinio, keliamų iššūkių ir priemonių įveikti jas analizė." *Lietuvos metinė strateginė apžvalga*. 16.1017-2018 (2018), pp.128

³² Christopher S. Chivvis, “Understanding Russian “Hybrid Warfare” and What Can Be Done About It”, *Testimony presented before the House Armed Services Committee*, March 22, 2017, pp.8, <https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/CT400/CT468/RAND_CT468.pdf>

³³ Marko Galeotti, “I’m Sorry for Creating the ‘Gerasimov doctrine’”, *Foreign Policy*, 2018-03-05 <<https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/05/im-sorry-for-creating-the-gerasimov-doctrine/>>

³⁴ Eitvydas Bajarūnas and Vytautas Keršanskas. "Hibridinės grėsmės: turinio, keliamų iššūkių ir priemonių įveikti jas analizė." *Lietuvos metinė strateginė apžvalga*. 16.1017-2018 (2018), pp. 139-140

physical traditional confrontation.³⁵ It is a ‘divide and conquer’ principle – a preparatory stage before the war, where all other tools are utilized to ensure that the enemy is already fragile inside before the combat even starts. Bajarūnas and Keršanskas also noted that the hybridity of Russian contemporary *modus operandi* also creates a rather paradoxical situation in which, by weaponizing information, Russia is attempting to beat the democratic principles of Western countries, namely, free speech, access to information, and openness by using it against them.³⁶

In 2014, when discussing the developments of Russian military prospects, Jānis Bērziņš outlined the following:

- i. From direct destruction to direct influence;
- ii. from direct annihilation of the opponent to its inner decay;
- iii. from a war with weapons and technology to a culture war;
- iv. from a war with conventional forces to specially prepared forces and commercial irregular groupings;
- v. from the traditional (3D) battleground to information/psychological warfare and war of perceptions;
- vi. from direct clash to contactless war;
- vii. from a superficial and compartmented war to a total war, including the enemy’s internal side and base;
- viii. from war in the physical environment to a war in the human consciousness and in cyberspace;
- ix. from symmetric to asymmetric warfare by a combination of political, economic, information, technological, and ecological campaigns;
- x. from war in a defined period of time to a state of permanent war as the natural condition in national life.³⁷

Yet, the ideas are not meaningful unless they reach a certain audience, they need a platform to be distributed – and media is an excellent tool for the dispersion of narratives. Media plays a role in constructing social reality and broadcasts political discourses, can affect how society sees the

³⁵ Ibidem, pp. 140, 144

³⁶ Ibidem, pp. 140

³⁷ Jānis Bērziņš, “Russia’s New Generation Warfare in Ukraine: Implications for Latvian Defense Policy“, *National Defence Academy of Latvia, Center for Security and Strategic Research*, Policy Paper No. 2, April 2014, pp.5 <<https://sldinfo.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/New-Generation-Warfare.pdf>>

world and helps to back up some of the views people already have.³⁸ Media in Lithuania, just like in the other Baltic states, is affected by the geopolitical and normative circumstances considering that they are perceived as ‘Eastern’ by the West and are ‘Western’ from the Russian point of view. According to Auksė Balčytienė, this duality has led to hybrid structures when it comes to employing certain models of journalism and thus includes a range of alternative media channels in Lithuania.³⁹ According to the non-governmental organization Reporters Without Borders, Lithuania reached 7th place in 2023 (ranked 9th in 2022 and 28th in 2021) in the World Press Freedom Index.⁴⁰ This can be seen as a by-product of the *transition* in the media and overall culture of journalism, characteristic to the whole of Eastern Europe, from the heavily regulated during the Communist times towards the liberal system.⁴¹ Anti-establishment media (*Lithuanian: nesisteminė žiniasklaida*)⁴² is seen to be fulfilling three main goals in Lithuania: it is considered to be broadcasting contradictory narratives against the official state policy as a whole rather than against a specific political power; to spread the ‘alternative truth’ meant to shake the formed foundations of the normative and political systems; or it can be used as a jumpstart for aspiring political movements – by uniting more radically thinking groups and eventually seek being elected into the national government.⁴³

It is necessary to also overview the role of media in the context of hybrid warfare. Information can be used to fight for certain ideas and achieve goals, while the actual combat does not occur. Freedom of expression of alternative opinion is one of the pillars of the democratic system, however, it comes with risks, and terms, such as ‘truth’ and ‘lie’ become relative and can change depending on the beliefs of the recipient of the message.⁴⁴ According to Darius Buinauskas, Vytautas Keršanskas, and Laurynas Kasčiūnas, Russian strategy for propaganda in the Baltic

³⁸ Renata Matkevičienė, “Politinio žiniasklaidos diskurso apibrėžtys: žiniasklaidos, kaip politinės komunikacijos dėmens, tyrimas” *Information & Media*, 44, 2008, pp. 115

³⁹ Auksė Balčytienė, (2011/01/01) “Lithuania Mixed Professional Values in a Small and Highly Blurred Media Environment” in *The Media for Democracy Monitor*, eds. Lars Nord, Hannu Nieminen, Josef Trappel (Nordicom)

⁴⁰ *Reporters without Borders* (2022) “Press Freedom Index”, <<https://rsf.org/en/index>>

⁴¹ Henrik Örnebring (January 2009), *Comparative European Journalism: The State of Current Research*, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, pp.6-7

⁴² In this thesis, *anti-establishment media* and *marginal media* will be used interchangeably.

⁴³ Linas Kojala, Gediminas Grina, „Nesisteminė žiniasklaida: telkia valstybės politikia nepatenkintas jėgas“, interviewed by Joana Lepėnienė, for Savaitė, *LRT*, 2016-01-25, <<https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/125804/nesistemine-ziniasklaida-telkia-valstybes-politika-nepatenkintas-jegas>>

⁴⁴ Stanley B. Cunningham, *The Idea of Propaganda: A Reconstruction*, Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2002, pp. 13.

States focuses on both current affairs and historical events, therefore it is meant for the long term. It has been seen over the whole period of Lithuania's independence, although at varying intensity.⁴⁵ According to the State Security Department of Lithuania, the main informational threats that Lithuania is facing are war propaganda, provocations of war and hatred, efforts to distort historical memory, publicly distributed information aimed at diminishing trust in the State of Lithuania, its institutions, its order and defense, weakening its civil society, discrediting Lithuanian NATO and European Union membership, influencing the electoral processes and party system, as well as influencing the societies and policy-makers of other NATO and European Union countries to achieve decisions unfavorable of Lithuania. It is also noted, that Russian propaganda, via various channels, aims at maintaining and growing audiences, favorable of Russia by systematically creating narratives that portray Russia as an alternative path to the 'rotten West.' These narratives are usually presented as alternative opinions. Content creators from Russia who focus on anti-Lithuanian propaganda constantly seek ways to cooperate with journalists, based in Lithuania.⁴⁶

Finally, in order to explain the context of legitimizing Russia, and by extension, pro-Russian agencies in Lithuania, this thesis will be utilizing the theory of securitizations – a constructivist theory that focuses on how speech, acted by established actors, transforms a problem into a security concern. The speech act makes a concern a priority when broadcasting it to the public, and, if the audience sees the actor and the issue as of importance, the said threat is legitimized and appears in the security policy agenda.⁴⁷ The way Russia and its influence are securitized in Lithuania will be addressed in detail in Chapter 5.

3. Methodology and Case Study Elaboration

The discourse of Lithuanian marginal media outlets will be analyzed by employing a qualitative method of discourse analysis. Discourse is a practice of speech that incorporates sets of ideas and

⁴⁵ Darius Buinauskas, Vytautas Keršanskas, and Laurynas Kasčiūnas (2016) "PROPAGANDOS TYRIMO MODELIS RUSIJOS PROPAGANDAI LIETUVOJE ANALIZUOTI", *Politologija* 83 (3): pp.5, 22

⁴⁶ *State Security Department of Lithuania*, "INFORMACINĖS IR KIBERNETINĖS GRĖSMĖS", 2021-06-17, <<https://www.vsd.lt/gresmes/informacines-ir-kibernetines-gresmes/>>

⁴⁷ Columba Peoples and Nick Vaughan Williams. 2015/2021. *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, 2nd and 3rd edition. London: Routledge. pp. 114-131.

material/ideational factors to describe relevant problems, topics, social constructs, norms, etc. Discourse constructs meanings of certain structures, and tries to make them more stable – in this way, creating more stable meanings – narratives – and having those meanings communicated can help form desired discourse that can also add to gradually forming identity. Additionally, the discourse can provide the ‘meat’ to an object or phenomenon – meaning that depending on the discursive framing, certain connotations are created. Therefore, discourse analysis is dedicated to exploring how certain ideas are seeded through discourse by assigning them elements of identity.⁴⁸

Discourse analysis focuses on the intention behind the language used rather than the formality of language in the linguistic sense. It is looking to identify what function the language can serve through meanings, specifics of language, and intertextuality in the broader sense that disperses ideas rather than simply provides information.⁴⁹ Discourse analysis that captures longer periods can also contribute to identifying the change in the representation of certain issues, as well as present the flow of formation of a certain outcome.⁵⁰

This thesis would fall into what Flyvbjerg describes as an Extreme, or Deviant, case – the object of analysis – is already categorized as “marginal”, and therefore, deviant from the general opinion, which signals the problematic nature of the objects of analysis. It does not necessarily explain the general media environment, yet, can contribute to understanding the “more dramatic” cases.⁵¹

This thesis is aimed at understanding and showcasing how Eurasianism is utilized in a country, perceived by the Russian regime as “unfriendly” politically, yet existing within its perceived boundaries of influence. It could contribute to further research on related issues, such as identifying and analyzing the social groups targeted and potentially affected by the narratives that the marginal media sources in Lithuania broadcast. Additionally, this thesis can help to identify narratives that help recognize the less openly pro-Russian media outlets.

In a broader sense, this research can contribute to establishing distinctions (if any) existing between the Eurasianist narratives that are targeting audiences from states, formerly occupied by

⁴⁸ Lene Hansen, *Security as practice: discourse analysis and the Bosnian war*. Routledge, 2006, pp.14, 20

⁴⁹ Gillian Brown and George Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, i–iv. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. pp.1-2

⁵⁰ Iver B. Neumann, “Discourse analysis.” In Audie Clotz and Deepa Prakash, *Qualitative methods in international relations*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2008. pp. 63

⁵¹ Bent Flyvbjerg, *Making Social Science Matter: Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again*, Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp.78-79

the USSR, and other countries, particularly in the West, which do not share the same experience, are less skeptical towards Russia politically, economically, and socially. Additionally, this research can contribute to analyzing the New Right in countries like Lithuania, and other Baltic states and how they perceive Russian civilizational ambition and its soft power in the countries.

3.1. Principles of Method Application

The analysis will focus on reading all available texts from official media platforms that belong to the “*Būkime vieningi*” (*English: Let’s be united*) website, tagged *Russia’s war in Ukraine*. The analysis will be focused on identifying Eurasianist narratives in the publications, which will be further categorized by the following topics:

1. **Role of Lithuania.** What are the subjects’ reactions to the decision by the Lithuanian Government and public officials? How is the response to the war perceived? How is Lithuania seen in the West – East axis? What is the perception of the Lithuania – Russia bilateral relationship?
2. **Ukraine and Russia.** How are these countries perceived? How is Ukraine, its government, armed forces, and population are presented? Who are the perceived sides of the confrontation? Who is identified as an aggressor?
3. **Role and image of the West.** How is “the collective West” presented? Who are identified as the main actors in the West and how are they defined? How is the Western response to the war perceived? What is the interpretation of collective sanctions? What are the narratives regarding West – Lithuania and West – Ukraine relationships? What is the role of NATO and the European Union in the post-2022 Europe?

The choice of the categories is founded in the fact that materials discuss or react to the events in the context of the Russian invasion of Ukraine in the global scene but with an addition of a Lithuanian element – these are the reoccurring topics that allow to gather enough data for a clearer picture of the propagated discourse. The analysis will focus on statements provided in the textual, audio, and visual formats, to identify the Eurasianist narratives. It is essential to point out that since the objective is to identify narratives and intertextuality, the analysis will

not focus on the truthfulness or accuracy of the facts and details presented in the media outlet, to expose or identify potentially false information.

In the first category, Eurasianist narratives would propagate Lithuania's more friendly approach towards Russia, why and how it would be of Lithuania's interest to get along with Russia and Belarus, the outlining of "common history" with the said countries, primarily Russia as a former part of the Soviet Union, as well as demonization of the West as unethical. The second category would highlight the narrative of Russia being provoked into war, discrediting actions and legitimacy of Ukrainian institutions and armed forces, especially by shifting blame for the war to the West or Ukraine. Lastly, the third category, in the Eurasian set of ideas, would focus on the individualism and dysfunctionality of the collective West and its institutions – NATO or the EU, discrediting their stance towards supporting Ukraine and the obligations to defend their Eastern flank – namely, the Baltics.

The analysis timeframe is from February 24, 2022 – the day of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, until present, with the latest publication dating September 5, 2024, which resulted in an analysis of 565 textual, video, and audio materials. The selection of the materials includes all materials accumulated from a segment tagged *Russia's war in Ukraine*, such as articles, publications, opinion pieces from the main website, and video blogs posted within the publications. Since the period over which the publications were shared is more than two years, the analysis can help determine whether the narratives remained consistent over time, and if not, what external factors could have contributed to those changes.

It is important to note that the individual behind the *Būkime vieningi* website is Vaidas "Žemaitis" Lekstutis. The source was chosen as the subject of analysis since Lithuanian intelligence has acknowledged that *Būkime vieningi* is one of the websites, operated by people who spread conspiracy theories and/or are political marginals in the country and is in line with the interests of the Russian Federation in Lithuania.⁵² Furthermore, in 2017, Lekstutis was convicted for encouraging and promoting hatred towards and spreading false information about the Jewish people; and publicly promoting hatred of homosexuals, and members of conservative and liberal parties; in his speeches, he publicly slanderously and insultingly

⁵² State Security Department of Lithuania, "Grėsmių Nacionaliniams Saugumui Vertinimas", Vilnius, 2023, pp.56, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/LT-el-.pdf>>

denied the criminal activities of the Soviet regime in Lithuania and belittled its victims.⁵³ For the sake of objectivity, this context establishes the media outlet and its main author's status as marginal and having previously repeatedly propagated pro-Russian sentiments. Further analysis will determine whether the Lekstutis and by extension, *Būkime vieningi*, have consistently broadcasted narratives that align with those of the Kremlin's diktats.

All the names, links, and dates of publication and access will be added in the Annex portion of the thesis (Annex 1).

3.2. Limitations

Below are presented the self-imposed research limitations, as well as those originating from the external factors:

1) Due to a high volume of available materials and time constraints, only original video and textual content will be used in the analysis. Such original materials will include:

- a. *Būkime vieningi* video blogs shared on *Būkime vieningi* site and published on *Būkime vieningi* Rumble profile, containing its editor, Vaidas Lekstutis, alone or with guests;
- b. Original opinion pieces by *Būkime vieningi* staff or partners that are not directly linked to other media outlets;
- c. Segments that are authentically added by *Būkime vieningi* in the articles translated or republished from other media outlets, such as comments or reactions to events or phenomena described, that are not a part of the original third-party publication;

As such, third-party materials that will be excluded from the analysis, are:

- a. Video materials initially shared by other media outlets, and reshared by *Būkime vieningi*;
- b. Articles, opinion pieces, news reports, or any other written materials translated and reshared from international media outlets;

⁵³ *15min.lt*, "Vaidas Lekstutis lieka nuteistas už viešą niekinimą ir neapykantos kurstymą", 2017-07-07, <<https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/nusikaltimaiirnelaimes/vaidas-lekstutis-lieka-nuteistas-uz-viesa-niekinima-ir-neapykantos-kurstyma-59-823048>>

- c. Articles, opinion pieces, news reports, or any other written materials reshared from local media outlets.

