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**HOW THE CHINESE MEDIA IS FRAMING STATE IMAGE – THE CASE
OF LITHUANIA**

MASTER'S THESIS

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Summary: After screening, collation and analysis of more than 1,200 texts, this research multi-dimensionally and comprehensively displays the state image of Lithuania in the Chinese media from 2020 to August 2022, analysing the specific process and participations of framing Lithuania’s state image by the Chinese media based on framing theory. This research also explores the motives of the Chinese media’s action of framing Lithuania's state image in the particular way and the environment for the success of the Chinese media’s action.

Confirmation

I confirm that I am the author of submitted Master Thesis: "*How the Chinese Media is Framing State Image – the Case of Lithuania*", which has been prepared independently and has never been presented for any other course or used in another educational institution, neither in Lithuania, nor abroad. I also provide a full bibliographical list which indicates all the sources that were used to prepare this assignment and contains no un-used sources.

Shiqian Deng

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Introduction

Research background

According to a report quoted by Singapore's Chinese media Lianhe Zaobao from Reuters,¹ Vietnam recently announced a social media control measure that prohibits Vietnamese people and state officials from posting information and opinions that are "not conducive to state interests" on social media, and encourages people publish "positive" information about the country's image, furthermore, support the public and state officials to report and publish statements that are not conducive to state interests to the authority. This is undoubtedly disturbing information - it seems that citizens' freedom of speech and privacy have been violated and interfered, but this prompts us to think about another question, why the government attaches so much importance to control of the media? Undoubtedly, this implies the fact that the media can indeed affect public political communications and enhance to politics movements.

If this kind of view is transferred to the relations between China and Lithuania, especially within the last two years, the role of the media would become even more obvious. Before the year of 2020, "Lithuania" was an unfamiliar topic for Chinese media, and was ordinarily simply classified as a "small Eastern European/Baltic state". At that phase, the state image of Lithuania was **monotonous and static**. Politically, Lithuania was usually described as vacillating, capricious, and anti-Russia. It was also economically out of favour, partly because Lithuania is generally regarded as "small state" in the current definition, a distinguishing feature of this category of countries is their limited resources and economic volume.² Therefore, Lithuania was generally ignored by the Chinese media which have the inertia of reporting macro narratives; the situation in humanities communications is even worse, Chinese media rarely introduce the humanities of Lithuanian traditions, customs, nationalities - whether it is electronic media or paper media. Taking an example, among Chinese printed books, the only two books that introduce Lithuanian history and civilization are *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999*³ and *The Biography of Vilnius*⁴. Information about Lithuania found in the news media is usually only related to tourism, sports, basketball, and anti-Russia foreign policy⁵ (although the attitude is largely

¹ Lianhe Zaobao, Vietnamese government issues social media code of conduct, <https://www.zaobao.com.sg/realtime/world/story20210618-1157797> [2021-06-18].

² Brady A. M, Thorhallsson B. Small States and the New Security Environment. *The World of Small States*, Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2021, 2-4.

³ Snyder Timothy, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999*. Nanjing University Press, 2020.

⁴ Briedis Laimonas, *The Biography of Vilnius*. New Star Press Co, Ltd, 2020.

⁵ People Daily Online, Western countries announce mass expulsion of Russian diplomats, Moscow vows revenge. <http://en.people.cn/n3/2018/0328/c90000-9442433.html> [2018-04-28].

determined by historical reasons⁶). Therefore, in general, the information about Lithuania in the Chinese media context is obviously one-sided and selective, which is completely different from what have shown on Lietuvos nacionalinis radijas ir televizija (LRT).

However, since 2020, the situation has changed. The Chinese media's shaping of Lithuania's state image is going through a **dynamic process**. This process is reflected in the Chinese media's reports on Lithuania's politics, economy, and humanities communications, here are many attractive points in this dynamic process, such as how Lithuania's state image is presented in Chinese media during this period; and how framing plays a role in the process of shaping Lithuania's state image; what is the reason for Chinese showed interest in framing the state image of Lithuania during this period.

Research question

The change which happened since 2020 raises a question: How did Chinese media frame Lithuania's state image since 2020?

1. Literature review

Review on Chinese scholars' research

"The state image of Lithuania" is a relatively novel topic, and this conception even does not exist in Chinese academic discourse. Therefore, the state image of Lithuania in the context of Chinese academic literature is loose. If the academic works with Lithuania as the research object are reviewed, the state image of Lithuania in Chinese academic discourse can be roughly outlined.

The phenomenon that is diametrically opposed to the media process is that in Chinese academic circles, research related to Lithuania was mainly concentrated in and before 2019. When Lithuania's state image began to appear frequently in Chinese media reports from 2020, academic circles' focus on Lithuania has been correspondingly sharply reduced. In the past decade (2013-2022), the number of publications of relevant papers expresses two obvious extreme phases: from 2013 to 2019, the years with the least number of this period were 2013 and 2014 (both 20) , the year with the largest number was 2018 (55), and other years were stable in the range of 20 to 50, yet in the past three years (2020-2022), the number of related papers showed a significant decline, respectively 6 (2020), 6(2021), 2(2022). Coincidentally, the peak period of the growth of research papers targeting Lithuania and the peak period of enthusiasm for Lithuanian state images in the Chinese media are staggered.

⁶ Aleknonis G. The historical change of the concept of the "image of Lithuania": from "the one history of barbarism" to "the victim of history". *Information & Media*, 77, 2017, 7-25.

These researches on Lithuania mainly focus on the following fields: military and geopolitics; economy (economic transformation and economic cooperation); public governance; sports (especially basketball); humanities; technology and innovation.

In the field of military and geopolitics, Lithuania is not favoured⁷⁸ (this view might be related to the mainstream attitude of the media after the diplomatic conflict in August 2021), but individual scholar (Mu Zhonghuai, 2020) still hold Lithuania's role in the EU to promote Eurasian economic cooperation, which character has a positive and prospective attitude⁹.

In the economic field, Lithuania has been portrayed as a successful liberalized entity¹⁰, and it is believed that Lithuania, relying on the "The Belt and Road Initiative" (B&R)¹¹ and "16+1" mechanism¹², will have extensive trade cooperation possibilities with China¹³.

In the field of public governance, the research of Chinese academic circles mainly focuses on learning from Lithuania's successful experience to improve the quality of public governance in China (especially in public services such as medical care)¹⁴¹⁵.

In the fields of humanities and sports, Chinese academic circles focus on a wide range of subjects, including Lithuanian drama¹⁶¹⁷, civilization, history, cultural communications¹⁸, landscape, educational system¹⁹, architecture and art design²⁰, sports achievements²¹, etc. A positive sign is that Lithuania is evaluated and advertised positively in these areas.

⁷ Wang Peizhi. Lithuania from the Military Perspective. *World Military Affairs*, 2022(2), 2022, 46-49.

⁸ Yan Yue. Geopolitical "Battle Islands"—Geographical Thinking in Lithuania's "Blockade" Kaliningrad Incident. *World Military Affairs*, 2022(15), 2022, 4-8.

⁹ Mu Zhonghuai. Lithuania in Sino-European Relations. *Qiaoyuan*, 2020(10), 2020, 18-19.

¹⁰ Wang Zhongpei. Privatization Reform in Lithuania's Economic Transformation. *Economic Research Guide*, 2019(6), 2019, 179-180.

¹¹ Zeng Fan. Analysis of the "Belt and Road" Commercial System - Taking Lithuania as an Example. *Administration for Industry and Commerce*, 2018(16), 2018, 58-60.

¹² Mu Chonghuai, Song Dianjiao. China and Lithuania in "16+1 Cooperation". *Qiaoyuan*, 2018(6), 2018, 32-33.

¹³ Chen Fen. Willing to work with Chinese companies to create new technologies—Interview with Lithuanian Deputy Minister of Economy. *China Economic Information*, 2016(23), 2016, 24-27.

¹⁴ Siugzdiniene J., Gaule E., Rauleckas R.. Public Governance in Search of Wisdom: The Case of Lithuania. *International Review of Administrative Science*, 85(3), 2019, 205-224.

¹⁵ Zhu Xiaoying, Wang An. Difference analysis of referral rate of specialized medical services under four primary health care models—Based on the study of Klaipeda City, Lithuania. *Foreign Medicine (Health Economics)*, 34(3), 2017, 105-112.

¹⁶ Li Zheng. Humanitarian Rewriting of Classical Satire Comedy - Comment on Lithuanian VMT National Theater "The Imperial Envoy". *Drama and Film Review*, 2019(4), 2019, 17-25.

¹⁷ Wang Lu. A Modern Interpretation of the Comedy of Molière's "The Hypocrite"—The Gains and Losses in the Construction of "Black Mirror Version" "The Hypocrite" by the Lithuanian OKT Troupe. *Contemporary Drama*, 2021(2), 2021, 36-39.

¹⁸ Gao Longbin. The Historical and Cultural Investigation of Lithuanians in Harbin. *Siberian Studies*, 43(6), 2016, 74-77.

¹⁹ Liu Yingying, Xu Guoqing. Paths and Characteristics of Professional Development of Vocational Education Teachers in Lithuania. *Educational Exploration*, 2018(6), 2018, 113-117.

²⁰ Ruta Leitanaite, Wang Dandan. Ogmeos City, Public Space and Urban Transformation, Vilnius, Lithuania. *World Architecture*, 2018(6), 2018, 93-97.

²¹ Li Hui, Xu Changnan, Wang Hao, et al. The Development Experience and Enlightenment of Lithuanian Competitive Basketball. *Sports Culture Guide*, 2020(6), 2020, 72-77.

In summary, from the limited materials, the state image of Lithuania in Chinese academic circles is composed of Chinese scholars' research on Lithuania in multiple dimensions. Since the relevant research has decreased sharply since 2020, this research cannot present a comparative study with the media performance after 2020, but what is certain is that before the diplomatic conflict in 2021, the research on Lithuania in Chinese academic circles is diverse, and multidimensional, and it is gratifying that the conclusions of these studies are almost all positive, and show the desire for more in-depth Eurasian exchanges and cooperation.

On the contrary, coming to Lithuania media and check how do Lithuania media shape China's state image, according to Linas Eriksonas's research, at least the following accomplishment can be found: Lithuanian media's reports and analysis of China's economic development have indeed eased bilateral relations to a certain extent, and furthermore, media discourse can really impact the relation between states in real world.²²

Secondly, it's valuable to focus on the research of the mirror image issue, that is, the research of China's state image in the media's discourse of Lithuania. It also involves another issue, that is, how could China frame its own positive state image in foreign media (Hong Yuxi, 2018; Yang Anting, 2017).²³ These mirror researches are very helpful for this research to understand the state image of Lithuania in Chinese media's discourse.

Hong Yuxi, *A Study of China's International Communication for Central and Eastern European Countries*, Nanchang University, 2018. Hong proposed that to improve a country's international communication image, we should start from three aspects: 1. Build a media group with international influence and credibility; 2. Combine international communication with localization; 3. Strengthen economic cooperation between China and Eastern Europe, to promote mutual understanding between the two sides in cooperation. These three principles are also applicable to the dissemination of the state image of Lithuania in Chinese media. But all in all, it's not the core target to focus in this research, it is only provided as a perception, without mentioning in the following chapters.

2. Conception Definition

Before conducting specific research, some basic conceptions need to be defined. Below, the research is defining these conceptions to clarify the boundaries of the research terms: Chinese media, and Frame.

Chinese media

²² Eriksonas L. The media reporting on China's development in Lithuania: the typology of China's sentiment analysis. *China-CEE Institute*, Nov 2018, 1-14.

²³ Hong Yuxi, *A Study of China's International Communication for Central and Eastern European Countries*. Nanchang University, master thesis, 2018.

Since this research is a study of the state image of the certain country, in order to avoid ambiguity, the word “Chinese media” in this thesis refers to “China's media” rather than a language category in a narrow sense. In other words, “Chinese” here refers more to the concept of a country, and it is not a language concept (because Singapore, is also the country that widely use Chinese, and there are some news media written in Chinese language in other countries - or provide a Chinese version for the source language).

Specifically, “Chinese media” in this thesis mainly refers to *People Daily*,²⁴ *China Daily*,²⁵ *Xinhua news agency*,²⁶ *Xinhuanet*,²⁷ etc., all of which are authoritative media corporations with national influence in China.

Frame

Frame is a tool for analysis proposed by Robert Entman to explain the spread and influence of information. Entman summarizes its role as: clarify a fractured paradigm. He believes that the analysis of the frame can clarify how the frame acts on the text and influences people's thinking and concepts through the communicating texts - in other words, the analysis of the frame provides a way to describe the power of communicating texts.

In the final analysis, after all, we need to define the concept of Frame, but the difficulty is that, Entman himself believes that the definition of this concept is often seems arbitrary,²⁸ defining this concept even requires the tacit understanding of the reader and researcher.²⁹

So we may be able to define it from a functional point of view rather than a descriptive point of view. According to Entman's analysis, frame has four functions: selection and salience, use of the highlighted elements to construct an argument about problems and the causation, moral judgement, and/or remedies suggest. Therefore, frame can be considered as a cognitive structure that influences people's cognition of texts (such as political news) through these four ways in people's reading process. Similarly, when it is regarded as a noun, it means to play a corresponding role in these four ways.

3. Theoretical approach

Framing theory

The concept of framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic. The basis of framing

²⁴ People Daily Online, <http://en.people.cn/>

²⁵ China Daily, <https://cn.chinadaily.com.cn/>

²⁶ Xinhua News Agency, <http://www.chinaview.cn/>

²⁷ Xinhuanet, <http://www.news.cn/>

²⁸ Entman R. M. Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43, 4, 1993, 51-58.

²⁹ The same, 52.

theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning. Framing is an important topic since it can have a big influence and therefore the concept of framing expanded to organizations as well.

In essence, framing theory suggests that how something is presented to the audience (called “the frame”) influences the choices people make about how to process that information. Frames are abstractions that work to organize or structure message meaning. The most common use of frames is in terms of the frame the news or media place on the information they convey. They are thought to influence the perception of the news by the audience, in this way it could be construed as a form of second level agenda-setting – they not only tell the audience what to think about (agenda-setting theory), but also how to think about that issue (second level agenda setting, framing theory).³⁰

A framing assumption is any explicit or implicit assumption that is central in shaping cost, schedule, or performance. It should be noted that framing theory is a widely used research method, not unique to Entman. The theory was first put forth by Goffman. He put forth that people interpret what is going on around their world through their primary framework. Except Goffman and Entman, many other researchers made contribution to the framing theory³¹.

According to Entman’s definition of frame, to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way, as to promote a particular problem definition, causal. Since then, generally saying, frame consists of two aspects, “**selection**” and “**salience**” (Entman, 1993)³².

The background should also be introduced, which is what Entman called the political communication environment, large news corporations have gained control over political information, especially major news events, and this selection, expansion, and repetition of common frames of information Capabilities in turn continue to strengthen the institutionalized power of these monopoly news corporations³³.

How the framing works? In Entman's 1993 classic text, the way framing works is explained. Framing consists of two aspects, selection and salience: this determines the information that the recipient can see. Frame refers to the selective perception of diagnose causes of facts and their greater prominence in communicative texts, with the end result being four achievement areas: facilitating the definition of a particular problem; causal explanation; moral judgements; and/or

³⁰ Davie G, Framing Theory, [Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://masscommtheory.com/theory-overviews/framing-theory/> (retrieved on December 20, 2022).

³¹ Carter M. J. The Hermeneutics of Frames and Framing: An Examination of the Media’s Construction of Reality. *Sage Open*, 2013, 1-12.

³² Entman, R. M. Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, (43. 4), 1993, 53.

³³ Bennett, W. L., & Entman, R. M., *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 2000, 478.

remedies suggest. What the Chinese media have done to shape the Lithuanian state image is completely in line with the way the frame plays its role.

Civilizational clash

The shaping of Lithuania's state image by Chinese media is often accompanied by such a feature, namely, Lithuania's state image is associated with other "Western entities" (European states and the United States), which implies the fact that compared with "Lithuania", Chinese mediated discourse seems to be more willing to focus on the comprehensive Western civilization, so exploring the motives of the Chinese media from the perspective of civilizational clashes might be closer to the original intention of the media.

In the planning of this study, framing theory plays the role as the theory for technical analysis, and civilizational clash theory is used as the theoretical basis for exploring media motivation.

Huntington divides the world into several civilizations (rather than political entities), and points out that all competitions and conflicts in today's international society are, in the final analysis, "clash of civilizations". Furthermore, the competition of civilizations has replaced the competition of superpowers.

Huntington pointed out that civilization has such characteristics:³⁴

First of all, civilization is extensive. Different ethnic groups, races, villages, religions, politics, and social structures in various regions are unique, which seems to explain to a large extent this: why people in different countries or under different ideologies recognize so differently. Knowing these differences is precisely because of the extensive nature of civilizations, so the differences between different ethnic groups permeate all aspects of the social life of each ethnic group, and there is no boundary. Therefore, this has also created a full range of differences between different civilizations, and has increased the gap in mutual understanding between different civilizations, countries, and nations.

Secondly, the existence of civilization often lasts a long time, but during the same time, it is dynamic, that is, civilization is always in constant change. This can explain the phenomenon: why the relationship between countries is always changing, in addition to the continuous adjustment of state interests, the dynamic change of civilization is also a reason. Because civilizations last for a very long time, each civilization has enough time to adjust and make changes, at the same time, the changes of different civilizations are not the same step, so the differences between civilizations continue to arise and die, and what comes with the rise and die is the difference in the perception of things between different civilizations and countries. Therefore, obstacles in communication and clashes in the ideological field have also arisen.

³⁴ Huntington Samuel. P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. Xinhua Publishing House, 2010, 20-23.

Unlike other civilizations listed by Huntington such as Islamic civilization, Eastern Orthodox civilization, Western civilization, Latin American civilization and African civilization (not yet confirmed), Sinic Civilization is not composed of several parts (for example, Huntington pointed out that Western civilization is composed of three parts: Europe, North America and Latin America), but is dominated by the material and ideological civilization of ancient China, radiating to other parts of Asia, such as South Korea, North Korea, Vietnam, etc., and even in some other views, China is regarded as a separate civilization, rather than a state³⁵ - no matter what the situation is - the phenomenon of a civilization axis plus several satellites forming a civilization is very different from the landscape of Western civilization. The difference in civilization structure may also be a breakthrough to understanding of why Chinese media often single-sided understand state images of Western countries (such as Lithuania).

4. Methodology

Case studies

This research focuses on “How media frames the Lithuania’s state image”. Case studies can effectively narrow the scope of research and accurately locate the essence, explanation and other issues we need to understand among typical research objects. This research selects Lithuania as a typical representative. By analyzing the national image of Lithuania framed by Chinese media, this thesis explores **how’s** the image of Lithuania in Chinese media and **what** is the process of Lithuanian state image was framed in Chinese media, that is, how the Chinese media shape such Lithuanian state image, and furthermore, explore the motivations and prerequisite the image could be shaped.

Qualitative study (content analysis)

The analysis objects (political communication) of this thesis mainly come from mainstream Chinese news media. In terms of types, they include reports, analysis, comments, and criticism. Through the piecing and integration of these resources, a complete and specific Lithuania’s state image in the Chinese media is drawn. Looking for its characteristics and the various reasons behind it, which include not only international diplomatic reasons, humanities reasons, economic and trade reasons, but also civilization reasons (in fact, more are caused by civilization clash).³⁶ The existence of these features makes the essence of the problem confusing, what this research is going to do is to separate them for content analysis, and discover how’s the state image of Lithuania look like and find the formation conditions the image can be framed and exist.

³⁵ Lucian W. Pye. China: Erratic State, Frustrated Society, *Foreign Affairs*, 69, 1990, 58.

³⁶ Huntington Samuel. P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. Xinhua Publishing House, 2010, 4-5.

5. Lithuania's state image in Chinese media: what is the certainty and what is the transition?

As an active regional political force in the Baltic region, Lithuania, also as the member of NATO, maintains an un-ignorable influence and active participation in European security. But in China, the situation is quite the opposite: Lithuania has a very limited presence in Chinese context. The causes for this phenomenon are diverse, such as the distance between the two countries and almost no intersection in history; Lithuania's own security concerns are mainly focused on Russia rather than further Asia; the ideological confrontation between the East and the West; coming to the economic exchanges in the trade between the two sides, the proportion is relatively small, etc. Although analysts can give various explanations from different aspects, the most essential thing cannot be ignored is the fact that Lithuania and China have not formed a close relationship in history or in contemporary times, and since there is a huge gap between the population of Lithuania and China, so it's also extremely limited on the scale of civic people-to-people exchanges. Due to the lack of effective communication in both official and civic channels, the Chinese people lack a concrete perception of Lithuania, so the image of Lithuania in the Chinese public's impression is more dependent on the media to shape it.

5.1. Simplify image: what people focus on at the previous time?

Although international politics is becoming increasingly turbulent, and Lithuania's role in European and world politics might be constantly changing, the state image of Lithuania in the Chinese media is not difficult to grasp, but traceable, in other words, it has a certain degree of certainty.

As mentioned above, it is precisely because of the lack of official and private exchanges between China and Lithuania that in the Chinese context, there has always been little attention to Lithuania, and the state image is monotonous and flat, hardly appearing as a single "topic", but as part of a whole issue or a broad topic. For example, "Lithuania" is often mentioned as an example (or pole) when Chinese media mention topics such as "Baltic", "NATO", "Eastern Europe", "International Relations", "Taiwan Policy": and in these topics Lithuania is often not shown a positive image in the narrative. Over time, in Chinese media, it has become a potential "political correctness" to show a negative attitude towards Lithuania whenever these topics are mentioned.

The focus of Lithuania in Chinese media has an obvious pre- and post-period. Searching for "Lithuania" on "Baidu", the largest search engine in China, it would be discovered that: before 2019, Lithuania was frequently mentioned in Chinese media only around "tourism", "basketball" and

"sports" topics; starting in 2020, Lithuania's image appeared more in topics such as "cooperation"³⁷, "technology"³⁸, "communication"³⁹, "culture"⁴⁰, "digitization"⁴¹ - that is, the image of Lithuania since then it started to become more full and three-dimensional, instead of the stereotype that was only related to a few topics before. It can be clearly seen that compared with before 2019, Chinese media began to shape the image of the country "Lithuania" from more and more wealthy perspectives, and the image of "Lithuania" has received more and more positive aspects display.

Unfortunately, the continuation of this trend was short-lived and passed away in the first half of 2021, just as Lithuania was being portrayed in an increasingly positive image by the Chinese media. After consulting a number of authoritative Chinese media, although I did not find a specific date for this transition, it can be seen that this transition has already begun to take shape in April 2021 when Lithuania announced that it would withdraw from the "17+1" mechanism. The more obvious change started on August 10. After Lithuania declared that it would allow the Taiwan authorities to set up a representative office in Vilnius in the name of "Taiwan". "People Daily Online", one of China's most authoritative media, took the lead in publicly condemning Lithuanian authorities' rhetoric - and Chinese media coverage of Lithuania has since tended to return to an overall negative and critical attitude.

Despite this shift seems to have subverted the positive image of "Lithuania" in Chinese media in 2020, the actual situation has not returned to the monotonous narrative before 2019, but has become more complex. This transition has led to a variety of different "features", so on the current Chinese media, although it is distinct to simply summarize the state image of "Lithuania" as "positive" or "negative", it is different from "monotonous" that before 2019, but showing a diverse trend.

To sum up, the state image of Lithuania in Chinese media has a certain certainty and a "negative" tone, but this "certainty" is not absolute. In 2020, Lithuania's image has been greatly improved and enriched for a short time, and it seems that there is a trend of subverting "certainty", but since the end of 2020, especially after entering 2021, with the occurrence of two frictions between Lithuania and China, Lithuania's image has gradually changed from a positive situation shaped in 2020 to a situation of multi-dimensional and multi-evaluation.

³⁷ People Daily Online, National Fund and Local Fintech Enterprises Support the Construction of Hainan's Factor Market, <http://hi.people.com.cn/n2/2020/1101/c231190-34387172.html> [2020-11-01].

³⁸ People Daily Online, 2020 European First-class Science and Technology Park Summit Held in Qingdao, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1112/c1002-31927855.html> [2020-11-12].

³⁹ People Daily Online, China-Europe trains run more than 10,000 trains this year, <http://ccnews.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1107/c141677-31922300.html> [2020-11-07].

⁴⁰ Heilongjiang Daily, The 22nd Harbin Ice and Snow World Planning and Design Released, <http://hlj.people.com.cn/n2/2020/1108/c220027-34401563.html> [2020-11-08].

⁴¹ International Finance News, How far is digital currency from us? <http://blockchain.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1019/c417685-31897287.html> [2020-10-19].

5.2. Transition: from monotonous to multiple

After the state image of Lithuania experienced a substantial improvement in 2020, several diversified trends and features of transformation were shown since from 2021. In order to classify, summarize and display the transformation process of Lithuania's state image in Chinese media in more detail, so as to avoid omissions, this research selects China's largest official media platform "People Daily Online" as the main source of materials. The reasons for choosing "People Daily Online" as the main material source are as follows: first, as the largest official media platform in China, its comments and views can fully represent and lead the mainstream discourse of Chinese media; second, while it express its own opinions, "People Daily Online" also reprints articles and comments from other local media and media in various professional fields (such as military, economics, etc.), so it has a comprehensiveness.

In terms of time period selection, the earliest news in recent years that mentioned Lithuania and clearly indicated a positive evaluation on "People Daily Online" came from the International Finance News on October 19, 2020⁴², which highly affirms Lithuania's maturity in digital currency technology and the courage to try new things (issuing digital currency), so this date was taken as the starting point of the time period and the end point is September 30, 2022. Within this period of time, 1200 material of reports were collected, 138 pieces of which were regarded as valuable for this research and remarked out.

As explained in the previous section, the state image of Lithuania in Chinese media became more diversified after 2021. After analyzing 138 pieces of materials, many different trends and features have been concluded, which are specifically reflected in the Chinese media during this time period coverage and commentary on Lithuania.

First, a comprehensive and obvious trend is that **since the diplomatic conflict in August 2021, Chinese media's negative reports on Lithuania have begun to show a significant increase.** From October 2020 to August 2021, in nearly one year, the Chinese media reported on Lithuania's negative tendencies only 11 times, however from August 2021 to the end of 2021, within only 5 months, there are as many as 61 related negative reports.

Secondly, as far as the main entity of reports is concerned, after the diplomatic conflict, especially since November 2021, local media reports on Lithuania have almost disappeared (both positive and negative reports), mainly by large central state-owned media with nationwide influence, including People Daily, Xinhua News Agency, Xinhuanet, etc.

A notable systemic trend is that **Chinese media are increasingly linking Lithuania's policy behavior with the United States, often in conjunction with the United States/NATO. At the**

⁴² International Finance News, How far is digital currency from us?
<http://blockchain.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1019/c417685-31897287.html> [2020-10-19].

same time, "Lithuania" and "U.S." often serve as foils for each other. When Chinese media criticize the U.S. for interfering in China or Asia-Pacific affairs, Lithuania is usually listed as a typical case. On August 12, 2021, the People Daily Online commented that the United States "has no right to make irresponsible remarks about China's internal affairs" and should not challenge China diplomatically by supporting the establishment of representative offices between Lithuania and Taiwan authorities⁴³. The citation is as follows: "The Lithuanian government allows the Taiwan authorities to set up a 'representative office' in the name of 'Taiwan' and develop official substantive relations with the Taiwan authorities, which blatantly violates the spirit of the gazette on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Lithuania, seriously undermines China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and seriously violates the principles recognized by the international community. According to the one-China principle, China, as a sovereign country, has the right and should make a legitimate and reasonable response. The US has no right to point fingers or make irresponsible remarks." Also, whenever the Chinese media criticizes Lithuania's Taiwan policy, it often accuses the US of "instigation". For example, the People Daily Online report on August 16, 2021 seemed to be criticizing Lithuania's Taiwan policy, but it clearly stated in the summary of the article that "the United States must stop sending wrong signals to Taiwan independence forces."⁴⁴ Everything they did was instigated by the United States. This trend undoubtedly means that Chinese media is more deeply tied to Lithuania and the United States.

Since this trend began to appear in the second half of 2021, it became more and more obvious after entering 2022. Lithuania and the United States are becoming more and more tied on the Chinese media. For example, on the refugee issue, the Chinese media seem to be criticizing Lithuania for lack of protecting the human rights of refugees, but it actually imply that it is the US intervention in the Middle East that caused the refugee problem, which is the root cause of the refugee problem, which in turn triggered the human rights crisis of refugees at the Lithuanian border; when the criticism clarifying that the United States isolates Russia and threatens Russia's security, it usually mentions Lithuania's support for the United States in Eastern Europe, increasing Russia's pressure in the east; clearly requires the United States to **urge** Lithuania to apologize and change its Taiwan policy, and the United States should **be responsible for Lithuania's mistakes on Taiwan**; on January 6 2022, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs criticized the United States' "coercive diplomacy" and said that it once again took Lithuania's Taiwan policy as an example, believing that the United States induced Lithuania to provoke China on the Taiwan issue, created differences, and force multinational companies to be unable to cooperate with China, which can

⁴³ People Daily Online, The US has no right to point fingers or make irresponsible remarks!
<http://usa.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0812/c241376-32190333.html> [2021-08-12].