This limitation was imposed after evaluation of all the materials available. Such materials would rarely include any additional comments or evaluation of the news, although the tone and suggestions could be detected on some occasions. On the other hand, video materials contained more emotional speech and analysis providing a better insight into the authors' views on certain subjects.

- 2) *Būkime vieningi* YouTube channel was removed from the platform on April 27th, 2023, for breaching community guidelines, therefore a portion of analysis materials was lost and are not a part of this research.
- 3) It is not known whether there has been a change in the numbers and/or contents, posted by the site. There is no possibility to determine whether there has been deletion or archiving of a part of published materials.
- 4) Content only available through monetary subscription on the *Būkime vieningi* Patreon platform is not a part of the research.
- 5) Contents of the *Būkime vieningi* social media platforms linked in the main website (TikTok profile “vaidaszemaitis”⁵⁴, Facebook account “LT Naujienos”,⁵⁵ Telegram account “bukimevieniingi.lt”,⁵⁶ and X (formerly, Twitter) profile “bukimevieniingi”⁵⁷) are excluded from the analysis due to time constraints.
- 6) Artistic content, such as poems, published in *Russia's war in Ukraine* segment will be excluded from analysis due to broad interpretational potential.

4. Securitization of Russia and pro-Kremlin Actors in Lithuania

The problem of pro-Russian actors in Lithuania did not form in a vacuum. There are many media and civil society actors, who represent various ideological schools of thought and ethnic groups (such as Polish, Ukrainian, or Jewish) in the country, who are not generally perceived as

⁵⁴ Vaidas Žemaitis (@vaidaszemaitis), TikTok profile, <https://www.tiktok.com/@vaidaszemaitis?is_from_webapp=1&sender_device=pc>

⁵⁵ LT Naujienos, Facebook profile, <<https://www.facebook.com/ltnaujienos.lt>>

⁵⁶ Būkime vieningi (@bukimevieniingi.lt), Telegram channel, <<https://t.me/bukimevieniingilt>>

⁵⁷ Būkime vieningi (@bukimevieniingi), X (formerly, Twitter) account, <<https://twitter.com/bukimevieniingi>>

threatening. The very root of concerns that pro-Russian and pro-Kremlin actors cause comes directly from their connection with the state of Russia and the ideology and narratives associated with it – these actors are PRIMARILY perceived as threatening because their goal is to represent the interests of a state which itself is perceived as a threat.

In this chapter, I will aim to illustrate how Russia and the actors who represent Russian interests in Lithuania have been securitized as a primary threat to Lithuania's national security and interests by state agencies and policy-makers.

Assessment of Threats to National Security reports by the State Security Department of Lithuania with the Second Department of Operational Services under the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Lithuania, provide an insightful illustration of rising tensions. Every annual report – with the first one published in 2014, accounting for the year 2013, mentioned Russia as a primary threat to the national security of Lithuania.⁵⁸ While it has been largely securitized for a long time, the process of its threatening establishment has been gradual. As Jakniūnaitė explains, the progression of the relations between Lithuania and Russia, particularly over the last twenty years

⁵⁸ The oldest available report is from 2014, covering the year 2013, up until the latest one from 2024, covering 2023, at the time of research.

State Security Department of Lithuania (VSD), “Grėsmių Nacionaliniam Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2014, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/gresmes-2013.pdf>>

Also: VSD, “Grėsmių Nacionaliniam Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2015, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Gresmiu-vertinimas-2014.pdf>>

VSD and The Second Department of Operational Services (AOTD) under the Ministry of National Defense, “Grėsmių Nacionaliniam Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2016, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/bendras-2015-gresmiu-vertinimas.pdf>>

VSD and AOTD, “Grėsmių Nacionaliniam Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2017, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/2016-gr%C4%97smi%C5%B3-vertinimas.pdf>>

VSD and AOTD, “Grėsmių Nacionaliniam Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2018, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/LTU.pdf>>

VSD and AOTD, “Grėsmių Nacionaliniam Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2019, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/2019-Gresmes-internetui-LT.pdf>>

VSD and AOTD, “Grėsmių Nacionaliniam Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2020, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/2020-Gresmes-LT-.pdf>>

VSD and AOTD, “Grėsmių Nacionaliniam Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2021, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/2021-LT-el-.pdf>>

VSD and AOTD, “Grėsmių Nacionaliniam Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2022, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/LT-el-.pdf>>

VSD and AOTD, “Grėsmių Nacionaliniam Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2023, <https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Gresmiu-nacionaliniam-saugumui-vertinimas-2023_LT_atsisiuntimui.pdf>

VSD and AOTD, “Grėsmių Nacionaliniam Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2024, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/GR-2024-02-15-LT-1-1.pdf>>

can be described as *'from consistently bad to none'*. When analyzing the dynamics of the bilateral relations, Jakniūnaitė distinguishes three periods: 2004 – 2008 the early stage of the European Union, and NATO integration of the Baltics, despite Russia's active opposition. The period brought expectations for more productive cooperation between the Baltic States (through the institutions of the European Union and NATO) and Russia, the possibility of "friendship" between the states was not even a question. The 2009 – 2013 period started with efforts to stabilize the relations. As soon as 2010, the efforts transformed into recognition that Russia was not looking for dialogue and imposed demands, primarily in the energy sector and conflicts over interpretations of history. Lastly, 2014 – 2021 signified Russia being identified as a security threat. The focus shifted to advancing energy, information, and military security in Lithuania.⁵⁹ As early as 2014, the Lithuanian President at the time, Dalia Grybauskaitė referred to Russia as a "terrorist state" that attacked its neighbor Ukraine and warned about the possibility of aggression spreading across the continent.⁶⁰ Similar sentiment has been expressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gabrielius Landsbergis, who named Russia as "... essentially a state that supports terrorism and acts of terrorism"⁶¹ years later. While the beforementioned review by Jakniūnaitė was published in 2021, it is rather clear that bilateral relations between Lithuania and Russia have reached a complete rock bottom after the Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine: in April 2022 Lithuania expelled the Russian ambassador in Vilnius, Alexey Isakov, recalled the ambassador in Moscow, Eitvydas Bajarūnas, and at this point maintain diplomatic relations through *chargé d'affaires*.⁶²

Russia, the main source of insecurity for Lithuania, has attracted even more attention and has become largely securitized in the public sphere after February 24th, 2022. It has become a major object of securitization across the actors of the whole established political spectrum. The leader of the ruling party, Homeland Union – Lithuanian Christian Democrats, Gabrielius Landsbergis

⁵⁹ Dovilė Jakniūnaitė, "Nuo stabiliai blogų prie jokių: Lietuvos ir Rusijos santykiai 2004-2021 metais" in *Lietuvos ir Rusijos sutartis dėl tarpvalstybinių santykių pagrindų*, eds. Dovilė Jakniūnaitė, Česlovas Vytautas Stankevičius, Vilenas Vadapalas, Gediminas Vitkus, Dainius Žalimas, Vilnius: Mykolas Romeris University, 2021, pp. 163-164, 179

⁶⁰ 15min.lt, "Dalia Grybauskaitė: Rusija yra teroristinė valstybė", 2014-11-20, <<https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/dalia-grybauskaite-rusija-yra-teroristine-valstybe-56-467874>>

⁶¹ Julius Palaima, "Landsbergis: Rusija iš esmės yra šalis, kuri remia terorizmą", *LRT*, 2021-04-19, <<https://www.lrt.lt/naujienu/pasaulyje/6/1389836/landsbergis-rusija-is-esmes-yra-salis-kuri-remia-terorizma>>

⁶² Dovilė Jakniūnaitė in „Politologė: išsiuntus ambasadorių, Lietuvos santykiai su Rusija – prasciausi istorijoje“, for Augustas Stankevičius, *BNS*, republished by 15min.lt, 2022-04-06, <<https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/politologe-issiuntus-ambasadoriu-lietuvos-santykiai-su-rusija-prasciausi-istorijoje-56-1663224>>

stated that Russia is “irrational and unpredictable” and that “It was, is, and always will be a dangerous neighbor.”⁶³ Member of the Seimas ruling coalition, Vilija Aleknaitė-Abramikienė described the situation as: “This war showed that Russia by its very nature poses an existential threat to Europe, our values, democracy. <...> by helping Ukraine, we are also defending ourselves”.⁶⁴ The same perception was broadcasted by leading political actors from the members of the opposition, Saulius Skvernelis “This morning [24 February 2022] we wake up in a world where another limit of common sense has been crossed”⁶⁵ and “... our Western colleagues have also woken up. Although few people in Lithuania believed that this could happen, we were still aware of the threat.”⁶⁶

Soon after the invasion, the threat of Russia was fully legitimized by the Lithuanian political institutions: on 10 May 2022, the Lithuanian Parliament, Seimas, passed a resolution that “*recognises the broad-scale armed aggression – war – launched by the armed forces of the Russian Federation and its political and military leadership against Ukraine, beginning on 24 February 2022, as genocide of the Ukrainian nation; <...> states that the Russian Federation, whose military forces deliberately and systematically target civilian objects for bombing, is a state sponsor and perpetrator of terrorism.*”⁶⁷ Additionally, on 15 July 2022, all parties represented in the Lithuanian Parliament signed “The Agreement of the Parliamentary Political Parties on The Strengthening of National Security and Defense in the Short-Term“, which states: “*Russia's military aggression against the independent and democratic Ukraine <...> dramatically changes*

⁶³ ELTA, “Užsienio reikalų ministras: Rusija buvo, yra ir bus pavojinga kaimynė”, *LRT*, 2022-12-13, <<https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pasaulyje/6/1843321/uzsienio-reikalu-ministras-rusija-buvo-yra-ir-bus-pavojinga-kaimyne>>

⁶⁴ Milena Andrukaitytė, “G.Nausėdos patarėjas: Rusija nuosekliai ir metodiškai ruošėsi karui nuo 2012 metų”, *15min.lt*, 2023-02-10, <<https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/g-nausedos-patarejas-rusija-nuosekliai-ir-metodiskai-ruosesi-karui-nuo-2012-metu-56-2007630>>

⁶⁵ Saulius Skvernelis “Šiandien ryte pabundama pasaulyje, kuriame peržengta dar viena sveiko proto riba...”, *Facebook*, 2022-02-24, <https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid02a9on1ynjggosYJRad6ZpZYoTEc9ryqbfdCAW1ysNX4gXyWhoXHBbaKSx2NeWVXvQl&id=100044241978848>

⁶⁶ Saulius Skvernelis, “Skvernelis – apie visuomenės susipriešinimą, Lietuvos politikų verslus Rusijoje ir keliuko istoriją”, interviewer Aleksandra Ketlerienė, *LRT*, 2022-05-02, <<https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1683495/skvernelis-apie-visuomenes-susipriesinima-lietuvos-politiku-verslus-rusijoje-ir-keliuko-istorija>>

⁶⁷ Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, “RESOLUTION ON THE RECOGNITION OF THE ACTIONS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION IN UKRAINE AS GENOCIDE AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SPECIAL INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL TO INVESTIGATE THE CRIME OF RUSSIAN AGGRESSION”, 10 May 2022, No XIV-1070 Vilnius, <https://www.lrs.lt/sip/getFile3?p_fid=47002>

*and worsens the security situation of Lithuania, the Baltic region and the whole of Europe. <...> the President of the Russian Federation V. Putin issued the ultimatums to Ukraine and the West that were and still are aimed directly at Lithuania's national security interests: law-based international order, Euro-Atlantic communities unity and security architecture in Europe, the defensibility of our country and defense and foreign policy independence.”*⁶⁸ This agreement illustrates the legitimization of Russia as a widely perceived threat to the national security and the stability of the global order.

Finally, it can also be seen that the threat of Russia is established within the Lithuanian society – according to the Eurobarometer data from 2023, 84 percent of Lithuanians support financial sanctions imposed on the Russian government, companies, and individuals, also 84 percent of respondents support purchasing and financing of military aid to Ukraine (in comparison the EU average of 72 percent and 64 percent, respectively).⁶⁹

The consequential securitization of local pro-Kremlin actors in Lithuania, which comes from perceived loyalty to the main source of national insecurity, is also not new. Russian propaganda in Lithuania and its potential has been extensively analyzed (see: Maliukevičius 2008), as early as 2014, the State Security Department noted that the hostile state of Russia developed its activities in Lithuania by employing its connections within the country, including regional and national governance institutions, organizations, businesses, and media platforms.⁷⁰ The Assessment of Threats to National Security, published in 2023, covering the year 2022, highlighted that actors, unfriendly to Lithuania, cooperated with Russian and Belarusian propagandists by providing them with comments about Lithuania.⁷¹ The report also highlights the connection between the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB) and media portals controlled by controversial and marginal individuals in Lithuania. According to the State Security Department, the Russian security organs use intermediaries in Lithuania to promote and spread information, beneficial to the Kremlin. It results in articles echoing information that is either pro-Russian or in line with the Russian

⁶⁸ Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, “Lietuvos Respublikos Seime Atstovaujamų Politinių Partijų Susitarimas Dėl Lietuvos Nacionalinio Saugumo ir Gynybos Artimiausio Laikotarpio Sustiprinimo”, pp.1, 2022-07-15 <<https://www.lrs.lt/sip/getFile?guid=5addb505-99d8-4b48-867c-90b5d584fff1>>

⁶⁹ BNS, “Apklausa: lietuviai Ukrainą palaiko labiau nei bendrai europiečiai”, *Verslo Žinios*, 2023-07-19, <<https://www.vz.lt/verslo-aplinka/2023/07/19/apklausa-lietuviai-ukraina-palaiko-labiau-nei-bendrai-europieciai>>

⁷⁰ VSD, “Grėsmių Nacionaliniam Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2014, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/gresmes-2013.pdf>>

⁷¹ VSD and AOTD, “Grėsmių Nacionaliniam Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2023, pp.54, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/LT-el-.pdf>>

propaganda strategy, are published in Lithuanian news portals, which are considered politically marginal or promoting conspiracy theories. Such news portals are considered to target Lithuania-based Russian-speaking audiences or regional media, based in the municipalities, near the non-European Union borders (Belarus in the East and Kaliningrad Oblast in the West). The Assessment of Threats to National Security report released in 2023 notes that such articles often are characterized by low-quality journalism, inappropriate Lithuanian grammar and language constructions, and tend to list non-existent individuals as authors. Amongst such media platforms is the website *Būkime Vieningi* (*English: Let's be united*) which will be described in greater detail further in the empirical part and whose content will be the object of analysis.⁷²

As the events of February 24th, 2022 were the breaking point in determining Russia as an absolute primary threat to Lithuania, attempts were made to restrict the Russian propaganda channels – on September 22nd, 2022, the amendments to the Law on Public Information were passed that prohibit rebroadcasting and distribution of television or radio shows that are produced by channels directly or indirectly financed or controlled by the Russian Federation or the Republic of Belarus in the territory of Lithuania.⁷³ Similarly, local pro-Kremlin actors also gained more negative attention being named as threatening – the securitization of the actors that work in favor of and spread narratives in line with Russian interests was also apparent in speech acts, committed by politicians who belong to various forces on the political spectrum. One of the foremen of the ruling Lithuanian Christian Democrats – Homeland Union party, Laurynas Kasčiūnas, Minister of Defense of Lithuania and former head of the National Security and Defense Committee in Seimas described the situation as: “... Russia utilizes cleavages inside our society, let it be economic, social or cultural <...> She [Russia] not necessarily will create the problem but will try to use it <...> They [pro-Russian actors] try to bandwagon with some social movement and self-legitimize and, potentially, create a bigger base of support. We are a democratic state and we have to separate where is an ideal debate, and where is a Russian effort to use these debates to accelerate conflicts, tensions within society and later use it to their advantage.”⁷⁴ According to the deputy National Security and Defense Committee Chairman, an opposition politician Dainius Gaižauskas: „...we

⁷² Ibidem, pp.56

⁷³ *Seimas of the Republic Of Lithuania*, “Law of the Republic of Lithuania on Public Information No. I-1418 Law to amend Article 34-1”, registered by Vytautas Juozapaitis, 2022-02-22, <<https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/29001c023a6e11edbf47f0036855e731?jfwid=wnk4sjjyw>>

⁷⁴ Laurynas Kasčiūnas in “LRT Forumas“, host Nemira Pumprickaitė, *LRT*, 2022-11-07, 2:22-3:10, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWwLOB0ZRO0&t=190s>>

used to be negligent with those [marginal] groups. The Fifth Column does not want any good for our state. [They] have certain tasks and those tasks are being accomplished over a certain period – during rallies, meetings, compromising someone, etc., therefore there is no doubt we need to pay, and pay a lot of, attention to [them]. No doubt, that is what our special agencies do, and our intelligence, etc., but their job is invisible, silent, they need to collect all information, identify networks, etc. If they start working too early, perhaps those investigations would be terminated and there would be no benefit.⁷⁵”

The newest edition of the Assessment of Threats to National Security report, released on March 7th, 2024, covering the year 2023, also acknowledged that the security situation in Lithuania did not improve and the main sources of threats – primarily, Russia and, its perceived proxy, Belarus, did not change. However, it is mentioned that the Russian invasion of Ukraine negatively impacted pro-Russian actors in Lithuania, diminishing their prominence. In order to adapt, they have reshaped the narratives to “pro-Lithuanian” instead of “pro-Russian”, calling for neutrality and stabilization of Lithuanian-Russian relations which, if implemented, long-term would harm Lithuanian sovereignty and return to the Russian zone of influence.⁷⁶

It can be seen that Russia has been established as a threat in Lithuanian society for at least the past decade. Similarly, actors and media channels representing Russian interests have also been securitized. It is acknowledged that pro-Russian actors have been operating in Lithuania rather informally through the exploitation of existing tensions within the society and had to adapt as the geopolitical situation changed to match the increasing anti-Russian sentiment.

5. Analysis of the pro-Russian Media Narratives Surrounding the War in Ukraine

This particular period was chosen because February 24, 2022, signifies a drastic change in the West-East relationship – the Russian invasion of Ukraine challenged the global liberal world order and distorted the European security environment. While Russia became one of the most sanctioned

⁷⁵ Dainius Gaižauskas in “LRT Forumas,” host Nemira Pumprickaitė, *LRT YouTube channel*, 2022-11-07, 4:51-5:30, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWwLOB0ZRO0&t=190s>> (accessed 2023-12-25)

⁷⁶ VSD and AOTD, “Grėsmių Nacionaliniams Saugumui Vertinimas”, Vilnius, 2024, p.8, 26, 56-57, 61, <<https://www.vsd.lt/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/GR-2024-02-15-LT-1-1.pdf>>

regimes in the world, Europe has become a battlefield – for the first time since World War Two. According to Tomas Janeliūnas, 2022 also became the year of Lithuania separating itself from Russia greatly by terminating almost all of its formal connections, imposing sanctions, blocking broadcasts of media outlets sponsored by the Russian Federation, and encouraging Lithuanian businesses to exit the Russian market.⁷⁷

Further subsections will contain an analysis of *Būkime vieningi* content by highlighting dominant narratives over three main broad topics, mentioned earlier - **The role of Lithuania; Ukraine and Russia; The Role and Image of the West**. After establishing the main narratives, a separate section will be dedicated to further determining whether these narratives match the canons of Eurasianist thought.

5.1. Role of Lithuania

As mentioned before, Eurasianist thought sees Lithuania as its province, an illegitimate state that needs to take Russian interests into account. An outlook of Lithuania as a Russian satellite has been influenced by the two countries' long history – Lithuania spent almost 70 years under the rule of the Russian Empire and the Soviets in the past century alone, and about five percent of its current population is ethnic Russians. Over the last two decades, the Lithuanian decision-makers, mainstream media, and civil society have continuously and consistently worked towards distancing themselves from Russian influence and choosing the Western-oriented path, by joining the European Union and NATO in 2004. This section will detail how *Būkime vieningi* presents the pillars of the Lithuanian state – politicians (current and former policy-makers), mainstream media, and civil society. It will analyze how the West-oriented path is being understood and the foreign and domestic policies Lithuania is implementing. It is important to determine how their positions, activities, and policies towards Russia are portrayed, and what the aspirations and visions are for Lithuania moving forward.

On the domestic scale, *Būkime vieningi* directs a lot of attention toward Lithuania and its state and society, focusing on its Westward orientation. Membership in the European Union is portrayed as

⁷⁷ Tomas Janeliūnas, *Rusijos įtakos Lietuvai indeksas, 2022-2023m.*, Vilnius: Eastern Europe Studies Centre, 2024, p.4

forceful and unconstitutional⁷⁸ and even suspicious as the 2003 referendum on the membership of the Republic of Lithuania in the European Union is being leveled to the 2014 referendum in Crimea that led to the Russian annexation of the peninsula: “No one drove them there [to the referendum in Crimea] with a gun. Yes, you were looked after, there were green men, but no one pulled them by the gallows and told them to go vote with a gun. <...> So, it was somewhat similar to our referendum on joining the European Union. <...> If we can afford to criticize the Crimean referendum, then we should look at our own referendum on joining the European Union. And also look for a referendum on joining NATO, which didn't even exist.”⁷⁹ The contemporary state is described as a “colony”⁸⁰ of the West with even its national symbols being disregarded –the official tricolor flag is presented as having been “created by the Masons” along with the flags of other Baltic States.⁸¹ The Western integration is presented as having stripped Lithuania of any sovereignty: “We are driven into the European Union”⁸² and “...management system, social order, even traditions, manners, education, do not depend on us in practice. We are integrated, absorbed into a huge monster. <...> we are part of that monster and controlled by that monster.”⁸³ Similarly, more doubts are being raised about the loyalty of the Lithuanian institutions and politicians.

⁷⁸ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Pagrindinis klausimas: ar sugebėsime išlikti? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-11, 02:05-02:10, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-pagrindinis-klausimas-ar-sugebesime-islikti-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2zewr6-ar-sugebsime-ilikti.html>>

Vaidas Lekstutis in “Suverenų ir jų vaikų likimas, Celofano cirkai ir karas Ukrainoje (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-24, 26:01-26:04, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/suverenu-ir-ju-vaiku-likimas-celofano-cirkai-ir-karas-ukrainoje-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v3222vc-suveren-ir-j-vaik-likimas-celofano-cirkai-ir-karas-ukrainoje.html>>

Laurynas Ragelskis in “Vaidas ir Laurynas. Jautresniems žiūrovams vaizdo įrašo patariame nežiūrėti”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-18, 04:35-4:40, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-ir-laurynas-jautresniems-ziurovams-vaizdo-iraso-patariame-neziureti/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30ish0-vaidas-ir-laurynas-jautresniems-irovams-vaizdo-rao-patariame-neirti.html>>

⁷⁹ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Sąžiningai apie Ukrainą, Tapinus ir Malinauskus (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-03, 15:00-15:55, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/saziningai-apie-ukraina-tapinus-ir-malinauskus-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2lsuzs-siningai-apie-ukrain-tapinus-ir-malinauskus.html>>

⁸⁰ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Nesitikėjote, kad galiu padaryti tokį video? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-08, 8:55, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-nesitikejote-kad-galiu-padaryti-toki-video-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2ytnjm-netikjote-kad-galiu-padaryti-tok-video.html>>

⁸¹ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Pagrindinis klausimas: ar sugebėsime išlikti? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-11, 23:32-23:53, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-pagrindinis-klausimas-ar-sugebesime-islikti-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2zewr6-ar-sugebsime-ilikti.html>>

⁸² Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Pagrindinis klausimas: ar sugebėsime išlikti? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-11, 02:08-02:10, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-pagrindinis-klausimas-ar-sugebesime-islikti-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2zewr6-ar-sugebsime-ilikti.html>>

⁸³ Gintaras Lunsakis in “KALBA ŽMONĖS. Sielų gelbėtojas Gintaras Lunsakis (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-19, 21:53-22:15, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/kalba-zmones-sielu-gelbetojas-gintaras-lunsakis-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30zchk-labai-domus-mogus-gintaras-lunsakis.html>>

Lithuanian decision-makers are referred to as “scoundrels, traitors, the fifth column, anti-state actors”⁸⁴ and “Russophobes”,⁸⁵ Lithuanian President Gitanas Nausėda is so irrelevant he does not even get recognized by the leaders of one of its main ally countries, such as Joe Biden⁸⁶ and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gabrielius Landsbergis is presented as “Americans’ henchman, pawn”, and “a humble servant to his master”,⁸⁷ basically stripping them off the legitimacy of the mandate given by the people who elected them. Similarly, the Lithuanian Homeland Security Department is mentioned as a “branch of the CIA”⁸⁸ that solely works for the Americans, the same as the Lithuanian government.⁸⁹ Independent Lithuania is also generally presented as a “depopulated” and failed country where no one lives anymore with everyone having emigrated⁹⁰ – it is blamed on Lithuanian politicians who steal a lot and there is “nothing left.” Such a narrative further promoted the narrative of the regression of Lithuania during its years after breaking out of the Soviet Union and joining Western institutions. Lithuania, as a member of NATO, is generally perceived as a bottom-of-the-barrel member that is not allowed to have its own position or opinion.⁹¹

⁸⁴ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Ar jūs žinote, kas yra tikrieji Lietuvos priešai? (video),” *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-05, 1:12-1:16, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-ar-jus-zinote-kas-yra-tikrieji-lietuvos-priesai-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2y312a-varidinkime-tikruosius-lietuvos-prieus.html>>

⁸⁵ *Būkime vieningi*, “Vaidas Žemaitis. Ar šitie išgelbės Lietuvą? (video)”, 2022-09-13, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-ar-sitie-igelbes-lietuva-video/>>

⁸⁶ Vaidas Lekstutis in “KALBA ŽMONĖS. Sielų gelbėtojas Gintaras Lunskis (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-19, 1:07:32-1:07:48, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kalba-zmones-sielu-gelbetojas-gintaras-lunskis-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30zchk-labai-domus-mogus-gintaras-lunskis.html>>

⁸⁷ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Sąžiningai apie Ukrainą, Tapinus ir Malinauskus (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-03, 3:23-3:25, 3:37 – 3:39, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/saziningai-apie-ukraina-tapinus-ir-malinauskus-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2lsuzs-siningai-apie-ukrain-tapinus-ir-malinauskus.html>>

⁸⁸ Gintaras Lunskis in “KALBA ŽMONĖS. Sielų gelbėtojas Gintaras Lunskis (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-19, 1:15:04-1:15:08, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kalba-zmones-sielu-gelbetojas-gintaras-lunskis-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30zchk-labai-domus-mogus-gintaras-lunskis.html>>

⁸⁹ Eduardas Vaitkus in “Vaidas Žemaitis ir Eduardas Vaitkus. Ko mes verti? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2022-08-21, 13:18-13:24, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-ir-eduardas-vaitkus-ko-mes-verti-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v3foouq-vaidas-emaitis-ir-eduardas-vaitkus.-ko-mes-verti.html>>

⁹⁰ Laurynas Ragelskis in “Vaidas ir Laurynas. Jautresniems žiūrovams vaizdo įrašo patariame nežiūrėti”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-18, 39:46-39:51, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-ir-laurynas-jautresniems-ziurovams-vaizdo-iraso-patariame-neziureti/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30ish0-vaidas-ir-laurynas.-jautresniems-irovams-vaizdo-rao-patariame-neirti.html>>

⁹¹ Laurynas Ragelskis in “Vaidas ir Laurynas. Jautresniems žiūrovams vaizdo įrašo patariame nežiūrėti”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-18, 12:31-12:35 <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-ir-laurynas-jautresniems-ziurovams-vaizdo-iraso-patariame-neziureti/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30ish0-vaidas-ir-laurynas.-jautresniems-irovams-vaizdo-rao-patariame-neirti.html>>

With the Western integration, similarly viewed is the influence that the West brings to Lithuania. Overall, the West is being leveled with liberalism that is presented as destructive to the traditional values, culture, and languages. When talking about the “plague”⁹² that liberalism brings, *Būkime vieningi* suggests that “the finish of liberalism is cannibalism <...> liberalism, this is debauchery <...> complete destruction of statehood, customs, traditions, culture, Lithuanianness...”⁹³ Furthermore, it is claimed that the liberal Western culture is being promoted in Lithuania, “But can we do it [preserve our culture, customs, and traditions], while we are in, let’s say, the European Union, in which all these deviations are as a norm, <...> these are Western values.”⁹⁴ The imposition of these “pervasive values” is seen as a Western agenda meant to eradicate nations by supplementing their distinctive cultures and traditions with vanity. The political party Liberal Movement⁹⁵ is referred to as “... the ambassadors in Lithuania, of this whole perverted world.”⁹⁶ Although Soviet nostalgia is not generally propagated by *Būkime vieningi*, it is mentioned that “Soviet ideology and propaganda did not teach us to kill, take revenge, or steal. It taught good behavior. And, perhaps, higher morals were of the soviet people, not of the current [people].”⁹⁷ Discussion about liberalism also echoes the conservative position, explaining that the traditional values are threatened by distortion of “the correct concept of family” which is kids born into, ideally, wedlock, between a man and a woman.⁹⁸ Interracial relationships are equated to breeding animals – such as dogs: it is necessary to keep the line within the same breed to preserve the best

⁹² Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Pagrindinis klausimas: ar sugebėsime išlikti? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-11, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-pagrindinis-klausimas-ar-sugebesime-islikti-video/>>

⁹³ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Pagrindinis klausimas: ar sugebėsime išlikti? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-11, 9:13–9:25, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-pagrindinis-klausimas-ar-sugebesime-islikti-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2zewr6-ar-sugebsime-ilikti.html>>

⁹⁴ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Pagrindinis klausimas: ar sugebėsime išlikti? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-11, 4:46–5:08, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-pagrindinis-klausimas-ar-sugebesime-islikti-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2zewr6-ar-sugebsime-ilikti.html>>

⁹⁵ While the exact name of the party is not being named in this case, it is assumed that *Būkime Vieniingi* refers to the Liberal Movement (Lithuanian: *Liberalų Sąjūdis*) based on the author mentioning several of its former members that, in fact, have in the past belonged to this party.