⁴⁴ People Daily Online, The United States must stop sending wrong signals to Taiwan independence forces,
<http://opinion.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0816/c1003-32193582.html> [2021-08-16].

only turn to the United States⁴⁵; on January 12, 2022, when People Daily accused the United States of persecuting human rights in the name of counter-terrorism, it especially mentioned Lithuania's cooperation with the United States in creating black jails to persecute human rights⁴⁶, People Daily's report on January 12 2022 declared that "a few days ago, Lithuania paid compensation to Zubaydah, a 'permanent prisoner' who had been held in a secret US prison on the outskirts of Lithuania. jailed for more than 20 years, at this time, it has been more than three years since the European Court of Human Rights ruled that Lithuania must pay compensation"; On March 17, 2022, the People Daily directly criticized the United States (not Lithuania) for interfering in Taiwan, and declared that "Lithuania's actions (on the Taiwan issue) were instigated by the United States"⁴⁷; on April 6, 2022, the People Daily strongly criticized Biden was a Cold War conspirator, further it mentioned that "Voice of America (VOA) began broadcasting in Lithuania and Ukraine in local languages in 1949. American propaganda exacerbated the ideological confusion in Soviet society, accelerated the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and finally made the United States a unipolar World Hegemony"⁴⁸, pointing out that Lithuania is an accomplice of the United States' Cold War policy to overthrow the Soviet Union; on April 11, 2022, Guangming Daily criticized NATO as a "violent tool to maintain and expand hegemony" "therefore, the existence of NATO has become the most important major power to maintain the transatlantic alliance between Europe and the United States" and "hegemonic alliance... destabilizing the world", many of which mentioned the strategic significance of the Baltic countries, including Lithuania, to NATO⁴⁹; on May 11, 2022, Xinhua News Agency mentioned NATO's "security partition" when commenting on the Russia-Ukraine War, believing that the loss of control of the situation in Russia and Ukraine has a lot to do with the increase of NATO's military presence in its eastern flank (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Slovakia, Romania, Hungary, and Bulgaria)⁵⁰; On July 4, 2022, the People Daily quoted analyst Aleksandar Pavic as saying that the United States played up the Russian threat narrative in Europe, thus creating tension in Europe with Europe. The article quoted analyst saying that "(Washington) treats the Lithuanians as cannon fodder." while criticizing the joint efforts of Europe and the United

⁴⁵ People Daily Online, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Responds to Taiwan Authorities' Promise to Invest 200 Million U.S. Dollars in Lithuania, <http://v.people.cn/n1/2022/0106/c431206-32325669.html> [2022-01-06].

⁴⁶ People Daily Online, American "black jails" spread all over the world. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs: A dark page in the history of human rights in the world, <http://usa.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0113/c241376-32330459.html> [2022-01-12].

⁴⁷ People Daily Online, The United States hollows out the one-China principle, harms others and ultimately harms itself, <http://sc.people.com.cn/n2/2022/0317/c345460-35177771.html> [2022-03-17].

⁴⁸ People Daily Online, Exposure! He is the Cold War conspirator of the 21st century! <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0406/c1002-32392626.html> [2022-04-06].

⁴⁹ Guangming Daily, NATO: A Violent Tool to Maintain and Expand Hegemony, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0411/c1002-32395594.html> [2022-04-11].

⁵⁰ Xinhua News Agency, The security chapter of the "world shock wave" of the Russia-Ukraine conflict——NATO and Russia have intensified the confrontation, and dividing security is definitely not the right way, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0511/c1002-32419355.html> [2022-05-11].

States to create chaos, it satirizes the Lithuanian government's inability to understand the situation and being exploited and fooled by the United States⁵¹.

What is certain is that this phenomenon has had two effects on the shaping of the Lithuanian state image on the Chinese media: on the one hand, the Chinese media has bound Lithuania and the United States more and more tightly, largely because of the competition between China and the United States has intensified, and the media has gradually shifted their focus to the United States. Therefore, since the end of 2021, it has been rare to see critical tirade specifically aimed at Lithuania, avoiding more criticism than expected; but on the other hand, the disadvantages are also obvious, that is, whenever the Chinese media argues against the US policy (especially the Asia-Pacific strategy), Lithuania will inevitably be mentioned and criticized as a negative example, a "typical case".

In addition to the aforementioned binding of Lithuania's image to the image of United States, Chinese media also has a tendency to bind Lithuania's image to Europe (although it is not as obvious and strong as the binding to the United States). This phenomenon is usually related to **two core demands**: calling on the EU to participate in coordination and changing Lithuania's Taiwan policy; emphasizing the separation of "Lithuania" as a member state and the "EU" as a whole, that is, although Lithuania is in diplomatic confrontation with China, the consequence is that China's sanctions on Lithuania, but China still actively hopes to develop economic relations with the EU, and hopes that the conflict between China and Lithuania will not affect the economic and trade cooperation between China and the EU.

According to a Xinhua News Agency's report on August 13, 2021, Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hua Chunying said when referring to the EU's statement on issues related to the Taiwan that "**certain countries** (alluding to Lithuania) and some people have sinister intentions to confuse the public, but the plot is doomed to fail. **China urges the EU to stick to its correct position on Taiwan-related issues, and not to send wrong signals on issues involving China's core interests, so as to create new troubles for China-EU relations.**"⁵² This attitude obviously declares the ambition that China don't want the EU to signal support measures to Lithuania; People Daily's September 16 report titled "*The EU should be urging its member states to correct their mistakes*" directly expressed the **call for the EU to intervene in Lithuania's Taiwan policy and urged Lithuania to reconcile with China as soon as possible**⁵³. On the same day, the People

⁵¹ People Daily Online, Analysts: U.S. playing up Russia threat in Europe fuels tensions, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0704/c1002-32465700.html> [2022-07-04].

⁵² Xinhua News Agency, Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hua Chunying's Response to Reporter's Questions on U.S. and European Union's Unreasonable Comments on China's Recall of Ambassador to Lithuania, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0813/c1002-32192804.html> [2021-08-13].

⁵³ People Daily Online, The EU should be urging its member states to correct their mistakes, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0916/c1002-32228837.html> [2021-09-16].

Daily reported on the speech of the spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the same topic⁵⁴.

Related to the second core demand, on December 27, 2021, Xinhuanet published a review article entitled *"EU policy towards China cannot be 'kidnapped' by Lithuania"*, which clearly mentioned that "Lithuania ignores other EU member states' willingness and interests, arbitrarily expanding a country's political problems, and forcing regional organizations to confront China for their own selfish purposes...**other EU member states must show Lithuania that their action is stupid and selfish, and it is an act that ignores the interests of allies.**" "If the EU has completely given up its policy independence... what sacrificed are its own interests. **The EU's China policy should be decided by the EU according to its own interests, not to please others.**" "Proceeding from international axioms and justice, **the EU's China policy should not be coerced by a single member state or any external force.** China's sincerity in developing China-EU relations remains unswerving... the EU should also proceed from the overall situation, continue to adhere to strategic independence, and eliminate interference factors, meeting China's halfway, and continue to inject energy into promoting China-EU cooperation" it stressed⁵⁵. The People Daily's report on January 19, 2022 once again emphasized that "hope that the European side can distinguish right from wrong, abide by the one-China principle and the solemn commitment made by the European side when China and the EU established diplomatic relations, uphold an objective and fair stance, taking practical actions to maintain the healthy and stable development of China-EU relations."⁵⁶ These two concentrated statements made clear China's concerns about the EU's position, and expressed the **prospect that the EU and Lithuania will draw a clear line, and that the economic and trade cooperation between the EU and China will not be affected by the incident between Lithuania and China.**

In addition to the above-mentioned image of Lithuania bound to the United States and EU discourse, **the image of Lithuania has also had an increasingly profound connection with Taiwan.** The comprehensive phenomenon is that since the diplomatic conflict between China and Lithuania, whenever the Chinese media criticizes Taiwan's provocation against Beijing, Lithuania will always be mentioned as evidence. For example, on January 4, 2022, the People Daily reported that Foreign Ministry spokesperson Wang Wenbin commented on Taiwan's purchase of Lithuania's rum to express support for Lithuania, arguing that Taiwan's "golden dollar diplomacy" (that is,

⁵⁴ People Daily Online, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs responds to the EU's rotating presidency accusing China of "expelling" the Lithuanian ambassador, <http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/0916/c431206-32229300.html> [2021-09-16].

⁵⁵ Xinhuanet, EU policy towards China cannot be 'kidnapped' by Lithuania, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1227/c1002-32318281.html> [2021-12-27].

⁵⁶ People Daily Online, The EU should be wary of Lithuania hijacking China-EU relations with its own mistakes, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0119/c1002-32334460.html> [2022-01-19].

using economic means to induce other countries supporting Taiwan diplomatically) will not work⁵⁷, describing it as "the bamboo basket fetches water in vain"⁵⁸. On January 26, when MFA spokesperson Zhu Fenglian answered a question from a Hong Kong Phoenix Satellite TV reporter about the diplomatic conflict between China and Lithuania, she once again emphasized that the effectiveness of Taiwan's "golden dollar diplomacy" was very limited⁵⁹, and satirized Taiwan as a "Kaizi"⁶⁰. On March 28, 2022, the People Daily published a review article titled "*How Much Bitter Fruit of Taiwan's Collusion with Japan?*" (the cause was Taiwan's attempt to join the CPTPP), summarizing criticism of Taiwan's diplomatic measures, which clearly stated that "on the Lithuanian issue, they took with the hard-earned money of the people in the domestic, they spared no expense in making bets; on the issue of Russia and Ukraine, they somehow joined the ranks of so-called sanctions, ignoring the huge losses of the electronics manufacturers in the domestic; on the issue of Japan's 'nuclear food', they even advocating the name change to 'healthy food' and ignoring the health and well-being of the citizenships of Taiwan...as long as it can gain the self-interest of one party and highlight Taiwan's 'international visibility', the sacrifices and costs of the people of Taiwan will be nothing to worry about... the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) authorities have intensified their collusion external forces are provoking 'independence' and attempting to change the fact that both sides of the Taiwan strait belong to one China, which is the root cause of the current tension and turmoil in the Taiwan Strait. However, Taiwan is China's issue, not Japan and the United States' issue... rather than relying on what external 'blank check'"⁶¹. It can be seen that no matter whether the topics appears on the Chinese media's narrative are directly related to Lithuania or not, as long as Taiwan's action and measures of seeking independence from China are mentioned, Lithuania has become a vivid example that cannot be bypassed.

The tendency related to the above trend is the **strengthen of Lithuania's status as a NATO member, when it comes to Lithuania's status as a US ally and NATO member, it usually gets more intense criticism than before.** From late 2020, this trend began to manifest in Chinese media. For instance, in November 2020, the People's Liberation Army Daily criticized the expansion of NATO, which increased Russia's security risks, and also criticized Lithuania's participation in NATO military operations⁶². In December, "People Daily Online" commented on this topic again,

⁵⁷ People Daily Online, Taiwan buys Lithuanian rum to express support? Ministry of Foreign Affairs: The bamboo basket fetches water in vain, <http://v.people.cn/n1/2022/0104/c431206-32323855.html> [2022-01-04].

⁵⁸ A Chinese allusion, satires those who try to use the wrong method to achieve the right effect

⁵⁹ People Daily Online, The Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council criticizes the DPP authorities for "money diplomacy" and "kaizi diplomacy", <http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0126/c14657-32340329.html> [2022-01-26].

⁶⁰ "Kaizi" is a derogatory in Chinese, means "a fool who blindly gives to others with nothing in return"

⁶¹ People Daily Online, How Much Bitter Fruit of Taiwan's Collusion with Japan? <http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0328/c14657-32385261.html> [2022-03-28].

⁶² People's Liberation Daily, US military containment against Russia reproduces "cost imposition", <http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1126/c1011-31945505.html> [2020-11-26].

criticizing the United States for increasing Russia's security concerns, but also accusing Lithuania of threatening Kaliningrad and participating in the Baltic Operation-2020 military exercise, alluding to Lithuania assisting the United States "Threats to Russian Security"⁶³.

Despite the negative attitude towards Lithuania's participation in NATO military operations, economically, **Lithuania is still often mentioned as a successful example of economic cooperation between China and Central and Eastern European countries**. For example, when reporting on the achievements of China Railway Express in promoting trade between China and Central and Eastern European countries in 2020, Lithuania was praised as a good example of cooperation between China and Central and Eastern European countries⁶⁴ (in some reports, Lithuania was affectionately called "friend"⁶⁵). This positive attitude on trade did not shift immediately even after Lithuania announced its withdrawal from the "17+1" mechanism⁶⁶.

Although Lithuania has always been criticized for its anti-Russian stance and being an ally of the United States and a NATO member in topics involving Taiwan and the US/NATO operations, **yet Lithuania has not been criticized too much in topics of economic cooperation**. This phenomenon continued even after the diplomatic conflict in August 2021. Though it has weakened compared with before, that is, the frequency of related reports has decreased, but it is clear that the political and diplomatic conflict has not caused the state image of Lithuania as an "economic partner" in Chinese media a subversive blow - both local and national influenced media, still hold a positive attitude towards the economic and trade cooperation between China and Lithuania⁶⁷ (these type of topics mainly revolves around the China-Europe Railway Express). While it is pity that the positive attitude participated by the Chinese media is limited to this area, has not been extended to affirm Lithuania in other fields based on the emphasis on economic cooperation. Moreover, although positive reports on the China-Lithuania economic and trade cooperation continued for a period of time after the diplomatic conflict between the two countries, they almost disappeared after the end of 2021, the last report on the China-Lithuania economic and trade cooperation was on September 7⁶⁸.

⁶³ People Daily Online, The "enclave" strengthens the deployment of missiles, and the relationship between Russia and NATO is tense again, <http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1225/c1011-31979308.html> [2020-12-25].

⁶⁴ Xinhua News Agency, 2021 China-CEEC Cooperation Beijing Activity Plan, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0209/c1002-32027553.html> [2021-02-09].

⁶⁵ People Daily Online, The number of trips has increased year by year, and the China-Europe freight train has reached a new speed, <http://yn.people.com.cn/n2/2020/1207/c372455-34459606.html> [2020-12-07].

⁶⁶ Shenzhen business Daily, Shenzhen's exports to Central and Eastern Europe increased by nearly 70% in the first quarter, <http://sz.people.com.cn/n2/2021/0429/c202846-34702151.html> [2021-04-29].

⁶⁷ Nanfang Daily, The Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area opened the 300th China-Europe Express this year, exceeding the total number of last year, <http://gd.people.com.cn/n2/2021/1104/c123932-34989217.html> [2021-11-04].

⁶⁸ People Daily Online, Promotion of Chinese payment methods in Europe, <http://uk.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0907/c352308-32220581.html> [2021-09-07].