⁹⁶ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Pagrindinis klausimas: ar sugebėsime išlikti? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-11, 8:33–8:38, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-pagrindinis-klausimas-ar-sugebesime-islikti-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2zewr6-ar-sugebsime-ilikti.html>>

⁹⁷ Ričardas Auglys, “Ričardas Auglys. Išverstakūriai.”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2022-04-18, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/ricardas-auglys-isverstaskuriai/>>

⁹⁸ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Pagrindinis klausimas: ar sugebėsime išlikti? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-11, 2:22–2:24, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-pagrindinis-klausimas-ar-sugebesime-islikti-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2zewr6-ar-sugebsime-ilikti.html>>

qualities and characteristics.⁹⁹ The same principle is applied in explaining how important it is to maintain the Lithuanian gene, according to *Būkime vieningi*, by mentioning that some “brotherly” nations are fit for Lithuanians to “mate” with – such as Belarusians, Poles, and the majority of Russia. However, it is pointed out that while other races are not inferior, they just possess different qualities and are “distinctive.”¹⁰⁰

Moving up to the country’s foreign policy, *Būkime vieningi* presents it in an asymmetric dynamic when discussing relations with its big neighbor, Russia. Mainly, Lithuania is framed as insignificant and disregarded and presented as “Bananastan” that is completely irrelevant,¹⁰¹ and that has little to no control over its own fate: “...with the eyes of a giant, look at the historical scale of Russia <...> the little pixel [Lithuania] is ‘reprimanding us’ here <...>. It [Lithuania] just needs to be incorporated. On a geopolitical scale, this is just a tiny sliver, to us idiots we seem to be important here...”. Adding on this sentiment, Lithuania is described as just a province, a segment of a buffer zone, that operates in a sphere of influence of one of the “empires” – either West or East,¹⁰² which can also change depending on the geopolitical context: “The best for Lithuania, not the best, maybe, the mildest fate for Lithuania will be if Russia only makes that zone of its influence, and not completely conquers, conquers and takes it completely.”¹⁰³ However, *Būkime vieningi* also points out that Lithuania’s failure to live in peace with its neighbors will eventually cause harm – Lithuanian ‘barking’ against Russia and other countries is seen as a breach of the sovereignty of other countries: “You think that Lithuania will not have to answer for that barking, for all those encroachments, interfering in the affairs of Belarus? Organizations of coups in Belarus... <...> When you thought, they wouldn't have to answer for it. For all this spreading of

⁹⁹ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Pagrindinis klausimas: ar sugebėsime išlikti? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-11, 17:30-19:00, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-pagrindinis-klausimas-ar-sugebesime-islikti-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2zewr6-ar-sugebsime-ilikti.html>>

¹⁰⁰ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Pagrindinis klausimas: ar sugebėsime išlikti? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-11, 19:55, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-pagrindinis-klausimas-ar-sugebesime-islikti-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2zewr6-ar-sugebsime-ilikti.html>>

¹⁰¹ Gintaras Lunsakis in “KALBA ŽMONĖS. Sielų gelbėtojas Gintaras Lunsakis (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-19, 20:56-21:03, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kalba-zmones-sielu-gelbetojas-gintaras-lunsakis-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30zchk-labai-domus-mogus-gintaras-lunsakis.html>>

¹⁰² Gintaras Lunsakis in “KALBA ŽMONĖS. Sielų gelbėtojas Gintaras Lunsakis (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-19, 0:21:28-21:37; 1:04:20-1:04:30, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kalba-zmones-sielu-gelbetojas-gintaras-lunsakis-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30zchk-labai-domus-mogus-gintaras-lunsakis.html>>

¹⁰³ Gintaras Lunsakis in “KALBA ŽMONĖS. Sielų gelbėtojas Gintaras Lunsakis (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-19, 1:06:20-1:06:35, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kalba-zmones-sielu-gelbetojas-gintaras-lunsakis-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30zchk-labai-domus-mogus-gintaras-lunsakis.html>>

Russophobia, for this hatred between nations, for inciting hatred...”¹⁰⁴ and “...this barking, the question here is whether those who will punish will punish the politicians, or will they punish the whole, complex Lithuania, including the people living here. Will we also have to suffer for our naivety, for our silence, for our indifference?”¹⁰⁵ Therefore, the only way out for Lithuania that is promoted is neutrality: “Lithuania as a country can live well only if they invest in education. And if people become enlightened, someone will create technologies, trade with other countries, give up all the non-sensical unconscious political things, stop meddling in the relations of other states, and only care about itself.”¹⁰⁶ It is also questioned why Lithuania cannot just act as other countries, such as Switzerland or Austria who feel happier and safer than Lithuanians who keep on “supporting the war”¹⁰⁷ or Iceland which “...does not yell at the whole world. Is not angry with anyone. Why does Lithuania have to be angry with everyone? Could cooperate with China, with Russia, Belarus, with all the countries in general.”¹⁰⁸

That same sentiment is broadcast when speaking directly about Russia’s war in Ukraine. The prevalent narratives are those of a “promotion of war” and the need for choosing “neutrality” when discussing the Lithuanian position in this context. While an alliance with Russia, or support for it, is not openly articulated, *Būkime vieningi* mainly sends the message of the necessity for neutrality or at least to stop “provoking” Russia because if not, then the fate of Ukraine and war will come to the Lithuanian soil. Supporting Ukraine is perceived as prolonging the war that takes innocent peoples’ lives rather than talking about Russian aggression.¹⁰⁹ An example of such a portrayal of Lithuanian politicians is used to criticize the former president of Lithuania, Dalia Grybauskaitė for

¹⁰⁴ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis.”Slava Ukraini” – naujoji religija?”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-10, 21:25-21:50, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2n0olg-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija.html>>

¹⁰⁵ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Su kuo ir už ką jis? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-04-25, 40:37-41:00, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-su-kuo-ir-uz-ka-jis-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2l8gye-kas-tas-vaidas-emaitis.html>>

¹⁰⁶ Edvardas (Last name undisclosed) in “KALBA ŽMONĖS. Labai griežta Edvardo pozicija (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-17, 10:45-11:05, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kalba-zmones-labai-griezta-edvardo-pozicija-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30icf4-kalba-mons.-edvardo-grieta-pozicija.html>>

¹⁰⁷ Vaidas Lekstutis in “KALBA ŽMONĖS. Labai griežta Edvardo pozicija (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-17, 12:32-12:55, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kalba-zmones-labai-griezta-edvardo-pozicija-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30icf4-kalba-mons.-edvardo-grieta-pozicija.html>>

¹⁰⁸ Edvardas (Last name undisclosed) in “KALBA ŽMONĖS. Labai griežta Edvardo pozicija (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-17, 13:32-13:40, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kalba-zmones-labai-griezta-edvardo-pozicija-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30icf4-kalba-mons.-edvardo-grieta-pozicija.html>>

¹⁰⁹ *Būkime vieningi* “Vaidas Žemaitis. Gal nustokime vieną kartą remti karą?”, 2022-07-31, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-gal-nustokime-viena-karta-remti-kara/>>

publicly calling NATO to support Ukraine, criticizing sanctions as ineffective, and pointing out that war between Russia and the West has already started. Her comments were followed with the insights: "...do we really want our cities to turn into dilapidated 'ghost towns'? Do our politicians who incite military aggression bear responsibility for their words? Does Dalia Grybauskaitė bear responsibility for her words? <...> Why can't we become a neutral state and just shut up in some cases? In the name of peace, in the name of saving people's lives, in the name of intact cities, and in the name of the future of all of us."¹¹⁰ In this case, neutrality is seen as the only way to achieve national security rather than Russia being presented as a threat. Grybauskaitė's words are interpreted as a "provocation" of Russia, suggesting that it would be better to remain silent and neutral to maintain national security. The "war is coming" narrative is presented as an upcoming consequence of what Lithuanians do – as well as of what they do not do: "War will come, after your asses. [It] Will come, we'll see. You are not interested in war, but war is interested in you."¹¹¹

Another component of a democratic state – free media, is also targeted by *Būkime vieningi*, being presented as lacking independence and serving the interests of 'others' in the context of this war. The portal attempts to discredit mainstream media channels, which, unlike the subject, are said to provide false information, confuse people, hide the truth, and spread Western and mainly American propaganda. Some of the biggest news portals that operate in Lithuania are claimed to be controlled by a Hungarian-American investor and philanthropist George Soros and therefore spread biased information about the war. While there is no support for these claims, the presence of Soros is used as a 'boogeyman.' And yet, the mainstream media is attributed a very interesting role. While rather obviously, the established media channels are portrayed as "brainwashing portals"¹¹² that are in "degradation", funded by Western Corporations¹¹³ and "[George] Soros[-controlled] spreaders of disinformation"¹¹⁴ "fake news."¹¹⁵ According to *Būkime vieningi*, it is

¹¹⁰ *Būkime vieningi*, "Ar mes tikrai norime Mariupolio likimo? (video)", 2022-03-24, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/ar-mes-tikrai-norime-mariupolio-likimo-video/>>

¹¹¹ Gintaras Luskis in "KALBA ŽMONĖS. Sielų gelbėtojas Gintaras Luskis (video)", *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-19, 53:39-53:45, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kalba-zmones-sielu-gelbetojas-gintaras-luskis-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30zchk-labai-domus-mogus-gintaras-luskis.html>>

¹¹² Vaidas Lekstutis, "Vaidas Žemaitis. Nemokamai (video)", *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-24, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-nemokamai-video/>>

¹¹³ *Būkime vieningi*, "Pamatykite ir kitą Ukrainos karo pusę (video N-16)", 2022-03-19, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/pamatykite-ir-kita-ukrainos-karo-puse-video-n-16/>>

¹¹⁴ *Būkime vieningi*, "Fake news: „Karas peržengė Ukrainos sienas: skelbiama apie Lenkijoje nukritusias Rusijos raketas", 2022-11-16, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/fake-news-karas-perzenge-ukrainos-sienas-skelbiama-apie-lenkijoje-nukritusias-rusijos-raketas/>>

utilized to broadcast Western propaganda: "...just make sure that through that faith you don't have to take up arms yourself and participate in the Western oligarchs' plan to help the Western oligarchs defeat Russia..."¹¹⁶ Thus, when it comes to reporting on what is happening on the ground in Ukraine, *Būkime vieningi* describes the media's role as preparing the local population in Lithuania for the war itself. It is accused of only showing one side where Ukraine is constantly victorious with none of its losses presented.¹¹⁷ This helps utilize the media in a long-term project to transform the society into anti-Russian: "In which countries are Russophobes aggressively trained and Russophobia spread? <....> This is not being done in vain, it is not just that they thought of spreading Russophobia, hatred of Russia, Russians, and the Russian language among us. <...> it is necessary to prepare the society for this hatred in a few years, to develop it to such a level that it is simply instilled, programmed, aggressive hatred towards Russia."¹¹⁸ Thus the tensions between Lithuania and Russia are removed from the historical context and Russia's aggression. Instead, it is presented as the result of 'indoctrination,' influenced by outsiders that determine the faith and bilateral relation between the two sides.

Insights towards Lithuanian policies and reactions towards the Russian invasion of Ukraine are mostly focused on ridiculing Lithuania. First, Lithuanian financial, humanitarian, and military support is alluded to be a betrayal of the government that puts the welfare of Ukrainians in front of the welfare of Lithuanians,¹¹⁹ as well as extortion of the Lithuanian taxpayers' money and wasting

¹¹⁵ *Būkime vieningi*, "Fake news: „Karas peržengė Ukrainos sienas: skelbiama apie Lenkijoje nukritusias Rusijos raketas", 2022-11-16, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/fake-news-karas-perzenge-ukrainos-sienas-skelbiama-apie-lenkijoje-nukritusias-rusijos-raketas/>>

Būkime vieningi, "Kaip užmigdyti arba laimingu padaryti kvailį", 2023-06-16, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kaip-uzmigdyti-arba-laimingu-padaryti-kvaili/>>

¹¹⁶ Vaidas Lekstutis in "Vaidas Žemaitis. Ar jūs žinote, kas yra tikrieji Lietuvos priešai? (video)", *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-05, 16:43-16:57 <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-ar-jus-zinote-kas-yra-tikrieji-lietuvos-priesai-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2y312a-vardinkime-tikruosius-lietuvos-prieus.html>>

¹¹⁷ Vaidas Lekstutis in "Vaidas Žemaitis. Kas ir kodėl susprogdino Kachovkos užtvanką?", *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-06-06, 6:40-7:01, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-kas-ir-kodel-susprogdino-kachovkos-uztvanka-3-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2sgcee-kas-susprogdino-kachovkos-utvank.html>>

¹¹⁸ Vaidas Lekstutis in "Vaidas Žemaitis. Kokia reali situacija Ukrainoje ir kas gresia Lietuvai? (video)", 2023-06-11, 13:41-14:27 <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-kokia-reali-situacija-ukrainoje-ir-kas-gresia-lietuvai-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2thbuy-kokia-reali-situacija-ukrainoje-ir-kas-gresia-lietuvai.html>>

¹¹⁹ *Būkime vieningi*, "Vaidas Žemaitis. Šiandien aš ir vėl piktas (video)", 2022-05-19, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-siandien-as-ir-vel-piktas-video/>>

it left and right.¹²⁰ Additionally, any popular support for Ukraine is disregarded by suggesting that people have not been consulted on whether huge amounts of money should be donated to Ukraine.¹²¹ Similarly, Lithuanian aspirations to help rebuild Ukraine's destroyed infrastructure are laughable – “You unhappy beggars! Add twenty euros to pensioners, you ‘reconstructionists of Ukraine’” that are “...pouring money down the drain”.¹²² and “How much money did Lithuania borrow and inject into Ukraine? <...> What benefits will Lithuania have? Who will return the borrowed money?”¹²³ Implementing sanctions against Russia is also presented as failing to represent the interest of the Lithuanian people. Instead, the Lithuanian government is said to have “...helped the Europeans and contributed to this dumping” and “... cut the branch they are sitting on. But the most important thing is ‘Slava Ukraini!’ [“Glory to Ukraine!"]. ‘Slava Ukraini!’ and to please their masters. The height of idiocy.”¹²⁴ The sanctions are presented as a measure against the state that implements them rather than Russia, which will not end the war but will ruin Lithuanian and European economies.¹²⁵ Similarly, support of Ukraine by the Lithuanian society is repeatedly presented as “psychosis,”¹²⁶ and the “systematic idiots” can be recognized as they support the narratives of “...European Union is good, it is democracy <...> Russia is bad, Putin is a murderer, Ukraine will win, Lithuania is a free, independent, country, democratic...”¹²⁷ Additionally, *Būkime*

¹²⁰ *Būkime vieningi*, “Ekonomiškai klestinti gerovės Lietuva skyrė lėšų humanitarinei pagalbai Ukrainai”, 2022-07-31, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/ekonomiskai-klestinti-geroves-lietuva-skyre-lesu-humanitarinei-pagalbai-ukrainai/>>

¹²¹ *Būkime vieningi*, “Kiek milijardų Lietuva jau skyrė Ukrainai?”, 2024-08-29, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kiemilijardu-lietuva-jau-skyre-ukrainai/>>

¹²² The exact quote is “Both Europeans, Lithuanians, and Americans are *shoving money up the ass*,” which suggests a “waste” in Lithuanian. However, in order to avoid confusion with an English idiom, “shove/stick something up ones ass” – an idiom used to dismissing a wrongful statement or action (Urban Dictionary)

Vaidas Lekstutis, in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Ar jūs žinote, kas yra tikrieji Lietuvos priešai? (video),” *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-05, 8:36-8:42, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-ar-jus-zinote-kas-yra-tikrieji-lietuvos-priesai-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2y312a-vardinkime-tikruosius-lietuvos-prieus.html>>

¹²³ *Būkime vieningi*, “Kaip užmigdyti arba laimingai padaryti kvailį”, 2023-06-16, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kaip-uzmigdyti-arba-laimingu-padaryti-kvaili/>>

¹²⁴ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Ar jūs žinote, kas yra tikrieji Lietuvos priešai? (video),” *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-05, 8:12-8:23 <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-ar-jus-zinote-kas-yra-tikrieji-lietuvos-priesai-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2y312a-vardinkime-tikruosius-lietuvos-prieus.html>>

¹²⁵ *Būkime vieningi*, “Vaidas Žemaitis. Vyksta lūžis (video)”, 2022-08-01, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-vyksta-luzis-video/>>

¹²⁶ *Būkime vieningi*, “Į NATO suvažiavimą atvykusiam Zelenskiui – spjūvis į veidą iš Vokietijos atstovų”, 2023-07-11, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/i-nato-suvaziavima-atvykusiam-zelenskiui-spjuvis-i-veida-is-vokietijos-atstovu/>>

¹²⁷ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Suverenų ir jų vaikų likimas, Celofano cirkai ir karas Ukrainoje (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-24, 25:20–26:04, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/suverenu-ir-ju-vaiku-likimas-celofano-cirkai-ir-karas-ukrainoje-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v3222vc-suveren-ir-j-vaik-likimas-celofano-cirkai-ir-karas-ukrainoje.html>>

vieningi presents hypothetical involvement and deaths of Lithuanian volunteer soldiers in Ukraine “There is no better option to get rid of Lithuanian madmen. <...> those who are for Ukraine, for NATO, all those who say ‘Russians are attacking’ <...> let’s clean up Lithuania.”¹²⁸ Additionally, this hypothetical scenario where Lithuania goes to “save Ukraine from aggression” could create the foundation for Russia to send “Greetings from Russia <...> with little rockets.”¹²⁹

Overall, *Būkime vieningi* presents Lithuania as lacking independence, democracy, and a “clearly-thinking” society that has been brainwashed into the pro-Ukrainian “psychosis” and indoctrinated by the West. The institutions are introduced as usurped by Western politicians while, in a very conservative manner, it is explained that the cultural and social life is being destroyed by the Western perverse, inter-mixed lifestyle – thus Lithuania has not just integrated into the West – it is shown as having sacrificed its statehood and sovereignty to it. The pro-Ukrainian stance is not seen as normative or an interest of the Lithuanian national security. Instead, it is emphasized as a by-product of two decades of Western integration that has taken over control of its institutions and is pushing Lithuania towards involvement in the war with Russia that only sees Lithuania as an insignificant piece of land, that serves as a buffer between the Western empire. With constant criticism towards Lithuanian internal and foreign affairs, it appears to be presented as a failing state that is in trouble due to a lack of cooperation with its neighboring countries, mainly Russia and Belarus, and instead blindly following orders from the West.

5.2. Ukraine and Russia

As mentioned previously Eurasianism portrays Ukraine as a brotherly nation to Russia, with them being bonded through Slavic roots and the Orthodox faith. Common historical past, shared cultural aspects, religion, and Russian-speaking diaspora in Ukraine are popular talking points when it comes to Eurasianist narratives surrounding Ukraine. The Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine

¹²⁸ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Ar jau pasiruošę atiduoti gyvybes už Ukrainos laisvę? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-09, 1:51–2:19, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-ar-jau-pasiruo-se-atiduoti-gyvybes-uz-ukrainos-laisve-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <https://rumble.com/v2z2jme-ar-pasiruo-atiduoti-savo-gyvyb-u-ukrainos-laisv.html>>

¹²⁹ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Kas vyksta pasaulyje ir kas laukia Lietuvos? (video) 2023-07-30”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-30, 16:20-16:35, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kas-laukia-lietuvos-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v33c8yp-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kodl-nutylima-apie-lietuvos-likim.html>>

on February 24, 2022, was the most recent Russian attempt to prevent it from further steps of Western integration that would inevitably be a costly loss for Russia, which is seeking to restore its superpower status.¹³⁰ Further analysis will explore how Russia and Ukraine are portrayed by themselves by *Būkime vieningi*, and what picture is being formed when talking about their bilateral relations.

Būkime vieningi presents Russia in three different layers – by discussing its internal setup, its society, and its status in the global scene. It is important to note, however, that Russian internal affairs do not tend to be a very recurring talking point in *Būkime vieningi* videos, however, when touched upon, Russian structures and institutions are criticized as “completely degraded,”¹³¹ while “...in Russia itself there is a mess of messes, oligarchs on oligarchs, thefts on thefts, corruption on corruption, it's terrible there, it's a terrible country.”¹³² However, the lack of democracy or transparency in Russia is not seen as an issue when talking about its regime, rather, it is not even mentioned. On the contrary, despite criticism towards the Russian government, its pro-democratic opposition is referred to as “traitors.”¹³³ Instead, the blame for corruption and degradation is shifted to the Western grip – “...the system of Russia is wild capitalism, the same Western model. Only it is many times more powerful because they have that hurt because in Soviet times everything was rationed, there was no luxury. And now they are like a dog off a leash, it makes everything ten times more, everything is more.”¹³⁴ As such, it is suggested that Russia is suffering a cultural decline due to the Western influence, which is all “about consumerism, it's about vanity, meaninglessness, luxuries, indulgences, that's the kind of animalistic, mental burning you do when

¹³⁰ Dustin J. Byrd, “Neo-Eurasianism as Ideology of Empire: Alexander Dugin and Russia's War on Ukraine”, *Islamic Perspective: Journal of the Islamic Studies and Humanities*, Volume 28, Winter 2022, p.8 <<https://criticalsocialtheory.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/ip28-2.pdf#page=5>>

¹³¹ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Nesitikėjote, kad galiu padaryti tokį video? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-08, 26:05-26:07, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-nesitikejote-kad-galiu-padaryti-toki-video-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2ytnjm-netikjote-kad-galiu-padaryti-tok-video.html>>

¹³² Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Su kuo ir už ką jis? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-04-25, 40:00-40:13, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-su-kuo-ir-uz-ka-jis-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2l8gye-kas-tas-vasdas-emaitis.html>>

¹³³ Laurynas Ragelskis in “Vaidas ir Laurynas. Jautresniems žiūrovams vaizdo įrašo patariame nežiūrėti”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-18, 53:45 <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-ir-laurynas-jautresniems-ziurovams-vaizdo-iraso-patariame-neziureti/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30ish0-vasdas-ir-laurynas-jautresniems-irovams-vaizdo-rao-patariame-neirti.html>>

¹³⁴ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Nesitikėjote, kad galiu padaryti tokį video? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-08, 28:50-29:15, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-nesitikejote-kad-galiu-padaryti-toki-video-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2ytnjm-netikjote-kad-galiu-padaryti-tok-video.html>>

you live by satisfying your desires.”¹³⁵ Interestingly, only one aspect of Russian politics is rather frequently touched upon – conservative, traditionalist family policies are perceived especially favorably: “Where do I support Russia? In Russia, a law has been passed that prohibits the propaganda of pedophilia and other pervers. Here, I support it. Russia also passed a gender reassignment law this month. Here, I support.”¹³⁶ The threat to the traditional family is also perceived as the influence of the West: “The only place where I find a plus is the defense of family traditions and values. But I think, but why are they defending? <...> drive all this Western filth by themselves, and then wonder that someone somewhere wanted to change their gender.”¹³⁷ Meanwhile common Russian ‘folk’ is referred to as spiritual, virtuous, patient, and community-oriented. In one of the videos, *Būkime vieningi* claims: “... people living in the West are more sensitive. As I say, in Russia, a Russian can drink water from a swamp and chew dry bread and he will not visit a psychologist, they will not have depression.”¹³⁸ Overall, the Russian people and civilization can only be superior when it is not in contact with Western values or cultural aspects as they singlehandedly contribute to their deterioration.

In the international context, Russia, together with China are presented as those that offer the alternative path. They are seen as leaders of the East and spiritual civilizations that can help preserve any leftovers of European civilization: “... if you talk about Western Europeans and the chances of them remaining as some kind of civilizational, cultural unit, it is only in the case of the victory of the East, because only from there can something, some chance, emerge”¹³⁹ and that they would allow preserving traditions and customs of every country, as well as provide more political

¹³⁵ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Nesitikėjote, kad galiu padaryti tokį video? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-08, 20:41-20:55; <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-nesitikejote-kad-galiu-padaryti-toki-video-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2ytnjm-netikjote-kad-galiu-padaryti-tok-video.html>>

¹³⁶ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Nesitikėjote, kad galiu padaryti tokį video? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-08, 1:20-1:45 <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-nesitikejote-kad-galiu-padaryti-toki-video-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2ytnjm-netikjote-kad-galiu-padaryti-tok-video.html>>

¹³⁷ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Nesitikėjote, kad galiu padaryti tokį video? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 17:23-18:07, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-nesitikejote-kad-galiu-padaryti-toki-video-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2ytnjm-netikjote-kad-galiu-padaryti-tok-video.html>>

¹³⁸ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Kas vyksta pasaulyje ir kas laukia Lietuvos? (video) 2023-07-30”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-30, 10:36-11:02, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kas-laukia-lietuvos-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v33c8yp-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kodl-nutylima-apie-lietuvos-likim.html>>

¹³⁹ Kristoferis Voiška in “Be cenzūros su Kristoferiu Voiška (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-04-29, 33:53-34:07, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/be-cenzuros-su-kristoferiu-voiska-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v217seg-be-cenzros-su-kristoferiu-voika.html>>

neutrality.¹⁴⁰ In addition to the spiritual aspect, Russian superpower status is highlighted too – its economy is presented as “growing,”¹⁴¹ and when discussing Russian confrontation with the West, it is consistently stressed that Russia is one of the few powers in the World that has the potential to stand up to the West and it still has a lot of cards up its sleeve to carry on: “...she [Russia] is doing a great job destroying the West, weakening it”¹⁴² and “Russia has everything, they can make it themselves”¹⁴³ In addition to its resources, it is also reiterated that its allies, unlike those of Ukraine, have not even started partaking in the war: “The Russians have not yet mobilized their troops. There are just, well, all kinds of people from prisons, brought to Wagner, all kinds of criminals, all kinds of mercenaries and so on. Russia is not yet depleting its reserve troops. Plus, Belarus will come to Russia’s aid.”¹⁴⁴ It can be seen that Russia is not only presented as holding the spiritual and ethical position over the West, presenting European countries with alternative lifestyle but also as a superpower that can utilize its resources to challenge Western domination.

On the other hand, Ukrainian political institutions gain more attention than Russian ones. Mainly, they are portrayed as lacking any legitimacy – for instance, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy is referred to as a “marionette,”¹⁴⁵ “clown, drug addict”¹⁴⁶ who has been put in such a position to represent foreign interests in his country and should be “pitied” as he is a “stupid

¹⁴⁰ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Taigi, pakalbėkime atviriau (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-04-27, 14:47-15:36 <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-taigi-pakalbekime-atviriau-video/>>, original video shared on Odnoklassniki, <<https://ok.ru/video/5764529588977>>

¹⁴¹ Vaidas Lekstutis, in “Vaidas Žemaitis.”Slava Ukraini” – naujoji religija?”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-10, 15:40-15:46; <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2n0olg-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija.html>>

¹⁴² Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Kas vyksta pasaulyje ir kas laukia Lietuvos? (video) 2023-07-30”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-30, 19:10-19:17, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kas-laukia-lietuvos-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v33c8yp-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kodl-nutylima-apie-lietuvos-likim.html>>

¹⁴³ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. „Wagneriai” užėmė Bachmutą: kas toliau? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-20, 06:29-06:31, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-wagneriai-uzeme-bachmuta-kas-toliau-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2owgoi-wagneriai-um-bachmut-kas-toliau.html>>

¹⁴⁴ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis.”Slava Ukraini” – naujoji religija?”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-10, 13:18-13:37 <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2n0olg-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija.html>>

¹⁴⁵ Gintaras Lunsakis in “KALBA ŽMONĖS. Sielų gelbėtojas Gintaras Lunsakis (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-19, 44:59-45:03, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/kalba-zmones-sielu-gelbetojas-gintaras-lunsakis-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30zchk-labai-domus-mogus-gintaras-lunsakis.html>>

¹⁴⁶ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. „Wagneriai” užėmė Bachmutą: kas toliau? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-20, 7:26-7:29, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-wagneriai-uzeme-bachmuta-kas-toliau-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2owgoi-wagneriai-um-bachmut-kas-toliau.html>>

limited man.”¹⁴⁷ Narratives on Zelenskyy by *Būkime vieningi* also reveal an effort to diminish his authority as the leader of his country: “Most likely, they [Russians] need him [Zelenskyy] to sign the documents (capitulation) required by Russia and tell how the US special services operated in Ukraine.”¹⁴⁸ And that “...US intelligence knows more than Zelenskyy about what is happening in Ukraine,”¹⁴⁹ implying that the Ukrainian government does not hold any control of their country. Ukrainian aspiration to join the EU is presented as further diminishing the country’s sovereignty as it is trying to get into Europe through the “backdoor,” because the “masters from the West constantly remind Kyiv that it is necessary to ensure the rights of sexual minorities” and legalize marihuana,¹⁵⁰ insinuating that to become a part of the West these standards, perceived as illicit and immoral need to be met. Even when discussing events, such as the Euromaidan of 2013 and 2014, *Būkime vieningi* maintains the narrative that the West has been orchestrating its internal processes as they are overall presented as a “military coup in another country,” organized by the European states and managed by Americans, after Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich refused the “pressure” from the West to sign the Eastern Partnership Program.¹⁵¹

The Ukrainian ‘desperation’ to integrate with the West is reoccurring, especially when pointing to the West letting down Ukraine time and time again. Ukraine is presented as a “Destroyed country, a deceived nation”,¹⁵² and the war came to their land, because “They are naïve, they succumbed to easy manipulation, they believed that ‘we will soon become Europe, we will soon become NATO,’ and nothing. ... Ukraine returned to its split trough¹⁵³, to a destroyed, bombed country.”¹⁵⁴ And

¹⁴⁷ Gintaras Lunskis in “KALBA ŽMONĖS. Sielų gelbėtojas Gintaras Lunskis (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-19, 45:03-45:13, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kalba-zmones-sielu-gelbetojas-gintaras-lunskis-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30zchk-labai-domus-mogus-gintaras-lunskis.html>>

¹⁴⁸ Egidijus Paulauskas, “Kodėl Rusijai nepavyksta užimti Kijevo?”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2022-03-27, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kodel-rusijai-nepavyksta-uzimti-kijevo/>>

¹⁴⁹ *Būkime vieningi*, “„Politico“: JAV prašo Kijevo ir sąjungininkų Europoje būti atsakingesniems dėl incidento Lenkijoje”, 2022-11-18, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/politico-jav-praso-kijevo-ir-sajungininku-europoje-buti-atsakingesniems-del-incidento-lenkijoje/>>

¹⁵⁰ *Būkime vieningi*, “Zelenskis į Europą bando patekti per „užpakalines“ duris”, 2023-07-19, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/zelenskis-i-europa-bando-patekti-per-uzpakalines-duris/>>