Furthermore, a phenomenon that has never been occurred before is, since China and Lithuania had a diplomatic confrontation in August, **starting from September 2021, Lithuania has been criticized in Chinese media for human rights issues**. For example, it was criticized that United States for setting up prisons in the Baltic countries to persecute "so-called terrorism suspects"⁶⁹. Since September, relevant reports have emerged one after another⁷⁰⁷¹⁷²⁷³⁷⁴. And this trend can also be seen as an extension of the argument that "Lithuania's state image in Chinese media is bound to the United States".

And **the criticism of human rights in Lithuania has revolved largely around another aspect, refugees on the boundary of Lithuania state**. Xinhuanet reported on November 14, 2021 that more and more refugees from the Middle East are entering Western Europe such as Germany through Belarus and Eastern European countries. Faced with this situation, Poland and Lithuania are strictly guarding the borders of the remaining Belarusian borders and prohibiting them. Refugees entered, Poland and Lithuania arrested and refused to provide refugees with food, water and medical care. A series of measures that did not protect the human rights of refugees resulted in the death of a substantial number of refugees. A Nov. 21 report titled *Belarus distributes aid to border refugees* by Xinhuanet expressed concern on the same topic once more⁷⁵, comparing Lithuania's refusal to accept refugees with Belarus' humanitarian assistance to refugees, and then criticized Lithuania for turning a blind eye to the human rights of refugees.

The third dimension emerges in criticism of human rights issues in Lithuania since from November 2021. Previously, comments on human rights issues in Lithuania generally focused on two topics: Middle Eastern refugees who hoped to reach Western Europe through Lithuania were not allowed to enter at the Lithuanian border, and were imprisoned and refused to be provide daily necessities, resulting in a humanitarian disaster; the establishment of "black jail" to accommodate the prisoners of the United States, help and condone the United States to trample on human rights in

⁶⁹ Xinhuanet, In the name of counter-terrorism, the United States actually acts against human rights - the second of a series of comments on the 20th anniversary of "9.11", <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0910/c1002-32223979.html> [2021-09-10].

⁷⁰ People Daily Online, Lithuania was revealed to have conspired with the United States to set up a "black prison", <http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1124/c431206-32291114.html> [2021-11-24].

⁷¹ People Daily Online, Lithuania part of US overseas 'black prison network', <http://usa.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1125/c241376-32291570.html> [2021-11-25].

⁷² People Daily Online, On the eve of Biden's "Democratic Summit", details of massive prisoner abuse in the United States were exposed, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1209/c1002-32304126.html> [2021-12-09].

⁷³ People Daily Online, American "black jails" spread all over the world. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs: A dark page in the history of human rights in the world, <http://usa.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0113/c241376-32330459.html> [2022-01-12].

⁷⁴ People Daily Online, The United States has no right to call itself a so-called "beacon of human rights", <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0315/c1002-32375598.html> [2022-03-15].

⁷⁵ Xinhuanet, Belarus distributes aid to border refugees, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1114/c1002-32281737.html> [2021-11-14].

the name of so called counter-terrorism. But since from November 2021, Chinese media's reports on Lithuania's human rights issues have the third dimension, that is, **Lithuania's domestic human rights issues: neither Lithuania's status as an American ally nor the refugee issue.** According to a report by the People Daily on November 30, 2021, when reply the journalist, the spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs mentioned "the report you mentioned is probably just the tip of the iceberg of human rights violations in Lithuania. According to relevant reports, Lithuanian prison guards deliberately tortured prisoners and abused violence. Lithuania has experienced the Holocaust in history, and the problem of racism is still very serious today. Jews and others ethnic minorities suffer from severe discrimination and their rights to medical treatment and travel are deprived and violated. Lithuanian children's rights are also seriously violated. The response rate of Lithuanian children's rights protection hotline is extremely low, and the number of orphanages is not enough to accommodate existing orphans. Reports from relevant international organizations show according to statistics, more than 20% of Lithuania's sex workers are minors. Lithuania has a bad track record in the field of human rights, violating relevant provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights and international human rights law. Lithuania should make a deep self-reflection and give a responsible account to the international community."⁷⁶ This is the first time in the Chinese media world that China has expressed its position on human rights issues in Lithuania domestic. Additionally, one of the most representative examples is the answer to a reporter's question by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on December 21, 2021. The spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that "there is perceived discrimination based on race and religion in the domestic labor market, and ethnic minorities are systematically discriminated against, resulting in systematic poverty of ethnic minorities. Statistics show that the monthly income of Romania people in Lithuania is only 1 quarter of other ethnic groups, the poverty rate reaches 75%, which is 3.5 times the national average. The poverty caused by racial inequality directly affects the health security of the Romania people, thus leading to the poverty rate of the Romania people remains high... what happening to the Romania people is just the one piece of serious human rights issues in Lithuania. There are also serious domestic violence and violations of children's rights in Lithuania... Lithuania should take practical measures to protect the rights and interests of vulnerable groups, not bury the head in the sand like an ostrich and act like nothing happened."⁷⁷

When it only coming to "human rights" issues not specific to Lithuania's domestic human rights issues, the Chinese media has never conducted such large-scale, multi-angle, and long-term reports and comments on any country in the past. However, concerns about human rights issues in

⁷⁶ People Daily Online, Argues Lithuania to deeply reflect on human rights abuses, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1130/c1002-32295998.html> [2021-11-30].

⁷⁷ People Daily Online, Lithuania should not bury its head in the sand like an ostrich and pretend nothing happened, <http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1221/c431206-32313700.html> [2021-12-21].

Lithuania have frequently appeared in Chinese media since September 2021. The rate of appearances is even higher than criticism of human rights issues in the United States, and the focus is more than concerns about the status quo of human rights in the United States. The Chinese media's criticism of human rights issues in the United States mainly focuses on the narrative that the United States created chaos in the Middle East in the name of counter-terrorism and produced a large number of refugees (according to Xinhuanet 2021-12-12⁷⁸), which led to the narrative of human rights issues. But the criticism to Lithuania's human rights issues is multi-hierarchical, multi-dimensional, and all-round. This narrative contains three dimensions: the human rights issue outside Lithuania (border); the current situation of human rights in Lithuania domestic; the cooperation between Lithuania and the United States in setting up "black jails" to torture prisoners and abuse human rights. One should be aware of the fact that the Chinese media has begun to pay too much attention to Lithuania. By criticizing Lithuania's human rights issues from multiple perspectives, it portrays Lithuania's morally corrupt image on human rights issues. As for why the authoritative Chinese media chose "human rights issues" as an entry point (it is rare for Chinese media to use "human rights" as a topic to criticize other countries on a large scale), the main reason is obviously still related to the United States.

Since the issue of "human rights" has been a topic used by the United States and Western countries to criticize China for a long time (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021-03-22⁷⁹). The most recent example is that in March 2021, the United States criticized the existence of "concentration camps" and "forced labor" in Xinjiang, which violated human rights. The report prompted many multinational companies, such as Nike, H&M, etc., to announce the cessation of cooperation with Chinese cotton suppliers. The incident caused a commotion in the Chinese-language world. Immediately after the second half of the year, the diplomatic conflict between China and Lithuania occurred. Since the premise and assumption that "Lithuania's action is deeply bound to the United States", it is not doubtable to understand the Chinese media responded to Lithuania's side (to avoid the recent diplomatic conflict and turn to as for other issues), the issue of "human rights", which is often used by the United States to criticize China.

In addition to concerns about domestic human rights issues in Lithuania, **Chinese media have also begun to criticize the domestic policies of the Lithuanian authorities.** The most representative example is that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs answered reporters' questions twice on December 30 and 31, 2021. On December 30, 2021, the spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that he had noticed relevant reports (Karbauskis, chairman of the second largest party

⁷⁸ Xinhuanet, Crying for life: Overseas Journalism Survey on Human Rights Issues, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1212/c1002-32305797.html> [2021-12-12].

⁷⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Announces China's Sanctions on Relevant EU Institutions and Individuals, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0322/c1002-32057472.html> [2021-03-22].

in the Lithuanian parliament, the "Farmers and Greens Union", issued a document on the 28th, stating that "investors are asking whether our government right mind. The current Lithuanian government is crazy. Some people in the ruling party managed to make Lithuania's China policy so complicated"), He also said that "in the recent period, people of insight in Lithuania have continued to sharply criticize the irrational words and deeds of the Lithuanian government and relevant politicians in their relations with China. Indeed, the Lithuanian government's China policy could have been simple and clear, that is, on the basis of the recognized one-China principle, Lithuania has the opportunities to develop friendly cooperation with China in various fields as before. Unfortunately, some politicians in Lithuania either did not recognize the general trend of history, or blindly catered to the forces behind them out of political self-interest, which made Lithuania's China policy more and more serious. Deviating from the correct track, it has added many complicated factors to the relationship between the two countries. Former Prime Minister of Lithuania, Andrius Kubilius, recently issued a document stating that Lithuania's deteriorating relations with China benefited from the fact that Lithuania's foreign minister received two interviews in Washington. This can be described as the truth is clear in one sentence. The Lithuanian government and relevant politicians should listen more to domestic rational voices, proceed from the fundamental interests of the country and the people, and stop acting as pawns and taking chestnuts for individual major country (implying the United States) "⁸⁰. The next day, Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Zhao Lijian replied in response to a question from Australia and Asia Satellite TV about the Lithuanian government's proposal to launch a 130 million euro aid plan to support Lithuanian companies affected by the diplomatic conflicts, saying that "the Lithuanian government could have used this money to improve people's livelihood, fight against the pandemic, and improve the living conditions of border refugees... if the Lithuanian government really wants to support relevant companies, it should proceed from the fundamental interests of the country and the people, and return to developing friendly cooperation with China in various fields on the basis of the one-China principle, coming up on the right path."⁸¹ It is distinct to see that the Chinese media's attention to Lithuania's internal affairs does not lie in the impact of Lithuania's domestic policies on Lithuania itself, but by criticizing Lithuania's internal affairs to prove that Lithuania's internal affairs should be attributed to the failure of its diplomacy with China. The point is drawn back to the settlement of the diplomatic conflict between Lithuania and China (Taiwan issue). In other words, comments on Lithuania's internal affairs are still closely related to diplomacy, and criticisms on Lithuania's internal affairs serve to emphasize the topic of diplomatic conflicts between Lithuania and China.

⁸⁰ People Daily Online, Lithuania should stop taking chestnuts for individual major country, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1230/c1002-32321133.html> [2021-12-30].

⁸¹ People Daily Online, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs Answering Questions from journalist , <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1231/c1002-32322139.html> [2021-12-31].

Unlike the Chinese media's reports on the economic and trade exchanges between China and Lithuania, which are affected by political events, the Chinese media's reports on humanities areas have shown great tolerance. From November 2020 to August 2022, reports on people-to-people and cultural communications appeared 12 times in total, and all of them were positive without exception. These reports cover the following aspects: exchange activities in specific fields (Heilongjiang Daily, 2020-11-08, cultural landscape design communication activities⁸²); historical and cultural promotion activities (China.com, 2020-11-23, the translation and publication of the *Biographies of Silk Road Hundred Cities* series, the translation and publication of *Vilnius Biography* promoted the image of Vilnius as a European cultural capital in Chinese intellectual circles⁸³); intercity cooperation (Economic Daily, 2020-11-27, introduced the achievements of design industry by Shenzhen city, the relevant leader in charge had made a special trip to Kaunas for study and investigation in 2016, Lithuania's rich experience played an important role in the development of Shenzhen's art and design industry⁸⁴); reports on Lithuania's customs (People Daily Online, 2020-12-01, a documentary report on Vilnius still optimistically celebrating Christmas amidst the pandemic. And it is worth noting that this report compares Lithuania with Germany, a country which has always been friendly to China, implying that the authoritative Chinese media's attitude towards Lithuania outside of politics⁸⁵; People Daily Online, 2021-01-28 showed the beautiful winter scenery of Vilnius⁸⁶; and People Daily Online, 2021-04-04 introduced Lithuania's Easter customs⁸⁷); People-to-people and cultural communications in specific fields: 1. Promotion of Chinese martial arts in Lithuania and the Baltic region (People Daily reported on the Chinese Martial Arts Communicating Competition held in Vilnius on February 16, 2021⁸⁸; Xinhua News Agency's report on the Baltic States Martial Arts Online Competition in November⁸⁹); 2. The spread of Chinese language and culture (Xinhuanet's report on the "Chinese Bridge" Chinese

⁸² Heilongjiang Daily, The 22nd Harbin Ice and Snow World Planning and Design Released, <http://hlj.people.com.cn/n2/2020/1108/c220027-34401563.html> [2020-11-08].

⁸³ China.com, "Biographies of Silk Road Hundred Cities" was launched, and the new book release ceremony was held in Hainan, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1123/c1002-31941458.html> [2020-11-23].

⁸⁴ Economic Daily, The Mission and Future of Shenzhen Design Industry, <http://sz.people.com.cn/n2/2020/1127/c202846-34442755.html> [2020-11-27].

⁸⁵ People Daily Online, Christmas in a pandemic, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1201/c1002-31950821.html> [2020-12-01].

⁸⁶ People Daily Online, Lithuania welcomes heavy snow like a white fairy tale world, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0128/c1002-32014680.html> [2021-01-28].

⁸⁷ People Daily Online, Easter eggs hang on the streets of Lithuania, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0404/c1002-32069448.html> [2021-04-04].

⁸⁸ People Daily Online, China-Central and Eastern European Cultural Exchanges Go Deep and Solid, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0216/c1002-32029801.html> [2021-02-16].

⁸⁹ Xinhua News Agency, The 2021 China-Baltic States Martial Arts Online Competition is about to start, <http://ent.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1023/c1012-32261917.html> [2021-10-23].

Competition on May 8, 2021⁹⁰, and the report on People Daily Online on August 5, 2022 mentioned the role of Confucius Institute on Chinese promotion among foreign students⁹¹), 3. Lithuania's support for the Beijing Winter Olympics despite the resistance of Western countries (People Daily Online 2021-11-26⁹², China Youth Daily 2021-12-16⁹³ even highly praised this behavior). The consistently positive reports in the field of humanities areas are in sharp contrast to the Chinese media's criticism of Lithuania's diplomatic and political strategies. This separation implies the fact that the Chinese media has no innate prejudice against the Lithuanian state image itself, but rather appreciates it and an inclusive attitude (obviously, even after the diplomatic conflict in August, the Chinese media's enthusiasm for the humanities field has not diminished).