¹⁵¹ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Sąžiningai apie Ukrainą, Tapinus ir Malinauskus (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-03, 2:10-3:25, 4:10-4:13, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/saziningai-apie-ukraina-tapinus-ir-malinauskus-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2lsuzs-siningai-apie-ukrain-tapinus-ir-malinauskus.html>>

¹⁵² Vaidas Lekstutis, in “Sąžiningai apie Ukrainą, Tapinus ir Malinauskus (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-03, 37:30–37:31, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/saziningai-apie-ukraina-tapinus-ir-malinauskus-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2lsuzs-siningai-apie-ukrain-tapinus-ir-malinauskus.html>>

¹⁵³ Saying “fragmented though” is an expression that comes from Russian language, meaning failure to fulfill one’s desires or wishes, originating from the Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish (1833). See: State Commission of the

due to this deceit, “people of Ukraine believe that NATO has completely betrayed Ukraine and its people. Most of the people of Ukraine blindly believed in the help of the US and NATO and that it would defend their country from Russian aggression.”¹⁵⁵ And while discussing the horrors of war, Russian destruction is not being denied but the blame, however, is shifted. Ukraine is portrayed as a victim of the war – but not because it is fighting against the occupiers – rather, the narratives suggest that Ukraine is victimized by the West. It is presented to be the unfortunate front line, collateral damage in the West–Russia confrontation: “What will be left of Ukraine after the war? Ukraine has already turned into a mountain of ashes and ruins. And the war is not over yet. More and more powerful weapons are being transported to Ukraine. The more powerful they are, the more damage they do to Ukraine...”¹⁵⁶, and to emphasize the meaninglessness of this war, it is noted that “It’s just banditry on both sides of the barricades.”¹⁵⁷

Overall, *Būkime vieningi* praises neutrality and the message of peace and claims not to support any of the sides.¹⁵⁸ In addition to that, the greatest tragedy of all in this war, per *Būkime vieningi*, is the clash between two Slavic nations: “I think that this war is <...> the extermination of the white race and simply the division of the Slavs among themselves...”¹⁵⁹ and “...they think that I support some Russia, <...> I support when people live in peace, when brothers Slavs – Ukrainians,

Lithuanian Language, “Kokia posakio „likti (atsidurti) prie suskilusios geldos“ kilmė?” <https://vlkk.lt/konsultacijos/9072-likti-prie-suskilusios-geldos>

¹⁵⁴ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Sąžiningai apie Ukrainą, Tapinus ir Malinauskus (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-03, 38:20 – 39:00, <https://bukimevieningi.lt/saziningai-apie-ukraina-tapinus-ir-malinauskus-video/>, original video shared on Rumble, <https://rumble.com/v2lsuzs-siningai-apie-ukrain-tapinus-ir-malinauskus.html>

¹⁵⁵ *Būkime vieningi*, “Nekokios žinios Ukrainai iš NATO”, 2022-03-24, <https://bukimevieningi.lt/nekokios-zinios-ukrainai-is-nato/>

¹⁵⁶ Ričardas Auglys, “Ričardas Auglys. Kaip pavadinti Ukrainos – Rusijos konfliktą?”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2022-05-01, <https://bukimevieningi.lt/ricardas-auglys-kaip-pavadinti-ukrainos-rusijos-konflikta/>

¹⁵⁷ Ričardas Auglys, “Ričardas Auglys. Išverstakūriai.”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2022-04-18, <https://bukimevieningi.lt/ricardas-auglys-isverstaskuriai/>

¹⁵⁸ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Krymo tilto sprogdinimai (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-17, 01:16-1:29 <https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-krymo-tilto-sprogdinimai-video/>, original video shared on Rumble, <https://rumble.com/v30kujm-krymo-tilto-sprogdinimas.html>

Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Taigi, pakalbėkime atviriau (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-04-27 1:45-1:53, <https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-taigi-pakalbekime-atviriau-video/>, original video shared on Odnoklassniki, <https://ok.ru/video/5764529588977>

¹⁵⁹ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Sąžiningai apie Ukrainą, Tapinus ir Malinauskus (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-03, 27:58-28:14, <https://bukimevieningi.lt/saziningai-apie-ukraina-tapinus-ir-malinauskus-video/>, original video shared on Rumble, <https://rumble.com/v2lsuzs-siningai-apie-ukrain-tapinus-ir-malinauskus.html>

Belarusians, Russians are friends with each other. No one instigating from across the Atlantic.”¹⁶⁰ Similarly, the authors talk about the “inoculated hatred” between Russians and Ukrainians towards each other: “...brotherly nations are fighting, Slavs against Slavs <...> some are processed by one ideology, others by another...”¹⁶¹ However, the ‘ideological processing’ on one side seems to be stressed more than on the other: “Slavic people are being killed in the war in Ukraine. <...> This war, some say, should never have happened. Yes, I think the Slavs should have sat down and just had a heart-to-heart talk. But propaganda is a very powerful weapon. And when they say that your brother is not a brother, this is not a brother, you have to throw dirt on them and so on, then the brother gets angry.”¹⁶² – it is implied that the whole confrontation is more one-sided and provoked, which established the narrative of Russia’s retaliation rather than aggression and Ukrainians are even being portrayed as the ones to blame for the spread of war. For instance, by stating that the Azov battalion never ceased the fire against residents of Donbas and did everything to prevent the fulfillment of the Minsk agreements and prolong the war since 2014.¹⁶³

This deep-seated hatred can also be noticed when talking about the deaths of Russians, fighting within Russian territory against the Russian regime: “People of Russia are fighting on the side of Ukraine, young men. And Ukraine should respect them. <...> But what has Ukraine done with them now? <...> They sent those poor Russian soldiers who fight for Ukraine, against Russians in the territory of Ukraine, sent them to Russia to allegedly save Russia, liberate it from Putin’s regime, and literally set them up. Set them up and got rid of them. I have the impression that Ukrainians have such hatred for the Russian nation that they don’t care that you are even on their side. They will get rid of you anyway because you are a Russian.”¹⁶⁴ The whole Ukrainian identity

¹⁶⁰ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Sąžiningai apie Ukrainą, Tapinus ir Malinauskus (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-03, 32:10-32:24, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/saziningai-apie-ukraina-tapinus-ir-malinauskus-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2lsuzs-siningai-apie-ukrain-tapinus-ir-malinauskus.html>>

¹⁶¹ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas ir Laurynas. Jautresniems žiūrovams vaizdo įrašo patariame nežiūrėti”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-18, 29:19-29:28, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-ir-laurynas-jautresniems-ziurovams-vaizdo-iraso-patariame-neziureti/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30ish0-vaidas-ir-laurynas.-jautresniems-irovams-vaizdo-rao-patariame-neirti.html>>

¹⁶² Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Su kuo ir už ką jis? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-04-25, 41:32-42:15, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-su-kuo-ir-uz-ka-jis-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2l8gye-kas-tas-vaidas-emitis.html>>

¹⁶³ *Būkime vieningi*, “Lenkai pamišę dėl „taikaus pabėgėlio“ iš Ukrainos... (video)”, 2022-03-21, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/lenkai-pamise-del-taikaus-pabegelio-is-ukrainos-video/>>

¹⁶⁴ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Kaipgi sekasi Vakarams Ukrainoje ir Rusijoje? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-23, 4:25-6:18, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kaipgi-sekasi-vakarams-ukrainoje-ir-rusijoje-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2pinog-kaipgi-sekasi-vakarams-ukrainoje-ir-rusijoje.html>>

is explained as being built as “anti-Russian” by the West¹⁶⁵ while also perpetuating the narrative of Ukrainians as “nazis”,¹⁶⁶ popularized by Russian propaganda – referring to Ukrainian refugees as “neo-Nazis”, wondering whether Lithuania will provide asylum to them,¹⁶⁷ and asking “Why are nonconformists vilified for calling attention to the role of nationalist, far-right, and - yes, neo-Nazi - forces in Ukraine?”¹⁶⁸ The fascist, radical right fanaticism in Ukrainian society is alleged to have remained since World War II which has been developed in at least a million active fanatics that even hold control over Volodymyr Zelenskyy. Russia, on the other hand, is said to “be weaker than Ukraine in one aspect. They don’t have such an inspired, ideologized activity like the million or so fascists there. And because of that, Russian motivation to fight is lower. Here, Putin and the whole company should think very seriously.”¹⁶⁹ As illustrated, Ukrainians are portrayed as not only susceptible to Western indoctrination to hate Russia but also having for many decades fostered radical right-wing ideologies – this way it can be assumed that not only the West is getting what it wants from Ukraine fighting against Russia but also Ukrainians get to realize their hatred of Russians in the battlefield. Just as in the Lithuanian case, the ‘indoctrination’ narrative is brought up to allege that there is a grandiose anti-Russian conspiracy.

To summarize, the Eurasianist ideas are strongly referred to in this section – Russia is portrayed as a flawed and corrupt country, but its issues are transferred onto the toxic influence of the West, such as the capitalist system and values, which further promotes the portrayal of the Western system as immoral. Only Russia’s spiritual people, who live by traditional dogmas, and protect family are resilient, and by employing these aspects, civilizations can survive. Ukraine, on the other hand, is portrayed as a victim of Western deception and instigation. The publications and quotes about Ukraine tend to be more critical, diminishing Ukrainian sovereignty and, its people’s

¹⁶⁵ Kristoferis Voiška in “Be cenzūros su Kristoferiu Voiška (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-04-29, 41:00-41:15, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/be-cenzuros-su-kristoferiu-voiska-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v217seg-be-cenzros-su-kristoferiu-voika.html>>

¹⁶⁶ *Būkime vieningi*, “Donecke prasidėjo užsienio samdinių iš Azovstal teismas (video)”, 2022-06-08, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/donecke-prasidejo-uzsienio-samdiniu-is-azovstal-teismas-video/>>

¹⁶⁷ *Būkime vieningi*, “Lenkai pamišę dėl „taikaus pabėgėlio“ iš Ukrainos... (video)”, 2022-03-21, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/lenkai-pamise-del-taikaus-pabegelio-is-ukrainos-video/>>

¹⁶⁸ Ekspertai.eu, “Mums reikia tikros diskusijos apie Ukrainos karą (+video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2022-05-27, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/mums-reikia-tikros-diskusijos-apie-ukrainos-kara-video/>>

¹⁶⁹ Kristoferis Voiška in “Be cenzūros su Kristoferiu Voiška (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-04-29, 38:43-40:14, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/be-cenzuros-su-kristoferiu-voiska-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v217seg-be-cenzros-su-kristoferiu-voika.html>>

will to fight. Ukraine is primarily portrayed as a satellite of the West rather than a fully functioning independent state, promoting the narratives of the United States-led alliance that has been using Ukraine for its anti-Russian agenda and fueling existing anti-Russian sentiments and beliefs. Russia is not shown as an aggressor but a victim of Western provocations, selfishness, and greed which caused the physical confrontation. Ukraine and Russia being Slavic is mentioned as a tragedy of brotherly nations – which reflects the principle of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus forming the Orthodox heart in Europe, used very pragmatically: they are fighting but the Russian role in the conflict is withheld, whereas Ukrainian position is presented as either ideologically motivated or manipulated into the fighting.

5.3. Role and Image of the West

As mentioned before, the West, in the Eurasianist theory, is perceived as a threat, a rotten antithesis to spiritually superior Russia. Additionally, it is reiterated that the West-centric global order, dominated by the USA, over the past three decades did not allow Russia to regain its “righteous” spot as another pole in the World. Since the beginning of the full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Russia, its sympathizers and even some voices in the West blamed NATO, and by extension, the Global West, for the fact that Russia took the step to attack Ukraine. It was argued that by expanding to the East and ignoring Russian protests, NATO continued its enlargement.¹⁷⁰ In viewing the West as a threatening bloc of countries, that depreciates Russia as a global superpower and imposes its rule upon Russia, it is crucial to see how pro-Russian media portrays Western actors in the context of the Russian war in Ukraine, which will be done in this section.

The narratives about the collective West, broadcasted by *Būkime vieningi*, are consistently negative. First, the collective West's structure is defined as highly hierarchal undermining the democratic principles of participation. The United States and the United Kingdom (although their roles in the hierarchy are occasionally switched up), are portrayed as the ones at the top of the

¹⁷⁰ Zofia Stemplowska, “NATO enlargement is not to blame for Russia’s war in Ukraine”, *London School of Economics Blogs*, 2022-04-27, <<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2022/04/27/nato-enlargement-is-not-to-blame-for-russias-war-in-ukraine/>> (accessed 2024-04-14)

structure, as “masters” and “puppeteers” that give direct orders to their “vassals”¹⁷¹, second-tier puppets – mainly, the Baltic States and Poland.¹⁷² Considering that the US and the UK are generally perceived as the leaders of the liberal world, their interactions and cooperation with the countries in the Eastern NATO flank are described as very one-sided and unequal, with the rest of continental Europe being tier two and finally with the Baltic States and Poland, who are portrayed to have little to no influence in the decision-making process: “The British really rule everything <...> we can take Switzerland, where the money is, that's all, then comes the British, then the British colony America, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland are subject to America, more or less...”¹⁷³ While individual European Union countries are not spoken about very often, mentions do tend to highlight the perceived cleavages within the alliance of the Western bloc – “...Macron, the French, they, after all, have some independence in geopolitics, even Macron managed to state while in China that many problems are imposed by the Americans, which involve the Europeans, and because of this they have huge losses.”¹⁷⁴ In addition, another country, perceived as more rebellious within NATO and the EU, Hungary, is also presented as the only one that stands up

¹⁷¹ *Būkime vieningi*, “Xi Jinpingio nedalyvavimas G20 viršūnių susitikime rodo, kad atėjo laikas kitiems perimti pasaulio valdymą”, 2023-09-10, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/xi-jinpingo-nedalyvavimas-g20-virsuniu-susitikime-rodo-kad-atejo-laikas-kitiems-perimti-pasaulio-valdyma/>>

Kristoferis Voiška in “Be cenzūros su Kristoferiu Voiška (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-04-29, 28:08-28:10, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/be-cenzuros-su-kristoferiu-voiska-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2l7seg-be-cenzros-su-kristoferiu-voika.html>>;

Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Ar jūs žinote, kas yra tikrieji Lietuvos priešai? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-05, 10:05-10:11 <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-ar-jus-zinote-kas-yra-tikrieji-lietuvos-priesai-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2y312a-vardinkime-tikruosius-lietuvos-prieus.html>>;

Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Kas vyksta pasaulyje ir kas laukia Lietuvos? (video) 2023-07-30”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-30, 17:35 <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kas-laukia-lietuvos-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v33c8yp-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kodl-nutylima-apie-lietuvos-likim.html>>;

Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas ir Laurynas. Jautresniems žiūrovams vaizdo įrašo patariame nežiūrėti”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-18, 48:32-48:35, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-ir-laurynas-jautresniems-ziurovams-vaizdo-iraso-patariame-neziureti/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30ish0-vaidas-ir-laurynas.-jautresniems-irovams-vaizdo-rao-patariame-neirti.html>>

¹⁷² Vaidas Lekstutis in “Kitoks Vaido Žemaičio pokalbis su Antanu Kandrotu (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-03-29, 33:23-33:27, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kitoks-vaido-zemaicio-pokalbis-su-antanu-kandrotu-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2lo292-antano-kandroto-celofano-isisukinjimai.html>>

¹⁷³ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Kas vyksta pasaulyje ir kas laukia Lietuvos? (video) 2023-07-30”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-30, 01:29-01:56, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kas-laukia-lietuvos-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v33c8yp-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kodl-nutylima-apie-lietuvos-likim.html>>

¹⁷⁴ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Dvi temos: Didžiųjų šalių vadovai prakalbo apie karo Ukrainoje pabaigos datą/Pagalba Eduardui Vaitkui”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-06-14, 12:12-12:31, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/dvi-temos-didziuju-saliu-vadovai-prakalbo-apie-karo-ukrainoje-pabaigos-data-pagalba-eduardui-vaitkui/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2tzpz2-kada-karo-ukrainoje-pabaiga-ir-pagalba-eduardui-vaitkui.html>>

against the oppressive Western institutions – the EU's effort to stop Hungary from blocking aid to Ukraine was referred to as “The EU Nazis looking for ways to bring Hungary to its knees”¹⁷⁵ These ideas about the organization of Western alliances attempt to promote the image of division and oppressive structures that take away the principles of democracy within and push decisions and ideas on countries that do not necessarily agree with them.