After entering 2022, in addition to the obvious defeat of Lithuania's positive image in the Chinese media (the positive state image that tended to be established in 2020 and 2021 has almost disappeared, and economic cooperation has also stagnated), the discourse of the Chinese media has also new changes. **The Chinese media are no longer blindly criticizing Lithuania's foreign affairs and internal affairs in strong terms, but expressed the hope that Lithuania "admits mistakes" and "corrects mistakes". More important than criticism is "prospect"**. Xinhuanet stated in a commentary on January 7, 2022, "Recognizing mistakes is a correct step, but it is more significant to take action. Lithuania should correct mistakes as soon as possible and return to the track of the one-China principle, rather than find out for various reasons, to justify their own wrong actions, or to play some traumatic 'public relations tricks' to continue to muddy the environment and make the situation more complicated"⁹⁴; According to a Xinhuanet report on January 11, 2022, Foreign Ministry spokesperson Wang Wenbin once again urged Lithuania to "correct its mistakes" and explained that "Lithuania violated the political commitments it made when neutrality and neutrality established diplomatic relations, and attempt to created 'one China, one Taiwan' internationally. The facts are very clear, people of insight in Lithuania domestic have also criticized this. The United States not only provoked the Lithuanian authorities to destroy the one-China principle from the very beginning, but also continued to support the Lithuanian authorities, trying to use Lithuania as cannon fodder to cooperate with the US 'use Taiwan to control China' political calculations. We urge Lithuania to correct its mistakes and not act as pawns for anti-China forces.

⁹⁰ Xinhuanet, Lithuania Holds Online "Chinese Bridge" Chinese Competition, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0508/c1002-32097985.html> [2021-05-08].

⁹¹ People Daily Online, "Cloud" classes in the streets and alleys of Shanghai, <http://edu.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0805/c1006-32495127.html> [2022-08-05].

⁹² People Daily Online, Lithuanian Olympic Committee rejects Beijing Winter Olympics boycott, <http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1126/c431206-32293162.html> [2021-11-26].

⁹³ China Youth Daily, Saying "no" to the politicization of sports, <http://sc.people.com.cn/n2/2021/1216/c345460-35053034.html> [2021-12-16].

⁹⁴ Xinhuanet, Lithuania, admit mistake and correct it! <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0107/c1002-32326465.html> [2022-01-07].

We are also telling the US side that playing the Taiwan issues will not pay off, and it will only cause fire.”⁹⁵ People Daily reiterated the statement of Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Zhao Lijian on March 30, 2022, once emphasized this position and expectations, and encouraged Lithuania to "get rid of dependence on the United States" and "take an independent diplomatic route"⁹⁶. All the above reports show that, obviously, the Chinese media's comments on Lithuania no longer put the critical reports on Lithuania in the first place, but emphasize the hope that Lithuania will “correct its mistakes”, which implies that China still have confidence and looking forward Lithuania's adjustments of Taiwan policy. This phenomenon frequently occurs after the Lithuanian president admits that the Lithuanian authorities have made mistakes in their foreign policy towards China⁹⁷. Obviously, the relevant reports of the Chinese media reflect the official attitude of China, that is, it did not ignore Lithuania's statement, but actively replied it, which can be regarded as an act of actively throwing out an olive branch to restore diplomatic relations between the two countries, reflected in the discourse of the media, as the reduction of direct and violent criticism of Lithuania, replaced by more "prospect" and "hope".

Correspondingly, the Chinese media has also become moderate in terms of choice of wording. The Chinese media's comments on Lithuania have changed from direct, explicit, severe, and violent criticism in 2021 to sarcasm and irony, and gradually obscured and moderated. Prior to this, the Chinese media's criticism of Lithuania was very harsh, tough, decisive, and even extreme. For example, "**blatantly violated** the spirit of the communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Lithuania", "**seriously damaged** China's sovereignty and territorial integrity", "the Chinese government expressed **resolutely opposition**" (People Daily 2021-08-10⁹⁸), "**irreparable mistake**" (Xinhuanet 2021-10-30⁹⁹, this absolute, extreme expressions are obviously emotional and irrational), "**Lithuania's value to the United States is too small**, in order to enhance its own value...to submit a certificate to the United States (referring to establishing a representative office with Taiwan)" (Xinhua International 2021-08-11¹⁰⁰), "Lithuania's move will only **lead to its own suffer consequences**... Lithuania's action stands on the opposite side of **all** countries that

⁹⁵ Xinhuanet, Foreign Ministry urges Lithuania not to play pawn of anti-China forces, <http://sh.people.com.cn/n2/2022/0111/c134768-35090091.html> [2022-01-11].

⁹⁶ People Daily Online, Urge the Lithuanian government to correct its mistakes on Taiwan-related issues as soon as possible, <http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0330/c14657-32387884.html> [2022-03-30].

⁹⁷ LRT, China welcomes Lithuanian president's criticism of Taiwanese representation, <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1581826/china-welcomes-lithuanian-president-s-criticism-of-taiwanese-representation-media> [2022-01-05].

⁹⁸ People Daily Online, China decided to recall its ambassador to Lithuania: Urge Lithuania to immediately correct the wrong decision, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0810/c1002-32188306.html> [2021-08-10].

⁹⁹ Xinhuanet, Foreign Ministry urges Lithuania not to make irreparably wrong decisions, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1030/c1002-32269187.html> [2021-10-30].

¹⁰⁰ Xinhua International, Why Lithuania is going further and further down the road of anti-China, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0811/c1002-32188868.html> [2021-08-11].

adhere to the one-China principle" (People Daily 2021-11-19¹⁰¹). But after entering 2022, the wording of the Chinese media has changed. For example, the Xinhua News Agency's report on January 11, 2022¹⁰², and the People Daily's report on July 4¹⁰³ both mentioned the term "**cannon fodder**" many times. In the report by Xinhuanet on January 7, 2022, it mentioned "Lithuania should not **take a chestnut out of the fire** for any particular power (here alluding to the United States, which supports Lithuania)"¹⁰⁴. Whether it is "cannon fodder" or "taking chestnuts out of the fire", they have avoided direct and tough attitudes such as "blatant violation", "serious damage", "resolute" and "irreparable", but in a tactful and ironic way. On January 4, 2022, when the Ministry of Foreign Affairs commented on Taiwan's economic and trade support to Lithuania, it also used the rather ironic traditional Chinese proverb "the bamboo basket fetches water in vain". The superficial meaning of this proverb is "use a bamboo basket to hold water, and the water will leak out, so the action will not succeed", and its deep meaning is "something is obviously not going to work, but there is still a chance, the foolish who try to do it will fail in the end."

There is also a salient example, although not directly related to the diplomatic conflict between China and Lithuania, but the satire of Lithuania can be seen, and it can also be used as an example of the narrative of Chinese media satirizing Lithuania. People Daily reported on April 3, 2022 that "Russian media quoted Uldis Bariss, chairman of Latvia's natural gas transportation company Conexus Baltic Grid on April 2, as saying that 'starting from April, Russia will give the three Baltic countries Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia natural gas supply has been interrupted, and the three Baltic countries have never received Russian natural gas since April.' The Lithuanian Ministry of Energy said in a statement issued on April 2 that since April, the Lithuanian natural gas pipeline system has never received gas from Russia".¹⁰⁵ This statement seems to be very neutral and objective, but it is difficult for foreign media who are not familiar with Chinese to perceive the irony of the Baltic countries. In this report, the interpreting misleads. The meaning of "**never accepted**" was mistranslated into the meaning of "**hope to receive but failed to receive**". The former is a neutral and objective description, while the latter has the emotional color of "begging". In other words, "Lithuania was very eager to get from Russia but was rejected by Russia", and Lithuania ended up suffering because of its anti-Russian stance. However, by checking the relevant reports of the

¹⁰¹ People Daily Online, Blatant violation of the one-China principle, Lithuania will bear all the consequences, <http://opinion.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1119/c1003-32287040.html> [2021-11-19].

¹⁰² Xinhua News Agency, Foreign Ministry urges Lithuania not to play pawn of anti-China forces, <http://sh.people.com.cn/n2/2022/0111/c134768-35090091.html> [2022-01-11].

¹⁰³ People Daily Online, Analysts: U.S. playing up Russia threat in Europe fuels tensions, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0704/c1002-32465700.html> [2022-07-04].

¹⁰⁴ Xinhuanet, Lithuania, admit mistake and correct it! <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0107/c1002-32326465.html> [2022-01-07].

¹⁰⁵ People Daily Online, Russian media say that Russia's natural gas supply to the three Baltic states has been cut off, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0403/c1002-32391338.html> [2022-04-03].

Lithuanian Ministry of Energy, it can be seen that the original expression of the relevant reports in Lithuanian language is “Siekdama visišką energetinę nepriklausomybę nuo rusiškų dujų, reaguodama į Rusijos energetinį šantažą Europoje bei sukeltą karą Ukrainoje, Lietuva visiškai atsisakė rusiškų dujų (In order to deal with Russia’s energy blackmail in Europe and the war in Ukraine, Lithuania completely abandoned Russian natural gas)”¹⁰⁶, that is, Lithuania actively rejected Russian natural gas in order to pursue energy independence in response to threats from Russia, not the misdirection of the Chinese media’s interpreting, the meaning of "refused to supply natural gas by Russia". The participation of making misdirection in translation is to mock (imply) Lithuania's weak position in energy, thereby "dwarfing" Lithuania's state image. Due to the abstract nature of Chinese language, when expressing the same meaning, as long as a slight adjustment to individual characters can lead to completely different attitudes (commendation and derogatory, positive or negative, affirmation or negation), so this operation is very easy to succeed, and the final result is that the report seems to be consistent with the facts stated in the original language text, but in fact it has already hinted at the attitude preference of the editor. The Chinese media "dwarfs" Lithuania's state image in this way, instead of directly pointing out Lithuania's weak position in energy, which is a side example of the Chinese media's wording becoming euphemistic.

In terms of language use, in addition to the gradual changes in diction, the comments on Lithuania were gradually formed as a **fixed, complete self-consistent discourse**. Usually, when outsiders (such as international journalists) ask about China's comments on Lithuania, the Chinese media usually express it like this. **"the right and wrong of the (Taiwan incident) are clear at a glance", "Lithuania broke its promise", "violated its political commitment", "recognized right and wrong", "adhered to the one-China principle", "corrected its own mistakes", and "returned to the right path"**. A number of authoritative Chinese media and the spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have used the exact same words on different occasions (People Daily September 17, 2021¹⁰⁷, Xinhuanet December 28, 2021¹⁰⁸, Xinhua News Agency February 8, 2022¹⁰⁹), and regardless of which specific aspect of Lithuania's foreign policy the reporter's question concerned, the responses were remarkably similar. To sum up, this type of response can be summarized in **three shapes: the responsibility for the diplomatic conflicts between the two sides lies entirely in Lithuania’s violation of the political commitments made when the two**

¹⁰⁶ Lietuva Respublikos energetikos ministerija, Lietuva visiškai atsisakė rusiškų dujų, <https://enmin.lrv.lt/lt/naujienos/lietuva-visiskai-atsisake-rusisku-duju> [2022-04-02].

¹⁰⁷ People Daily Online, Responsibility for Lithuania's Taiwan-related issues rests entirely with Lithuania, <http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0917/c14657-32229730.html> [2021-09-17].

¹⁰⁸ Xinhuanet, Even if Lithuania turns black and white, it cannot cover up its wrongdoing, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1228/c1002-32319296.html> [2021-12-28].

¹⁰⁹ Xinhua News Agency, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs warns Lithuania not to try to win over other countries to unite against China, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0208/c1002-32348006.html> [2022-02-08].

countries established diplomatic relations; Lithuania should recognize its mistakes; the way to correct its mistakes is to adhere to the “One China principle”, refusing to establish official ties with Taiwan. This set of discourse and logic was fully formed after January 2022, it is not difficult to see that with the gradual formation and improvement of discourse skills (whether in the logic of argumentation or the specific choice of words and sentences), which marks the Chinese media’s support for Lithuanian comments have entered the stage of normalization and programming. This reflects the fact that the Chinese media’s motivation to comment on the diplomatic conflicts between China and Lithuania brought about by Lithuania’s relationship with Taiwan has dropped significantly, and thus their stance on Lithuania-related issues is no longer specific.

A more concrete trend is that **the state image of "Lithuania", has become a symbol and a synonym for other cases.** That is, for those countries and behaviors that try to provoke China on the Taiwan issue, the Chinese media often use "Lithuanizational action" (the term created to describe any actions against China like Lithuania) and "Lithuanizational country" (the term created to describe any countries attempt to against China’s Taiwan policy) to express critical attitudes instead of long-winded comments (like the comprehensive, holistic, overall, and conclusive clarification article on the diplomatic conflict event between China and Lithuania by the People Daily on January 17, 2022¹¹⁰). An obvious example is on December 15, 2021, People Daily commentary on the visit of Slovakian officials to Taiwan, describing the actions of Slovakian officials as "Lithuanizational actions" and then "relevant countries"¹¹¹ (not just Slovakia, also referring to other countries, including Lithuania, that wishing to develop official relations with Taiwan).

As the Chinese media gradually got tired of commenting on Lithuania (an obvious example is that, according to People Daily on February 10, 2022, Spokesperson of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Zhao Lijian uncharacteristically stated that he had “no intention of commenting” on Lithuania’s search for a permanent U.S. military presence, while not criticizing and warning about NATO’s presence in Eastern Europe as usual¹¹²), a gratifying trend is that from about mid-2022, there were a lot of neutral and objective voices against Lithuania in the Chinese media, which are rarely mentioned anymore talk of the diplomatic clash between the two countries and the urgent issue of official contacts between Lithuania and Taiwan has finally cooled. For example, the China National Defense News reported on May 18, 2022 that Britain, the United States and Lithuania held the

¹¹⁰ People Daily Online, Challenging the one-China principle will never end well, <http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0117/c14657-32332439.html> [2022-01-17].

¹¹¹ People Daily Online, Slovakian officials fled to Taiwan, the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council denounced: Sending wrong signals to "Taiwan independence" forces, <http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1215/c14657-32308688.html> [2021-12-15].

¹¹² People Daily Online, Lithuania seeks permanent US troop presence, <http://v.people.cn/n1/2022/0210/c431206-32349618.html> [2022-02-10].

"Saber Strike-2022" joint military exercise in Kęstutis, Lithuania, describing the action objectively without any moral judgement¹¹³. The newspaper also published a review article on June 10 titled "*Small-Scale Cooperative Assistant European Defense Integration*" which made a rare positive rather than critical evaluation of European countries conducting joint military exercises¹¹⁴. Xinhuanet reported on May 28, 2022 that Lithuania's seed industry had become more and more popular due to domestic prices rising, no longer attributed and guided Lithuania's domestic problems to the diplomatic conflicts between China and Lithuania¹¹⁵. An objective and neutral statement was made, and on August 31, Lithuania's active participation in the construction of wind power capacity in Europe was affirmed¹¹⁶. **Combined with the above-mentioned Chinese media's weak comments on Lithuania, it is foreseeable that Lithuania's state image in the Chinese media had entered a stable shape, while under the premise of insisting on the basic position of opposing Lithuania to contribute official ties with Taiwan, maintaining a neutral attitude, rather than continuing to deteriorate its image.**

5.3. Chapter Summary

To sum up, Lithuania's state image in Chinese media has gone through a dynamic process.

In 2019 and before, reports on Lithuania in the Chinese-speaking world were not significant, and existed in a fragmented state for a long time. In the public domain of the media, they belonged to the category of rare concern. At this phase, topics related to "Lithuania" almost all revolved around a few topics such as "tourism", "sports", "basketball" and "anti-Russian sentiment", and the information presented was scarce and inaccurate. In a word, at this stage, the image of Lithuania in the Chinese media is monotonous and generalized, rather than specific and multi-layered.

The first turning point appeared in 2020. From then on, some more vivid and specific reports began to appear in the Chinese media, and the topics also expanded, no longer limited to the previous narrow topics, but expanded to cutting-edge topics such as "economy", "technology", "culture", "digitalization" and "cooperation". Overall, the state image of Lithuania at this period has become three-dimensional, diverse and positive.

¹¹³ China National Defense News, The British Army Intensively Leads and Participates in Joint Exercises, <http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0518/c1011-32424335.html> [2022-05-18].

¹¹⁴ China National Defense News, Small-Scale Cooperative Assistant European Defense Integration, <http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0610/c1011-32443282.html> [2022-06-10].

¹¹⁵ Xinhuanet, Lithuania: High inflation fuels self-grown fruit and vegetable business, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0528/c1002-32432783.html> [2022-05-28].

¹¹⁶ Xinhuanet, Eight European countries and the EU decide to increase wind power capacity in the Baltic Sea by 6 times by 2030, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0831/c1002-32516486.html> [2022-08-31].

But in 2021, after the two conflicts that Lithuania announced its withdrawal from the "17+1" mechanism and establishment of representative offices with Taiwan mutually, the process of pluralistic shaping of Lithuania's state image was finally completed in the Chinese media.

As far as reporting subjects are concerned, the state-owned central authoritative media monopolizes most of the discourse power, and although local media agencies also participate, they are relatively few.

In terms of policy action (especially China policy), Lithuania's state image began to be deeply tied to the United States, the European Union and Taiwan, especially the United States (Lithuania is considered a subordinate status by default and has no independent foreign policy). Whenever the Chinese media comment on Lithuania's foreign policy, it is often accompanied by: warning the United States not to use Lithuania as a tool, and continue to support Lithuania to provoke China on the Taiwan issue; while emphasizing that the relationship between China and Europe should not be affected by China and Lithuania's diplomatic events, and while advising and urging the EU to mediate and correct Lithuania's relevant policy measures; it warned Taiwan not to try to use economic interests to win over European countries, represented by Lithuania to support it, and ridiculed that such an approach would not work. And this process has been expanded and deepened after entering 2022. It is no longer limited to the Taiwan issue, but has expanded to more aspects of cooperation between Lithuania and the United States, such as human rights protection, NATO military operations and other topics. What associated with this trend is the strengthening of Lithuania's membership image in NATO.

Despite, in terms of economic cooperation, the Chinese media are not too harsh on Lithuania. Whenever economic cooperation between China and Central and Eastern European countries is mentioned, Lithuania is still regarded as an economic and trade partner and "friend". Even after Lithuania announced its withdrawal from the "17+1" mechanism, this affirmative attitude did not fade, it continued until the diplomatic conflict in August before it was gradually weakened.

A topic about Lithuania that had never appeared before, human rights began to receive great attention from the Chinese media. The Chinese media's criticism of Lithuania's human rights issues mainly revolves around three dimensions: 1. the humanitarian disaster caused by the Lithuanian authorities' detention of refugees from the Middle East at the border and their refusal to provide humanitarian supplies; 2. the United States persecutes human rights in the name of so called counter-terrorism; 3. ethnic discrimination and violations of women and children's rights in Lithuania have not been improved. Criticism of Lithuania on human rights issues can be seen as an equal counterattack by the Chinese media to Western media's criticism of China's human rights situation.

The Chinese media began to "pay attention" to Lithuania's internal affairs, even the core focus of attention was not on the impact of the policy itself on Lithuania, but to a large extent to confirm the view that "the friction between Lithuania and China is suffering for the people's livelihood in Lithuania", urging Lithuania should adjust its policy toward Taiwan as soon as possible to improve relations with China.

In stark contrast to Lithuania's frequent criticism in domestic affairs and diplomacy, in the field of people-to-people and cultural communications, Lithuania's state image has always been positive and affirmative, and has not become negative due to the impact of diplomatic conflicts between the two countries. Even Lithuania received high praise for announcing that it would not boycott the Beijing Winter Olympics. All in all, Lithuania has always been portrayed as a completely positive image in the Chinese media, no matter in terms of language and cultural communications, sports exchanges, or the display of folk and customs, and has not been affected by political events in the slightest.

Since entering 2022, with the Chinese media's commentary burnout, the harshly worded criticisms against Lithuania have begun to be replaced by voices of "prospect". The Chinese media's attitude towards Lithuania has slowed down, from direct and violent criticism of Lithuania's internal affairs and diplomacy to expecting Lithuania to "correct its mistakes" and adjust its relations with Taiwan.

Correspondingly, the same changes have taken place in the wording of the media. After the diplomatic conflict in August 2021, the Chinese media's wording of Lithuania changed from fierce and tough criticism at the beginning to satire and sarcasm after entering 2022. The wording gradually softened.

Lithuania's state image has also gone through a process of "symbolization" in Chinese media. "Lithuanizational" has become a metaphor and a synonym for countries and actions that provoke China on the Taiwan issue.

Since the middle of 2022, neutral and objective reports on Lithuania have begun to appear in Chinese media again in batches, most of which revolve around topics such as "energy", "security", and "domestic industry". Lithuania's state image has gradually stabilized. Apart from the inherent criticism of Lithuania's establishment of official ties with Taiwan, there is no obvious bias in other aspects, and Lithuania's state image has not continued to deteriorate.

6. Clarification: How does the Chinese media frame Lithuania's state image?

6.1. Frame: The specific ways in which the media shapes the Lithuanian state image

In the previous chapter, this research collected, listed, classified, and summarized Lithuania's state image in Chinese media since 2019. In short, Lithuania's state image has a particular

"certainty" (that is, simplify image) and has also seen a trend of diversification since 2020, and the reason for this change lies in the FRAMING.

According to Entman's definition of frame, to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way, as to promote a particular problem definition, causal. According to this, it can be concluded that in terms of frame, frame contains two aspects, namely "selection" and "salience" (Entman, 1993, p52¹¹⁷).

In Entman's context, there is such a background/premise: large news corporations have gained control over political information, especially major news events, and this selection, expansion, and the repetition of common frames of information capabilities in turn continue to strengthen the institutionalized power of these monopoly news corporations (Bennett and Entman, 2000, p478¹¹⁸). This assumption perfectly fits the actual media situation in China, where the discourse monopoly of the official media and the weakness of the non-governmental civic media. As shown in the previous chapter, reports on Lithuania are almost monopolized by central authoritative media with national influence (People Daily, Xinhua News Agency, Xinhuanet, Guangming Daily, China National Defense News, etc.), so Chinese media's action of framing Lithuania's state image can be seen as a fit model for framing theory.

In Entman's 1993 classic text, the way framing works is explained. Framing consists of two aspects, **selection and salience**: this determines the information that the recipient can see. Frame refers to the selective perception of certain aspects of facts and their greater salience in communicative texts, with the end result being four achievement areas: facilitating the **definition** of a particular problem; **causal agent**; **moral judgement**; and/or **remedies suggest**.¹¹⁹ As this research shows, what the Chinese media have done to shape the Lithuania's state image is completely in line with the way the frame plays its role.

This paragraph focuses on Chinese media's reports and comments on the topic of Lithuania's diplomatic conflict with China over Taiwan issue. First of all, at the level of "**definition**", as shown in the previous chapter, after the diplomatic conflict between Lithuania and China in August 2021, the basic logic of the comments on Lithuania-related issues framed by the Chinese media is: Lithuania is solely responsible for the deterioration of relations between China and Lithuania since the cause is that Lithuania violated the political commitments made when the two countries established diplomatic relations (**definition** and **causal agent**); Lithuania should recognize its mistakes (**moral judgement**); the path to correct its mistakes is to adhere to the "one China principle" and refuse to establish official ties with Taiwan (**remedies suggest**). The logic of

¹¹⁷ Entman, R. M. Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, (43, 4), 1993, 52.

¹¹⁸ Bennett, W. L., & Entman, R. M., *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 2000, 478.

¹¹⁹ Entman, R. M. Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, (43, 4), 1993, 52.

commenting on Lithuania's internal affairs is: Lithuania's domestic livelihood has not improved (**definition**); the government's support rate has declined (**causal agent**); the reason is that the diplomatic conflict with China led by the authorities has frustrated the trade between the two countries (**causal agent**); hence the economy comes weak (**moral judgement**); the solution is to distance itself from Taiwan and improve relations with the Chinese government (**remedies suggest**). A similar underlying logic exists for comments on Lithuania's and US/NATO interactions.

Entman points out that "definition" is often associated with cultural values¹²⁰. In the case of Lithuania, cultural values clearly play a role in defining events. That is to say, the Chinese media deliberately highlighted the fact that Lithuania and Taiwan set up representative offices each other as "**a breach of China's territorial integrity.**" Since China was under the rule of unified dynasties, one land, and territory-based monopoly for most of the history, a unique dependence and emphasis on land developed in Chinese culture, so that even as for modern recipients, it is often difficult to subconsciously choose to ignore all land-related topics. In this action, the Chinese media precisely chose and highlighted "land" (territory), an element highly sensitive to Chinese readers (People Daily, August 10, 2021¹²¹), making it consistent with Lithuania's Taiwan issue. In this way, the Lithuanian-Taiwan issue is presented (or "defined") in the Chinese media as a "land issue". This is the premise upon which other causal agents, moral judgments, and remedies suggest are based.

The ensuing is moral judgment. Since the Chinese media accurately understand the psychology of Chinese audience, that is, they are highly sensitive to the land issue, so the moral judgment on Lithuania follows closely, and they judge Lithuania's actions on the Taiwan issue as a provocation to China's territorial integrity. The moral judgment based on the definition in turn strongly defends and strengthens the definition, and the interaction between the two has greatly increased the topicality of Lithuania's Taiwan policy behavior. At the same time, negative moral judgments set the tone for the Chinese media to frame critical discourses on the Lithuania's state image (or, in other words, made a kind of value preparation).

Frame's performance in causal agent is more obvious. Now that the media has defined Lithuania's behavior on the Taiwan issue as a "land issue" and regarded it as a "provocation against China's land", then the attribution of the problem will be related to China everywhere. Causal agent for some of the problems Lithuania faces almost always relate to China. For example, regarding the difficulties faced by domestic enterprises in Lithuania, the Chinese media are more inclined to emphasize and highlight the export difficulties, interpreting this as the fact that Lithuania made a mistake on the Taiwan issue that led to diplomatic conflicts with China and thus was sanctioned by

¹²⁰ Entman, R. M. Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, (43, 4), 1993, 53.

¹²¹ People Daily Online, China decided to recall its ambassador to Lithuania: Urge Lithuania to immediately correct the wrong decision, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0810/c1002-32188306.html> [2021-08-10].

China, resulting in Lithuania's foreign trade loss, the solution (remedies suggest) is to "recognize mistakes", "correct mistakes", "get back on the right track", and redress diplomatic relations with China. This causal agent and remedies suggest also echo the definition of the problem and moral judgment, forming a logical and self-consistent closed loop, which is the fixed discourse mentioned in the previous chapter.

To sum up, in the Chinese media reports or comments on the topic of "Lithuania and Taiwan", the working process of the frame is as follows: First, the interaction between Lithuania and Taiwan is **defined as a "land issue"**, which is "a problem with Chinese land (territory)", the core element which is selected here is "land", a sensitive point rooted in the cultural values of Chinese audiences, the media fully understands this, so, not surprisingly, it will arouse audiences from all walks of life and fields in Chinese society because they all maintain a high degree of sensitivity to the concept of "land" and related issues; forming a **moral judgment** that Lithuania's actions strongly touched the sensitive nerves of the audience, by highlighting and repeating some key words and phrases, such as "**right and wrong at a glance**", "**breach of faith**", "**broken promise**", "**irreparable mistake**", "**correct mistake**", etc., establish a negative, critical stereotype (or imply), forming "**this action is judged as unjust, provocative**" such a value judgment, and repeatedly deepened this judgment among the audience through constant comments and repetitions in the media; based on the above two points, a **causal agent** was framed, that is, since Lithuania's diplomatic conflict with China, some dilemmas of Lithuania's internal affairs and diplomacy raised, and **some** aspects of them (it should be noted that "**some**" is not "**all**", as Entman mentioned in *Media and the Conservative Myth*, Many public beliefs are therefore susceptible to the emphasis and exaggerations of the media, dependent, in part, on the media's foci and frames¹²²) are related to China's economic sanctions against Lithuania, so these problems are more or less related to the diplomatic conflict with China; based on this causal explanation, treatment is recommended, the solution is to admit the mistake and redress relations with China, end the tension, and as the Chinese sanctions weaken, the problems faced by Lithuania would be fixed.

The same is true for the positive state image of Lithuania framed by the Chinese media, for example in the field of economic cooperation (before the diplomatic conflict) and in the field of cultural communications. When reporting Lithuania-China exchanges in the field of humanities, the way media framing plays its role is often like this: first, the media **selects** positive aspects related to Lithuania's cultural exchanges, such as "art design industry" and "Silk Road", "Festival Celebration", "Folk Customs", "Confucius Institute", "Chinese Bridge", etc., **define** the issue of communications in the field of humanities as an issue that has nothing to do with the political conflict between the two countries; through **repeating** reports on these key words and phrases and

¹²² Entman, R. M., & Paletz, D. L. Media and the Conservative Myth. *Journal of Communication*, (30, 4), 1980, 164.

strengthening (**salience**), forming a positive **moral judgment**, that is, communications between the two countries in the field of humanities are conducive to the development of friendly relations between the two countries; and then forming a **causal agent**, since such communications are beneficial and extremely positive, thus more positive reports should be given to establish the positive state image of Lithuania in this field; **remedies suggest** and **causal agent** here form a closed loop, namely, only more and more positive reports can frame the more positive state image of Lithuania.

6.2. Motives and prerequisites for the media to frame the Lithuania's state image

The above analysis is based on the analysis of the specific steps and means of framing to shape the Lithuanian state image, that is, a complete "**technical**" analysis. If this research expands its field of vision, it would be possible to discover the motivations hidden behind the "technical level", in other words, to explore **what factors motivate the Chinese media to frame the Lithuania's state image, and why the media are so enthusiastic about it, what are the conditions that make the purpose of framing the image can be achieved.**

Bennett and Entman assert that the large-scale political communication environment contains the features of: 1. the range or diversity of information and sources of information; 2. frequency of occurrence of various issues and themes; 3. the formats in which politically relevant information is presented, including the depth or detail of presentation, the employment of tabloid and entertainment styles, and the relative uses of narrative, analysis, and ideology; 4. the ways in which members of the public engage with and communicate their reactions to political messages they have received from the media¹²³.