Consistently to previous categories, it is highlighted that the West is trying to instill its “rotten” value systems: “...the direction of the European Union itself is what it is. Perverts take over. Perverts are worshipped, perverts rule, perverts are exalted. And they dictate to ordinary, normal people, they hate them because they feel hurt that they are different. <...> The European Union dictates, and the West in general, dictates these values that destroy our foundation, which is the foundation of the family, this is the foundation of the foundation on which the state is built.”¹⁷⁶ Besides the perceived perversion, the West is also presented as lacking any spiritual, traditional traits as it is “Artificial, without morality, without conscience, without culture, without real traditions, it is just a bubble, such an economic bubble of prosperity. <...> But the main thing for Russia now is to show Russia itself and the rest of the world how to destroy all this.”¹⁷⁷

The collective West is presented as the aggressor and catalyst when discussing the war. *Būkime vieningi* consistently emphasizes that there are at least three sides in the ongoing conflict – Russia, and the West¹⁷⁸ – including the United States, Europe, Canada, and Australia, with Ukraine

¹⁷⁵ *Būkime vieningi*, “ES naciai ieško būdų, kaip parklupdyti Vengriją”, 2023-12-18, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/es-naciai-iesko-budu-kaip-parklupdyti-vengrija/>>

¹⁷⁶ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Be cenzūros su Kristoferiu Voiška (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-04-29, 17:08-18:25, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/be-cenzuros-su-kristoferiu-voiska-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v217seg-be-cenzuros-su-kristoferiu-voiska.html>>

¹⁷⁷ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Kas vyksta pasaulyje ir kas laukia Lietuvos? (video) 2023-07-30”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-30, 15:00-15:32, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kas-laukia-lietuvos-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v33c8yp-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kodl-nutylima-apie-lietuvos-likim.html>>

¹⁷⁸ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Sąžiningai apie Ukrainą, Tapinus ir Malinauskus (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-03, 0:01-0:45, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/saziningai-apie-ukraina-tapinus-ir-malinauskus-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2lsuzs-siningai-apie-ukrain-tapinus-ir-malinauskus.html>>;

Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Kas vyksta pasaulyje ir kas laukia Lietuvos? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-30, 08:06-08:12, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kas-laukia-lietuvos-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v33c8yp-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kodl-nutylima-apie-lietuvos-likim.html>>;

Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Su kuo ir už ką jis? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-04-25, 42:49-43:03, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-su-kuo-ir-uz-ka-jis-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v218gye-kas-tas-vaidas-zemaitis.html>>;

primarily presented as the ground where the confrontation between the West and Russia is set to occur – “With the naked eye, you can see that Russia is at war with the Western world on the territory of Ukraine, only with the hands of Ukrainians and mercenaries from all over the world.”¹⁷⁹ On the other hand, as mentioned before, Russia is presented to be standing alone in the confrontation with the whole of the West – which would be “wiped off”¹⁸⁰ if its allies from BRICS would join in. This way it is being established that while Russia is struggling to carry out its ‘three days’ mission to take over control of Ukraine – it is because the West is involved more than just by providing support – and at the same time, lack of advancement from the Russian side is presented as Russia holding up against the Western alliance and, once again, having not used all of its own potential.

In the geopolitical sense, the West vs. Russia confrontation is also explained from a capitalist perspective of the fight over the resources. According to *Būkime vieningi*, Europe and the United States have been planning since at least 2013 to equip Ukraine with weapons and use its territory to “weaken, bring Russia down to its knees”¹⁸¹ and eventually to “organize internal coup” in Russia.¹⁸² This strategy overall is explained as originating from Russia posing a threat to monopolar oppressive West-dominated world order: “It is presented that Russia is fighting against Ukraine, but in reality, Russia is fighting the West on the territory of Ukraine. And here is the question of survival now. If Russia does not defeat the West, the West will be given the opportunity to continue to dominate. They will, as they say, renew their military resources, heal

Vaidas Lekstutis in “Dvi temos: Didžiųjų šalių vadovai prakalbo apie karo Ukrainoje pabaigos datą/Pagalba Eduardui Vaitkui”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-06-14, 18:55-19:02, < <https://bukimevieniingi.lt/dvi-temos-didziuju-saliu-vadovai-prakalbo-apie-karo-ukrainoje-pabaigos-data-pagalba-eduardui-vaitkui/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2tzpz2-kada-karo-ukrainoje-pabaiga-ir-pagalba-eduardui-vaitkui.html>>

¹⁷⁹ Ričardas Auglys, “Ričardas Auglys. Kaip pavadinti Ukrainos – Rusijos konfliktą?”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2022-05-01, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/ricardas-auglys-kaip-pavadinti-ukrainos-rusijos-konfliktu/>>

¹⁸⁰ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Nemokamai (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-24, 14:35-14:39 <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-nemokamai-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2prka4-nemokamai.html>>

¹⁸¹ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Ar jūs žinote, kas yra tikrieji Lietuvos priešai? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-05, 10:02-10:11, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-ar-jus-zinote-kas-yra-tikrieji-lietuvos-priesai-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2y312a-vardinkime-tikruosius-lietuvos-prieus.html>>; Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Tai kaipgi pavyko NATO šou? (video)”, 2023-07-12, 6:47–7:05, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-tai-kaipgi-pavyko-nato-sou-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2zklgk-tai-kaipgi-pavyko-nato-ou.html>>

¹⁸² Vaidas Lekstutis in “Sąžiningai apie Ukrainą, Tapinus ir Malinauskus (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-03, 21:09-21:11, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/saziningai-apie-ukraina-tapinus-ir-malinauskus-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2lsuzs-siningai-apie-ukrain-tapinus-ir-malinauskus.html>>

themselves, patch up themselves, and continue. And further. It is only a matter of time here, in which place Russia will be struck again, through which place. Whether it is Moldova, whether it is Georgia, or something else, the border, whether it is Poland, whether it will get Lithuania on it. They need to disable Russia in any case. Russia with its current policy, which is actually taking over, the domination of the West, especially America.”¹⁸³ The Russian question of survival is explained in both economic and normative terms: “...this is simply a war at the hands of Ukrainians. The goal of the West is to bring Russia to its knees <...> Russia does not give in to Western dictatorship, Western values, and besides, Russia is the country that has the entire Mendeleev table. These are the resources it manipulates. Let’s face it. It is manipulative and it is very annoying to the West.”¹⁸⁴ Similarly, in another instance, it is stated that division of Russia is the ultimate Western plan: “It would be best to crush it, divide it into all kinds of small states, or somehow into regions, occupy them, <...> colonize, take the resources and live <...> Both Russia and Putin understand this whole plan full well that they just want to seize resources.”¹⁸⁵ *Būkime vieningi* presents Russia as both the superpower and the underdog – a besieged fortress, threatened by the hegemon of the West and rising against their oppressive world order.

In some instances, the narrative regarding interpreting the war also relies on its presentation as an “oligarchic corporate war”¹⁸⁶ – the concept of states is pretty much taken out of the equation – it is the private Western businesses that hold the main interest in escalating and continuing the war, although the overall idea of Western greed is maintained: “...it is not revealed who is at war against whom. What does the West want from Russia? Who is behind it? Names, surnames, every problem, as they say, has a name and a surname. What concerns? What corporations? What do

¹⁸³ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Kas vyksta pasaulyje ir kas laukia Lietuvos? (video) 2023-07-30”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-30, 08:06-08:56, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kas-laukia-lietuvos-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v33c8yp-kas-vyksta-pasaulyje-ir-kodl-nutylima-apie-lietuvos-likim.html>>

¹⁸⁴ Vaidas Lekstutis, in “Vaidas Žemaitis. “Slava Ukraini” – naujoji religija?”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-10, 15:14-16:02, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2n0olg-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija.html>>

¹⁸⁵ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. “Slava Ukraini” – naujoji religija?”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-10, 16:14-16:51, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2n0olg-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija.html>>

¹⁸⁶ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Ar jau pasirošę atiduoti gyvybes už Ukrainos laisvę? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-09, 5:55, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-ar-jau-pasiruose-atiduoti-gyvybes-uz-ukrainos-laisve-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2z2jme-ar-pasiruo-atiduoti-savo-gyvyb-u-ukrainos-laisv.html>>

they want from Russia?”¹⁸⁷ This idea of private interest is also used to further diminish Ukrainian statehood while preserving its image as Russia’s zone of privileged interest: “These money makers, these dollar printers, had already bought all of Ukraine. And they already thought and believed that there would be a big future profit here, a super investment <...> you can reason as you want, well, the Russians reason, that's how it appears in history, ‘*исконно русская земля*’ [Eng: *original Russian land*] it means, historically, simply, from the old days, Russian land, Russian territory, <...> Ukraine is their territory... And imagine, they come – the Russians see – when the bankster mafia came and seized all those territories.”¹⁸⁸ Because of the perceived Western selfishness, any declaration of solidarity with Ukraine is presented as deceitful: “And people, you see, are under the illusion that here they are defending some kind of independence of Ukraine. They [Ukrainians] are defending their [Western] money <...> They want to regain a little more, their seized territories, their Ukrainian territories seized by the West, their resources.”¹⁸⁹ as well as “And just because of that deception, Ukraine ended up burning down, so to speak. <...> the West themselves exploit that Ukraine”¹⁹⁰ and that “...if the West cared about Ukraine as a country, defended, Western country, which they would accept, so to speak, into Europe, into their arms, they would have done it in 2014.”¹⁹¹

While on one hand, it is suggested that the West wants to protect its assets in Ukraine, on other occasions, it is reiterated that Ukraine was handpicked by the West as the site for confrontation: “...Ukraine was chosen as a playground not by Russia. And as a playground, as a bridgehead, on

¹⁸⁷ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Ar jūs žinote, kas yra tikrieji Lietuvos priešai? (video),” *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-05, 14:22-14:45 <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-ar-jus-zinote-kas-yra-tikrieji-lietuvos-priesai-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2y312a-varidinkime-tikruosius-lietuvos-prieus.html>>

¹⁸⁸ Gintaras Lunsakis in “KALBA ŽMONĖS. Sielų gelbėtojas Gintaras Lunsakis (video),” *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-19, 0:46:59-0:47:43, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/kalba-zmones-sielu-gelbetojas-gintaras-lunsakis-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30zchk-labai-domus-mogus-gintaras-lunsakis.html>>

¹⁸⁹ Gintaras Lunsakis in “KALBA ŽMONĖS. Sielų gelbėtojas Gintaras Lunsakis (video),” *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-19, 51:03-51:31, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/kalba-zmones-sielu-gelbetojas-gintaras-lunsakis-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v30zchk-labai-domus-mogus-gintaras-lunsakis.html>>

¹⁹⁰ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Suverenų ir jų vaikų likimas, Celofano cirkai ir karas Ukrainoje (video),” *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-24, 29:42-30:06, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/suverenu-ir-ju-vaiku-likimas-celofano-cirkai-ir-karas-ukrainoje-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v3222vc-suveren-ir-j-vaik-likimas-celofano-cirkai-ir-karas-ukrainoje.html>>

¹⁹¹ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Suverenų ir jų vaikų likimas, Celofano cirkai ir karas Ukrainoje (video),” *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-07-24, 29:09-29:23, <<https://bukimevieningi.lt/suverenu-ir-ju-vaiku-likimas-celofano-cirkai-ir-karas-ukrainoje-video/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v3222vc-suveren-ir-j-vaik-likimas-celofano-cirkai-ir-karas-ukrainoje.html>>

which fate will be laid, it was nevertheless chosen by the West.”¹⁹² When explaining the motives of this narrative, *Būkime vieningi* sees this as an opportunity for the West to actually avoid getting physically involved in the war: “America has, so to speak, a rift with Russia, and it is convenient for them to fight on this side of the ocean so that they don't need the big landing like in the Second World War...”¹⁹³ At the same time, the profitability of war becomes another factor: “...in the case of Russia, the Russian military-industrial complex is getting rich, and from the side of Ukraine, the American military-industrial complex is getting rich.”¹⁹⁴ and “The Americans are getting rich also because it will distribute all its weapons in Europe.”¹⁹⁵

In order to weaken the Western stance, its support for Ukraine is simultaneously presented as harmful to the West itself – “America is on the verge of bankruptcy. <...> Most likely, they have never had such a crash in their history. Europe is weakening. The European economy is also falling.”¹⁹⁶ <...> Is Europe willing to suffer even more and further damage its economy in the name of Ukraine? For America itself is now a matter of survival.”¹⁹⁷ Similarly, “will Germany continue to allow its economy to collapse in the name of Ukraine?”¹⁹⁸ This way, *Būkime vieningi* attempts to showcase that the Western community, in efforts to weaken Russia, ended up weakening itself whereas, as mentioned previously, Russia remains economically resilient. Such narrative plays into casting doubt over a normative stand to support Ukraine, and instead, promote the idea that these

¹⁹²Vaidas Lekstutis in “Be cenzūros su Kristoferiu Voiška (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-04-29, 35:18-35:28, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/be-cenzuros-su-kristoferiu-voiska-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v217seg-be-cenzros-su-kristoferiu-voika.html>>

¹⁹³ Antanas Kandrotas in “Kitoks Vaido Žemaičio pokalbis su Antanu Kandrotu (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-03-29, 1:15:30-1:15:42, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kitoks-vaido-zemacio-pokalbis-su-antanu-kandrotu-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2lo292-antano-kandroto-celofano-isisukinjimai.html>>

¹⁹⁴ Antanas Kandrotas in “Kitoks Vaido Žemaičio pokalbis su Antanu Kandrotu (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-03-29, 12:58-13:04, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kitoks-vaido-zemacio-pokalbis-su-antanu-kandrotu-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2lo292-antano-kandroto-celofano-isisukinjimai.html>>

¹⁹⁵ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Kitoks Vaido Žemaičio pokalbis su Antanu Kandrotu (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-03-29, 13:04-13:07, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kitoks-vaido-zemacio-pokalbis-su-antanu-kandrotu-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2lo292-antano-kandroto-celofano-isisukinjimai.html>>

¹⁹⁶ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. “Slava Ukraini” – naujoji religija?”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-10, 10:39-10:58, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2n0olg-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija.html>>

¹⁹⁷ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. “Slava Ukraini” – naujoji religija?”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-10, 11:18-11:38, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija/>>; original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2n0olg-slava-ukraini-naujoji-religija.html>>

¹⁹⁸ *Būkime vieningi*, “Matydamas žlungančios Vokietijos ekonomikos skaičius, Putinas, greičiausiai, trina rankomis”, 2023-08-14, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/matydamas-zlungancios-vokietijos-ekonomikos-skaicius-putinas-greiciausiai-trina-rankomis/>>

countries need to look after their own people. However, when discussions amongst the Republicans began about blocking aid for Ukraine, such actions are referred to as “The West seems to view war through the lens of self-interest. They may have realized that there will not be much benefit from Ukraine and it is possible that behind the scenes it has already been decided to leave it to the will of fate.”¹⁹⁹ Similarly, the military support to Ukraine, repeatedly declared ever since the full-scale war started in 2022, is also treated as ephemeral – *Būkime vieningi* claims that the West is annoyed by Ukraine's failure to advance and show tangible victories and is keeping Ukraine under pressure.²⁰⁰ One of the versions of what happened when drones attacked the Kremlin in May 2023, was suggesting that it was sabotage by the US secret services “to get rid of Zelensky who is currently like a ‘leach,’ leaching off the money and not giving any results.”²⁰¹ This way, it is also being suggested that the West is, potentially, looking for opportunities (and might be even creating them) to rid of Ukraine.