First of all, it should be mentioned that the specific political communication environment provides conditions for media framing to play a role. As Entman declared in *Mediated Politics*, large domestic monopoly news media corporations occupy most of the discourse power in the public spheres, while the voices of private media are very weak, thus forming the domination of large media in public opinion. **The dominance of large media is the premise for the media to insert a frame into the narrative and use it to shape Lithuania's state image.** Obviously, in case the media is facing a complicated public opinion environment, it is difficult to form a unified Lithuania state image opinion. The domination of large media conglomerates reduces the diversity of information sources.

Based on this, on the other hand, a factor unique to China's public opinion environment is that Chinese audiences tend to prefer grand narratives. As Entman clarified, if relevant parties take the

¹²³ Bennett, W. L., & Entman, R. M., *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 2000, 6.

initiative to discourage publicity, or the **event itself does not have news or commercial value**, it is difficult for such an event to become an object of public attention¹²⁴. Compared with the grand narrative, for Chinese audiences, Lithuania is too far away and small, without news or other value, the consequence is no much understanding and interest in Lithuania, so most of them understand and evaluate Lithuania through the Lithuania's state image framed by these monopoly news corporations, which provides ample space for the success of the media.

Furthermore, although, according to Lupia and McCubbins et al., despite the constant media bombardment of the public with all kinds of emotionally charged strategic political language, and often diverting the public's attention by various means, the public is still in its remain surprisingly rational in thinking about politics¹²⁵. The Chinese media obviously did this, but the reaction of the Chinese audience was just the opposite. Whether it was portrayed in Lithuania as a "those who provoke China" or "humanistic and friendly communicators" or "the friend within the framework of China-EU economic cooperation", the audience just chose to firmly follow the discourse and moral judgment of the media, and never had any objection to any state image here, although it is unknown that why the reaction of the Chinese public in the face of media framing is so distinguish from the conclusions drawn by Lupia and McCubbins, yet what is certain is that **the public's trust in the discourse of the media has greatly helped the media to increase the credibility and "objectivity" of the Lithuania's state image.**

The **frequency with which issues and themes** arise is also an aspect that should be considered. According to the materials collected in this research, during the two years from October 2020 to September 2022, Chinese media reported and commented on Lithuania more than 1,200 times, with an average of more than 50 times per month. The frequency of such reports is large enough for Lithuania to attract widespread attention from the Chinese public. Although Lithuania itself is not in the sensitive range of the Chinese public, the Chinese media have cleverly linked Lithuania with highly sensitive topics of the Chinese public such as "**land**", "**the United States**", "**NATO**", "**EU**" and "**human rights**" through **selection** and **salience**^{3e}. With both selection, salience, and a large amount of repetition, "Lithuania" has naturally become a hot topic that attracts public attentions (although such attentions are sometimes not motivated by enthusiasm for Lithuania itself).

When it comes to the formats in which politically relevant information is presented, including the depth or detail of presentation, the employment of tabloid and entertainment styles, and the relative uses of narrative, analysis, and ideology. As the previous chapter demonstrated, the media use superb language skills to convey their moral judgments. Although the media's description of the

¹²⁴ Bennett, W. L., & Entman, R. M., *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 2000, 8.

¹²⁵ Lupia, A., & McCubbins, M. D., *The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 47.

event **might seem to be** "objective", and the time, place, person, event process all seem to be accurate, but the media's reports are "**biased**". Such "bias" will enter the public's value judgment more deeply under the blessing of high-intensity reporting frequency.

At the same time, as mentioned earlier, the feedback from the public is often "passive", which means that the public trusts and relies on the media, coupled with the public's lack of interest in Lithuania, so there is no motivation to find more sources of information, consequently, the public feedback is almost always consistent with the media's values.

Under the combined effect of the above elections, a political communication environment in which the media monopolizes the discourse power was founded, which is the prerequisite and public opinion environment for Lithuania to be framed a variety of distinct state images in China.

While reporting, the media often also plays a role in fueling the flames¹²⁶. In order to attract the public's attention as much as possible, the media seems to tend to report **everything related to Lithuania** on the premise of adhering to the existing moral judgment, which leads to "everything seems to be strengthened"¹²⁷. For example, the Chinese media reported the incident of Lithuania's blockade of Kaliningrad (Xinhuanet 2022-06-20¹²⁸; Xinhua International 2022-06-27¹²⁹), and the public was influenced by it. It was generally believed that Lithuania would suffer serious retaliation from Russia, but later facts proved that, which does not exist. This event did not cause substantial unbearable consequences for Lithuania, but under the direction of the Chinese media, it seems that this event will be a symbolic event in history. In other words, **the significance and impact of this event have been greatly exaggerated and intensified**. It can be seen that what the media cares about is not the specific impact of the incident itself, but how to use any incidents related to Lithuania to help them frame Lithuania's capricious image.

After discussing the topic of media and political communication environment, this research also wants to focus on other motivations, that is, whether there are other macro reasons for such participations of media.

First of all, this motivation should be explored from the perspective of **China's internal driving force**. According to Huntington, enemies are inevitable for those who are seeking identity...Asian civilizations are expanding their economic, military, and political power¹³⁰. According to China's current strategic conception, the biggest opponent (enemy) is **the United States**; the partner that urgently needs to be won is **the European Union**; the territorial issue that

¹²⁶ Wolfsfeld, G., *Political Waves and Democratic Discourse: Terrorism Waves During the Oslo Peace Process*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 228.

¹²⁷ The same, 230.

¹²⁸ Xinhuanet, Russia warns of retaliation for Lithuanian 'blockade' of Kaliningrad, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0620/c1002-32451403.html> [2022-06-20].

¹²⁹ Xinhua International, Lithuania angers Russia, what consequences it faces, <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0627/c1002-32457608.html> [2022-06-27].

¹³⁰ Huntington, S. P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. Xinhua Publishing House, 2010, 4.

needs to be resolved urgently is **Taiwan**. The framing of the Lithuanian state image by the Chinese media can be seen as a microcosm of this expansion process. The reason why the media binds Lithuania with many sensitive points of public concern in China's convention is not because there is a strong logical relationship that really exist, but to set Lithuania as a "target" and mobilize the public's hatred (it doesn't matter if this where is the "enemy" really stay) in order to unite the public's nationalist sentiment (after all, for East Asians, East Asian culture emphasizes more on the collective rather than the individual¹³¹).

And **with the emergence of a civilization-based world order, countries divide themselves around their civilization's leader or core state**¹³². Regardless of whether this is the case, at least among the Chinese public, there is a subconscious: **Western civilization regards the United States as the leading state**. Because of the existence of this subconscious, the media's act of binding Lithuania to China's biggest rival, the United States, is not abrupt: since the United States is the leading state of Western civilizations, it is naturally the leader of Lithuania, so Lithuania's state action was influenced by the United States. It is this "belonging" that Huntington refers to that plays a role in rationalizing the tying of Lithuania to the United States, whether or not that idea is actually plausible.

The strengthening of the overall economic strength of Asian countries has made them more and more able to ignore the pressure exerted by the West on human rights issues¹³³. Moreover, Asian countries represented by China and Western countries have so different understandings on human rights issues, such as the universality of human rights and cultural relativism; disputes over whether economic and social rights should be prioritized or political and civil rights should be prioritized, etc. et al.¹³⁴. These differences in understanding have become more and more abrupt with the economic rise of Asian countries. This is why the Chinese media have rarely criticized Lithuania's human rights issues from multiple perspectives, for a long time, and at length. This act can be regarded as a counterattack against Western civilization by the Chinese media in the field of human rights, what unfortunately, Lithuania was selected to be the "target".

Culturally based strategic choice is a significant factor to consider when discussing Chinese media's actions. China's strategic culture is also reflected in the media's framing of Lithuania's state image.

Canadian China studies expert Alastair Johnston, systematically examined China's "strategic culture" and its impact on China's foreign behavior. Johnston believes that China has had a

¹³¹Huntington, S. P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. Xinhua Publishing House, 2010, 88.

¹³² The same, 4.

¹³³ The same, 172.

¹³⁴ The same, 173.

consistent strategic culture since the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, which is the **cultural of readiness** (he called it *parabellum*), and this strategic culture has profoundly influenced China's foreign political action. This culture assumes that **war is inevitable, that conflict is zero-sum, and that the use of violence is effective. Affected by this strategic culture, the country's strategic preference order is that the offensive strategy is the most favored first, followed by the defensive strategy, and finally the reconciliation strategy**¹³⁵. However, in China's strategic culture, there is also a concept of "conciliation". Its connotation is that **the more favourable the power balance is to country itself, the more inclined to adopt an offensive strategy; the more unfavourable the power balance is, adopt a defensive or reconciliation strategy to gain time and wait for the power balance to change**. The incorporation of the concept of "conciliation" ensures that traditional China's strategic decision-making has the flexibility to adjust accordingly according to changes in power.

As argued above, in the context of the general economic power of Asian countries increasing, Asian countries urgently need to win more voices for themselves outside the economic field, and the media discourse power is one of them. After facing diplomatic conflicts, the Chinese media's framing of Lithuania's state image was generally negative, and they conducted long-term criticism and accusations from multiple dimensions, which is unprecedented. From a macro perspective, this is a signal that, at least in the media field, the war for discourse power has begun. With the growth of "hard power" such as the economy and the challenge to the global hegemony of the United States, offensive strategy has quietly become the mainstream consciousness. Driven by the offensive strategy, the competition in the field of "soft power" has also begun to change from passive to active. In other words, the fierce reaction of the Chinese media after this incident was not just aimed at the state image of Lithuania, but an active attack on the discourse power of Western civilizations in the media field driven by the offensive strategy.

6.3. Chapter Summary

Entman's framing theory provides a good explanatory framework for this research, including the formation of the political communication environment, the definition of framing, and in which aspects it plays a role. With the framework of framing theory, this research restores the specific process and steps of Chinese media framing Lithuania's state image, and everything is clearly displayed. In the political communication environment where large news corporations rule and monopolize the news market, framing plays its role in the following ways: the media finds the

¹³⁵ Cao, Wei, *International Relations Theories Course*. China Social Sciences Press, 2020, 191, cited from Alastair Johnston, *Cultural Realism and Strategy in Maoist China in Katzenstein*. The Culture of National Security, 1996, 216-268.

audience's sensitive points based on their understanding of the audience; according to the public's sensitive points and topics of concern, by **selecting** corresponding information and **salience** arouse the attention of the public; convey one's own **moral judgment** through various means while describing objectively (for Chinese media, the most typical means is through wording skills); and the **causal agent** is strengthened through the established moral judgment; according to the causal agent, **remedies suggests** are put forward, thus forming a logical closed loop.

In addition to focusing on the technical analysis of specific texts, this research also explores the motivations for the fierce response in Chinese media. With the rise of China in the economic field and the challenge to the hegemony of the United States, China began to pursue the power of discourse in the media field, that is, it began to shift from the **reconciliation strategy** and the **defensive strategy** to the **offensive strategy**. From the perspective of the clash of civilizations, China needs "enemies" and establishes its discourse power in the media field by attacking "enemies". Lithuania is a part of Western civilization, and it happened to have a diplomatic conflict with China at this time, it has enough excuses to launch an "offensive" against it, thus it is a suitable "target" ("enemy") that the Chinese media are looking for. This may be understood as the deep motivation behind the fierce reaction of the Chinese media.

Such a truth is ready to come out, that is, under the influence of the country's current strategic direction and social thoughts, majority of the political communication media's actions are passive, and the frame serves as the technical means for the media to influence public opinion through massive and repetitive propaganda.

Conclusions

At the beginning of the research, the research questions (How did Chinese media frame Lithuania's state image since 2020?) was raised, and through this research, a brief discussion of deeper motives of Chinese media's actions was completed, the questions and the relative question of motives have been answered to varying degrees.

As far as the first question is concerned, the state image of Lithuania seems to be commonplace and unattractive to Chinese readers, but it is precisely the question that can arouse the interest of foreign readers, especially Lithuanian readers. After screening and analyzing more than 1200 associating reports and comments within two years, the appearance of Lithuania's state image in Chinese media is summarized. This presentation can be said to be all-round, comprehensive, holistic, and specific. That is to say, this research presents the state image of Lithuania in Chinese media in a multi-dimensional way for the first time, which is the greatest significance of the research. The presentation of Lithuania's state image in Chinese media is a dynamic process. Before

2019, "Lithuania" was almost a very niche topic in Chinese context. At that phase, its state image was flat, monotonous, that is, only relevant to a limited number of topics, such as "tourism", "basketball", "sports", "anti-Russia", and not described as a main object. In 2020, Lithuania's state image began to become more positive and full, "Lithuania" began to be associated with more positive topics and economic and trade cooperation with China was also praised as an example of China-EU economic cooperation. Soon, the turning point of transition occurred in 2021. After Lithuania announced its withdrawal from the "17+1" mechanism and the diplomatic conflict in August, the Chinese media's shaping of Lithuania's state image has increasingly shown multi-dimensional trends and diversity, including positive, but also negative aspects. During this period (2021-2022), the state image of Lithuania in the Chinese media is widely involved with the United States, the European Union, and Taiwan, so it is difficult to summarize it simply and arbitrarily within one sentence. Perhaps it can be briefly described in this way: from deliberate alienation to selective ignorance in politics, from active cooperation to stagnation in economics, from positive promotion to deliberate dwarfing in propaganda, and consistent positive evaluation in the field of humanities.

Regarding the second question, this research tries to put forward some feasible exploration attempts from some angles. Based on Entman's framing theory, this part reveals how Chinese media use frames to shape Lithuania's state image, that is, the specific steps of frame operation: **definition**, **moral judgment**, **causal agent**, and **remedies suggest**. At the same time, based on Entman's discourse on political communication, this research clarifies the political communication environment in which Lithuania's state image can be stably generated and existed in Chinese media: the domination of the political communication environment by large news corporations is a necessary condition. Based on Huntington's assumption of civilizational clash, this research attempts to answer the reasons (motives) that drive Chinese media to shape Lithuania's state image in such a way: a brief summary, that is, the action of Chinese media is an active attack by Chinese civilization on Western civilization in the field of media discourse power, the motivation behind it is deep and complex, but it boils down to the clash of the two very alien civilizations.

In fact, the answer to the first question of this research is complete and comprehensive, that is, it comprehensively classifies and summarizes the state image of Lithuania in Chinese media, which is where the greatest value of this research lies, and it can provide the researcher in the future valid reference and bibliographical material support. The answer to the second question is tentative, but it still has its unique significance as a revelation. It will serve as a prelude to inspire researchers interested in the study of China-Lithuania relations to carry out more in-depth work in the future.