To further enhance the Western role in the war, the resistance to establishing peace is ultimately also put as the responsibility for the West and its ill will: “...the war will continue, people will continue to be killed. And during this NATO summit [of July 2023], such a decision was made that the war will continue, there is no talk of any negotiations, any peace.”²⁰² It is reiterated that the US and the West are ready to fight against Russia “till the last Ukrainian”²⁰³ and that the

¹⁹⁹ *Būkime vieningi*, “Ar jau nuspręstas Ukrainos likimas?”, 2023-01-19, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/ar-jau-nusprestas-ukrainos-likimas/>>

²⁰⁰ *Būkime vieningi*, “Ukrainai trūksta karių savanorių, todėl jauni vyrai yra tiesiog gaudomi gatvėse (video)”, 2023-06-05, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/ukrainai-truksta-kariu-savanoriu-todel-jauni-vyrai-yra-tiesiog-gaudomi-gatvese-video/>>

²⁰¹ *Būkime vieningi*, “Po bandymų nužudyti Putiną, Zelenskis tapo gyvu taikiniu?”, 2023-05-05, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/po-bandymu-nuzudyti-putina-zelenskis-tapo-gyvu-taikiniu/>>

²⁰² Vaidas Lekstutis in “Vaidas Žemaitis. Tai kaipgi pavyko NATO šou? (video)”, 2023-07-12, 12:37-12:49 <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-tai-kaipgi-pavyko-nato-sou-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2zk1gk-tai-kaipgi-pavyko-nato-ou.html>>

²⁰³ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Sąžiningai apie Ukrainą, Tapinus ir Malinauskus (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-03, 20:38-20:40, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/saziningai-apie-ukraina-tapinus-ir-malinauskus-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2lsuzs-siningai-apie-ukrain-tapinus-ir-malinauskus.html>>;

Vaidas Lekstutis in “Kaipgi sekasi Vakarams Ukrainoje ir Rusijoje? (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-23, 10:17-10:20, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kaipgi-sekasi-vakarams-ukrainoje-ir-rusijoje-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2pinog-kaipgi-sekasi-vakarams-ukrainoje-ir-rusijoje.html>>;

Būkime vieningi, “JAV pasiruošusi kovoti prieš Rusiją iki paskutinio ukrainiečio”, 2023-05-12, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/jav-pasiruosusi-kovoti-pries-rusija-iki-paskutinio-ukrainiecio/>>;

Būkime vieningi, “Ukrainai trūksta karių savanorių, todėl jauni vyrai yra tiesiog gaudomi gatvėse (video)”, 2023-06-05, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/ukrainai-truksta-kariu-savanoriu-todel-jauni-vyrai-yra-tiesiog-gaudomi-gatvese-video/>>;

“Ukrainian government does not oppose that.”²⁰⁴ Thus it is not only supposed that the West controls the course of war, but it is also suggested that Ukraine’s fate is not important to the Western allies and such attitude is even supported by the Ukrainian government. Additionally, Russia’s role in the war is, once more, completely removed from the picture and transferred to other perceived participants. NATO’s role as the defensive alliance that is the security guarantee for the countries around Russia is also being distorted. Besides having betrayed Ukraine, NATO is also alluded to as planning to utilize Lithuania for the same goal – to use its land to take Russia down. Regarding the security cooperation between NATO countries, the news about German bases to be established in Lithuania presented with distrust: “...military bases are already being prepared for us on the border. You ask yourself the question, what are they being prepared for? To defend Lithuania? This is the highest peak of naivety.”²⁰⁵ Such an idea attempts to weaken trust in NATO as a security alliance but also further supposes the idea of Lithuania giving up a portion of its sovereignty by integrating into its structures and cooperating in the security sphere.

The West without a doubt is portrayed as a moral and physical threat to Russia, its values, and resources. The war is explained as Russian retaliation rather than aggression – retaliation in efforts to protect its historical lands and itself, whereas the West, flexibly, is seen both as supporting the war for its own economic gains, such as avoiding to use own manpower and land. On the other hand, the war is also presented as very harmful to the West as it causes massive losses to their economies and cost investments into Ukrainian industries. “Besieged fortress” is rather vivid – aggressive Russia-ward expansion and ambitions pushed Russia into the offense because the West wanted to see it fail all along. The perceived long-term strategy to weaken Russia is showcased by employing narratives of NATO and EU meddling in the internal processes of countries, such as Ukraine – perceived as Russia’s satellite, diminishing civil movements and sovereign decision-making.

²⁰⁴ *Būkime vieningi*, “Ukrainai trūksta karių savanorių, todėl jauni vyrai yra tiesiog gaudomi gatvėse (video)”, 2023-06-05, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/ukrainai-truksta-kariu-savanoriu-todel-jauni-vyrai-yra-tiesiog-gaudomi-gatvese-video/>>

²⁰⁵ Vaidas Lekstutis in “Sąžiningai apie Ukrainą, Tapinus ir Malinauskus (video)”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2023-05-03, 36:38-36:49, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/saziningai-apie-ukraina-tapinus-ir-malinauskus-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2lsuzs-siningai-apie-ukrain-tapinus-ir-malinauskus.html>>

6. Conclusion

This research was conducted to conclude how if at all, characteristic Eurasian narratives are in a marginal and pro-Russian Lithuanian media outlet, *Būkime vieningi*, whose original contents, included in the segment “War in Ukraine” were analyzed. Three topical sections were introduced for this purpose that allowed the categorizing of materials and crystallized what narratives are dominant in the chosen topics. The research was conducted by utilizing discourse analysis which allowed to determine which narratives are characteristic of *Būkime vieningi* and what set of ideas they represent.

After analyzing original *Būkime vieningi* materials, it can be determined that narratives broadcasted by the channel align with ideas promoted by Eurasianist thought. In the **first** segment – **Role of Lithuania**, it was visible that the narratives broadcasted mostly focused on diminishing Lithuania’s sovereignty by denying its independent decision-making, the functionality of its democratic institutions, and Western integration. Attempts to portray Lithuanian institutions and membership of Western institutions as illegitimate fit the narratives that are in line with those of pro-Russian actors. While these narratives alone do not necessarily align with Eurasianist thought, as a whole, they promote the idea of Lithuania and emphasize its irrelevance and insignificance in the international context, as remaining in the sphere of Russian privileged interest. It is not said that a union should be created but the need to give up positions that do not align with Russian interests is promoted and dismissing Russian opinion in conducting domestic affairs is presented as a potential catalyst for insecurity and even invasion. Furthermore, when talking directly about Russia’s war in Ukraine, the narratives focused on portraying Lithuanians – politicians and society – as the supporters of war who do not realize that cooperating with Russia would be much more beneficial than sanctions against it and a pro-Ukrainian stance.

Conservative outlook on family and criticism of globalism and liberalism can be detected in both the first and **second** categories. The destructive nature of liberalism is considered to bring Lithuania closer to extinction, the reason behind degradation in Russia, and the driving force towards immoral changes in Ukraine. Liberalism is generally perceived as a ‘plague’ that targets traditions, languages, and cultures and replaces them with consumerism and vanity. The traditional values, especially family, are seen to be threatened – family is seen as the foundation of society, that is being destroyed by ‘pervasive’ values. These narratives encourage the Eurasianist view of

the West as rotten and immoral, while genuine Russian virtue is encouraged as spiritual and therefore superior.

In the **second** category, the **Ukraine and Russia** relationship through their Slavic origin is often highlighted. This point is consistently stressed as the tragedy of two brotherly nations, indoctrinated into hating each other, fighting the West-instigated war. When it comes to the state of Ukraine, the narratives tend to suggest that its President Volodymyr Zelenskyy is a Western puppet and that Ukrainian armed forces do not care about the people fighting for the country. The analyzed texts and videos do not openly broadcast support for Russian institutions and its regime but tend to dedicate flaws in its system to Western influence and partial adoption of its 'degraded' values and the capitalist system. Instead, its spirituality and presentation of the 'alternative path' are nurtured, showcasing Russia as the way to go to preserve civilization.

In the **third** category, the role that the **West** is playing in *Būkime vieningi* construction is essentially that of a global hegemon that threatens Russia and its quest to regain the status of the world's superpower. The West is mainly portrayed as highly hierarchal with the United States and the United Kingdom imposing decisions onto other countries in Europe, especially those that belong to Russia's perceived zone of privileged interest – Baltic States, Poland, and Ukraine. On the other hand, other European Union countries are merely mentioned in order to present the European or Western alliances as divided and lacking unilateral agreements on issues, such as policies towards Russia and Ukraine. The narrative that the West is actively involved in the war in Ukraine is reiterated from several different angles – in some instances it is explained that the West that usurped Ukrainian resources fought to protect its investments, while it is also occasionally said that Ukraine was picked as a piece of land that the West is willing to sacrifice in its standoff against Russia. These narratives instrumentally portray the West as a threat to Russia that sees Ukraine as collateral damage rather than an ally that is betrayed time and time again. At the same time, Western values are exclusively referred to as immoral and destructive – the principles of rule-based global order are not considered, instead, all normativity in the pro-Ukrainian stance is being removed to support the gain-driven capitalist argument (regardless of whether it is boosting the Western military industry or protecting its assets within Ukraine).

As Eurasianism is pragmatic and fluid, it can be seen that it is used as such in the case of *Būkime vieningi*. For instance, one of the missing aspects in the whole Eurasianist perspective – religion. The lack of utilization of religion could be attributed to the fact that Lithuania is predominantly

Catholic, while Russia and most other Slavic countries are Orthodox Christian, thus it would not be an effective way to address the Lithuanian audience. However, it is not overall problematic when considering that religion in Eurasianism is an important but not essential element and can be applied pragmatically. Another interesting conclusion is that analyzed *Būkime vieningi* materials do not contain much open and direct support for Russian actions and regime. However, considering the fluidity of Eurasianism and local context – rather strong anti-Russian sentiments in Lithuania where *Būkime vieningi* broadcasts its contents in the local language, it can be ruled as a strategic tailoring of the contents to the audience to carry out the Eurasianist narratives more efficiently. The analysis has confirmed that narratives promoted by *Būkime vieningi* fit into the Eurasianist imagination and thus can be treated as representing the official Kremlin's ideology.

When discussing the securitization of Russia and pro-Russian actors in Lithuania, it can be seen that the narratives promoted by *Būkime vieningi* go against the discourse that has been established by securitizing actors. Primarily, it is the West that is seen as an existential threat to Lithuania rather than Russia, the irrationality of Russian aggression is interpreted as retaliation against provocations by NATO and EU. On a larger scale, the attempts to raise doubts about Lithuanian membership of the EU and NATO and discrediting its allies in the West and Ukraine – narratives that are in line with what the State Security Department of Lithuania has identified as heavily featured in pro-Russian propaganda. *Būkime vieningi* utilizes the democratic principle of freedom of speech to broadcast the narratives that are popularly considered to diminish the statehood of Lithuania, its institutions, and its sovereignty, which are presented as an alternative opinion. It can be seen that *Būkime vieningi*, as securitizing actors have mentioned, exploits social cleavages, attempts to shake trust and, to an extent, adapts to the social climate. Particularly, *Būkime vieningi* largely plays into the strategic usage of information that is not necessarily meant to necessarily prove that Russia is a better alternative but rather tries to shake the trust in democratic institutions and rule-based world order in an attempt to weaken targeted societies. The narratives advocate for peace and for “Lithuanian interest” while promoting harmful means to fulfill those interests – such as seeking neutrality and exiting Western alliances.

This thesis could contribute to further research on related issues, such as identifying and analyzing the social groups that are targeted and potentially affected by the narratives that the marginal media sources in Lithuania broadcast, as well as the instrumentality of Eurasianism by assessing

how Eurasianist discourse is reshaped to cater to societies that are generally perceived as more hostile and prejudicial towards Russia and its politics.

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8. Annex

List of the links to the *Būkime vieningi* materials used for analysis in chronological order:

1. “Pamatykite ir kitą Ukrainos karo pusę (video N-16)”, 2022-03-19, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/pamatykite-ir-kita-ukrainos-karo-puse-video-n-16/>>
2. “Lenkai pamišę dėl „taikaus pabėgėlio“ iš Ukrainos... (video)”, 2022-03-21, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/lenkai-pamise-del-taikaus-pabegelio-is-ukrainos-video/>>
3. “Ar mes tikrai norime Mariupolio likimo? (video)“, 2022-03-24, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/ar-mes-tikrai-norime-mariupolio-likimo-video/>>
4. “Nekokios žinios Ukrainai iš NATO”, 2022-03-24, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/nekokios-zinios-ukrainai-is-nato/>>
5. “Kodėl Rusijai nepavyksta užimti Kijevo?”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2022-03-27, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/kodel-rusijai-nepavyksta-uzimti-kijevo/>>
6. “Ričardas Auglys. Išverstakūriai.”, *Būkime vieningi*, 2022-04-18, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/ricardas-auglys-isverstaskuriai/>>
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10. “Donecke prasidėjo užsienio samdinių iš Azovstal teismas (video)”, 2022-06-08, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/donecke-prasidejo-uzsienio-samdiniu-is-azovstal-teismas-video/>>
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13. "Vaidas Žemaitis. Vyksta lūžis (video)", 2022-08-01, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-vyksta-luzis-video/>>
14. "Vaidas Žemaitis ir Eduardas Vaitkus. Ko mes verti? (video)", *Būkime vieningi*, 2022-08-21, 1:24:03, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-ir-eduardas-vaitkus-ko-mes-verti-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v3foouq-vaidas-emitis-ir-eduardas-vaitkus-ko-mes-verti.html>>
15. "Vaidas Žemaitis. Ar šitie išgelbės Lietuvą? (video)", 2022-09-13, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-ar-sitie-isingelbes-lietuva-video/>>
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40. “Vaidas Žemaitis. Tai kaipgi pavyko NATO šou? (video)”, 2023-07-12, 14:24, <<https://bukimevieniingi.lt/vaidas-zemaitis-tai-kaipgi-pavyko-nato-sou-video/>>, original video shared on Rumble, <<https://rumble.com/v2zk1gk-tai-kaipgi-pavyko-nato-ou.html>>
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