In conclusion, aiming at the framing of Lithuania's state image in Chinese media, this research not only organizes and provides a large amount of original materials, but also comprehensively

presents the dynamic process of Lithuania's state image in the context of Chinese media, and analyzes not only explores the use of frames by Chinese media, but also tentatively explores the motivations behind the media's action. These two aspects of work will provide stepping stones for the future researches on the fields like the role of media in political communication, contemporary international relations, or the clash of civilizations.

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This is the first time I have left my home country to study in a completely unfamiliar place 6,600 kilometers away. Time flies, and I had spent one year in Vilnius in a blink of an eye. As my study career in Vilnius is coming to the end, I would like to make a brief summary.

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As Christmas is approaching, I eventually finished my master thesis. Coincidentally, this year happens to be the 700th anniversary of the founding of Vilnius, let me give this paper to my gorgeous life experience in Vilnius.

December 20, 2022, Vilnius

Annex. Table of media information collected

Meanings of terms: 积极-positive, 消极-negative, 中立-neutral, 客观-objective

Number	Name of media	Date	Title	Description	Image	Citation	Link
1	国际金融报	2020.10.19	央行数字货币离我们还有多远?	肯定了立陶宛在数字货币技术上的成熟	中性, 技术先进且勇于突破	在技术路线方面, 瑞典、韩国、 立陶宛 均不同程度地使用了区块链技术, 而其余国家则保留不使用此技术的可能... 立陶宛则是以纪念币的性质直接在央行发售, 其余国家则仍在讨论。	http://blockchain.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1019/c417685-31897287.html
2	人民网	2020.11.01	国家级基金联手本土金融科技企业支持海南要素市场建设	立陶宛与海南省的金融科技合作, 希望成为“中欧桥梁”	积极, 有创新性, 对华友好, 希望合作	两个站点, 就是海南和欧洲的立陶宛, 立陶宛 是全球金融科技创新能力指数排名第四的国家, 海南是金融科技发展具有历史性机遇的地区。未来希望将铁路修建到各个地区	http://hi.people.com.cn/n2/2020/1101/c231190-34387172.html
3	人民网	2020.11.07	中欧班列今年开行超万列	中欧班列取得连接中国与欧洲的良好效果	积极, 称为“朋友”	开发了经俄罗斯加里宁格勒—波罗的海—德国萨斯尼茨等多条运行新径路, 立陶宛 、塞尔维亚、乌克兰等国家进入中欧班列“朋友圈”	http://ccnews.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1107/c141677-31922300.html
4	黑龙江日报	2020.11.08	第二十二届哈尔滨冰雪大世界规划设计出炉	提到立陶宛的人文风情, 总体表现出欢迎和包容的态度	积极, 希望促进人文交流	第二十二届哈尔滨冰雪大世界通过“三轴两环”的格局形成五大核心景区, 旨在传递“一带一路”的文化内涵, 集合并展示了波兰、捷克、斯洛伐克、匈牙利、斯洛文尼亚、克罗地亚、波黑、塞尔维亚、黑山、罗马尼亚、保加利亚、阿尔巴尼亚、北马其顿、爱沙尼亚、 立陶宛 、拉脱维亚、希腊等十七国的人文风情及哈尔滨城市特色。	http://hlj.people.com.cn/n2/2020/1108/c220027-34401563.html
5	人民网	2020.11.12	2020 欧洲一流科技园区峰会在青岛	报道中国与欧洲科技合作成果	中性, 技术先进	提到立陶宛, 认为 立陶宛 科技园区是一流园区	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1112/c1002-31927855.html

			举行				
6	新华网	2020.11.13	立陶宛将采购 4 架美国“黑鹰”直升机	报道立陶宛战斗机采购计划	中性，体现出中国对立陶宛和美国的军事合作有一定重视	卡罗布利斯表示，这笔采购对立陶宛武装部队现代化建设和强化力量至关重要。	http://usa.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1116/c241376-31932490.html
7	中国网	2020.11.23	“丝路百城传”推出《海南岛传》新书首发式在琼举行	提到对丝绸之路沿线国家的文化历史的推介的重要性	积极，推介历史文化	“丝路百城传”是中国外文局及所属新星出版社宣介“一带一路”倡议、以图书参与这项伟大事业的文化探索，目前已经出版了中国、俄罗斯、阿根廷、意大利、立陶宛等多个国家的城市传记，为加深中外文化交流、促进文明互鉴发挥出越来越重要的作用，日益受到出版界、文学界、新闻界、社会学界等以及国内外读者的关注。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1123/c1002-31941458.html
8	解放军报	2020.11.26	美对俄军事围堵再现“成本强加”	批评北约扩张军事力量威胁俄罗斯	消极，甘愿作为美国和北约的工具	2017 年开始，美国拉拢北约以轮驻的方式向爱沙尼亚、拉脱维亚、立陶宛等国部署 4 个北约战斗群，每个战斗群约 1000 人。	http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1126/c1011-31945505.html
9	经济日报	2020.11.27	深圳设计的使命与未来	展望深圳设计行业的未来发展	积极，肯定立陶宛设计行业的成就	2016 年我们在立陶宛推介深圳设计，立陶宛的考纳斯也是“设计之都”，这座城市因设计、文化和艺术成就被授予“欧洲文化之都”的称号。	http://sz.people.com.cn/n2/2020/1127/c202846-34442755.html
10	人民网	2020.12.01	疫情下的圣诞	报道欧洲国家在 COVID 中的第一个圣诞节	积极，与传统对华友好国家德国并列		http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1201/c1002-31950821.html
11	人民网	2020.12.07	开行量年年增长 中欧班列跑出了新速度	中欧班列取得连接中国与欧洲的良好效果	积极，称为“朋友”	向外看，白俄罗斯、德国、哈萨克斯坦、蒙古、波兰、立陶宛、塞尔维亚、乌克兰……越来越多国家及城市加入中欧班列“朋友圈”。	http://yn.people.com.cn/n2/2020/1207/c372455-34459606.html

12	人民网	2020.12.25	“飞地”强化导弹部署 俄与北约关系再吃紧	报道俄罗斯在加里宁格勒强化军事存在	消极，甘愿作为美国制约俄罗斯的工具	加里宁格勒州与俄罗斯本土不相邻，苏联解体后，加里宁格勒州被俄罗斯继承，但它与俄罗斯中间夹着波兰和 立陶宛 ，成为俄罗斯的“飞地”。/提到波罗的海行动-2020	http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1225/c1011-31979308.html
13	经济参考报	2020.12.30	2020年国际十大经济新闻	全区经济热点	积极，敢为人先	7月23日， 立陶宛 央行发行全球第一枚央行数字货币 LBCoin。	http://finance.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1230/c1004-31983610.html
14	人民网	2021.01.28	立陶宛迎大雪宛如白色童话世界	展示维尔纽斯动机风光	积极，展现美好形象		http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0128/c1002-32014680.html
15	人民网	2021.02.05	中国与中东欧17国贸易额首超千亿美元	总结中国与中东欧国家的贸易成果	积极，视为重要合作伙伴之一	互联互通更加优化。中欧班列快速发展，2020年共开行1.24万列，波兰、匈牙利、捷克、 立陶宛 、斯洛伐克等已成为中欧班列重要通道和目的地。	http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0205/c1001-32023832.html
16	新华社	2021.02.08	中国—中东欧国家合作线上成果展上线	展示中国与中东欧国家合作的成果	积极，中国-中东欧合作	集中展示自2012年中国—中东欧国家合作启动以来，中国同阿尔巴尼亚、波黑、保加利亚、克罗地亚、捷克、爱沙尼亚、希腊、匈牙利、拉脱维亚、 立陶宛 、黑山、北马其顿、波兰、罗马尼亚、塞尔维亚、斯洛伐克、斯洛文尼亚等17个中东欧国家在基础设施建设、经贸金融投资、绿色环保发展、农业产业融合、文旅教育合作、中小企业对接、科学技术创新以及携手抗击疫情等方面取得的丰硕成果，阐释了中国与中东欧国家秉持平等相待、互利共赢、包容开放原则，推动自由贸易，深化互利合作，推动构建人类命运共同体的行动和愿景。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0208/c1002-32026093.html
17	新华社	2021.02.09	2021年中国—中东欧国家合作北京活动计划	规划中国与中东欧国家的合作	积极，合作对象之一		http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0209/c1002-32027553.html

18	新华社	2021.02.09	中东欧多国人士高度评价习近平主席在中国—中东欧国家领导人峰会上的主旨讲话	中东欧领导人对 17+1 合作的肯定	积极，更好的经济关系，互利共赢	立陶宛 交通部前副部长什留帕斯对习近平主席在讲话中强调的在开放包容中共同发展深表赞同。他认为，中东欧国家和中国将发展更好和更密切的经济关系，实现互利共赢。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0209/c1002-32027561.html
19	人民网	2021.02.16	中国—中东欧文化交流走深走实	中国-中东欧文化交流	积极，人文交流	去年 9 月， 立陶宛 第六届武术公开赛开幕，项目包括太极拳、少林功夫、长拳、南拳、中国式摔跤等。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0216/c1002-32029801.html
20	中国国防报	2021.02.26	俄披露英国操控反俄媒体细节	谴责英国操纵媒体进行反俄宣传战	消极，谴责波罗的海国家反俄宣传	尤其是 Zinc 公司，可以说是受英国当局资助并在英国国内外开展秘密信息行动的老手。在其参与和资助下，波罗的海三国—爱沙尼亚、拉脱维亚和 立陶宛 至少拍摄了 5 部电视系列片，其中包括首个针对儿童的俄语节目，主要目的都是为进行反俄及亲西方宣传。	http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0226/c1011-32037528.html
21	人民网	2021.03.04	外交部答记者问	谴责 立陶宛 设立驻台湾代表处，批评 立陶宛 认为 17+1 没有足够利益	消极，谴责 立陶宛 设立驻台湾代表处，批评 立陶宛 认为 17+1 没有足够利益	世界上只有一个中国，中华人民共和国政府是代表全中国的唯一合法政府。中方坚决反对包括 立陶宛 在内的建交国同台湾互设官方机构或进行任何形式的官方交往。我们敦促立方坚持一个中国原则，恪守建交承诺，不要被“台独”分裂势力所利用，不要做有损双边政治互信的事。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0304/c1002-32042722.html
22	人民网	2021.03.11	加强合作，携手促进性别平等	呼吁加强国际间推进性别平等合作	积极，推进性别平等	各国不断加强合作，保障女性合法权益。爱尔兰、西班牙和 立陶宛 已启动相关国家行动计划，并加强卫生、司法、执法部门之间的协作，共同打击侵犯女性权益的暴力事件。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0311/c1002-32048368.html
23	人民网	2021.03.19	扩大务实合作 促进互利互惠	总结中国与中东欧国家的贸易成果	积极，合作伙伴	2020 年，中欧班列发送 113.5 万标准箱，同比增长 56%，综合重箱率达到 98.4%。波兰、匈牙利、捷克、 立陶宛 、斯洛伐克等中东欧国家已成为中欧班列重要通道和目的地。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0319/c1002-32055050.html

24	外交部	2021.03.22	外交部发言人宣布中方对欧盟有关机构和人员实施制裁	中国宣布制裁欧洲机构和人员进行制裁	消极，新疆问题	欧盟基于谎言和虚假信息，以所谓新疆人权问题为借口对中国有关个人和实体实施单边制裁。欧方此举罔顾事实、颠倒黑白，粗暴干涉中国内政，公然违反国际法和国际关系基本准则，严重损害中欧关系... 立陶宛 议会议员萨卡利埃内	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0322/c1002-32057472.html
25	人民网	2021.04.04	立陶宛街头悬挂复活节彩蛋	展示立陶宛复活节风俗	积极，人文景观		http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0404/c1002-32069448.html
26	人民网	2021.04.05	世卫组织溯源报告戳中了谁的痛点？	谴责美国为首的西方国家以 COVID 为借口指责中国	消极，与美国一道指责中国，认为中国是 COVID 的发源地	美国纠集了 13 个国家发表联合声明，对溯源报告提出“质疑”。白宫新闻秘书点名指责“中国不透明”，几家美国大媒体也叫嚣着向中国“追责”... 签署质疑中国一世卫组织新冠病毒溯源联合声明的国家，除美国外，还有澳大利亚、英国、加拿大、捷克、丹麦、爱沙尼亚、以色列、日本、拉脱维亚、 立陶宛 、挪威、韩国和斯洛文尼亚等 13 国。这是继前不久就所谓“新疆人权问题”联合盟友制裁中国之后，美国政府第二次对中国发起“盟友联合行动”。	http://opinion.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0405/c1003-32069627.html
27	中国新闻网	2021.04.29	俄美首脑峰会举办日期还没确定 双方又吵了起来	声援俄罗斯，谴责美国极其北约梦游发动“外交战”	消极，协同美国围堵俄罗斯，俄罗斯驱逐立陶宛外交人员是正义之举	俄方还在当地时间 28 日，对美方开展的“外交战”再次进行了还击，决定驱逐斯洛伐克的 3 名外交人员和爱沙尼亚、 立陶宛 、拉脱维亚三国的 4 名外交人员。	http://usa.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0429/c241376-32091539.html
28	深圳商报	2021.04.29	深圳对中东欧出口一季度增长近七成	展现 COVID 背景下深圳与中东欧国家贸易成果	积极，对中国进口需求增加	随着中东欧国家经济恢复，一季度深圳市对中东欧国家进出口普遍大幅增长，呈现主力带动、遍地开花的局面。一季度，深圳市对中东欧 17 国中的 15 国均呈快速增长，其中对斯洛伐克、 立陶宛 、阿尔巴尼亚成倍增长。	http://sz.people.com.cn/n2/2021/0429/c202846-34702151.html

29	新华网	2021.05.08	立陶宛举行线上“汉语桥”中文比赛	肯定了中文文化的传播	积极，人文活动	本次比赛由中国驻立陶宛大使馆主办，维尔纽斯大学孔子学院承办。中国驻立陶宛大使馆政务参赞曲柏华在致辞中说，尽管新冠疫情仍在蔓延，但丝毫没有影响选手们学习中文和了解中国文化的热情。两国相距遥远，而“汉语桥”拉近了彼此距离，增进了相互了解。维尔纽斯大学亚洲及跨文化研究学院院长加拉利特说，很高兴看到中文和中国文化在立陶宛越来越受欢迎。学习外语，特别是中文和中国文化，对职业发展以及跨文化能力培养都是非常宝贵的经历。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0508/c1002-32097985.html
30	人民网	2021.05.12	商务部：2020年中国与中东欧17国贸易额首次突破千亿美元	展示17+1合作机制的经济成果	积极，立陶宛是中欧班列的重要目的地	2020年，中欧班列在疫情期间加速发展，开行超过1.24万列，同比增长50%，架起了中欧抗击疫情的“生命线”。波兰、匈牙利、捷克、 立陶宛 、斯洛伐克等国成为中欧班列重要的通道和目的地	http://finance.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0512/c1004-32101214.html
31	人民网	2021.05.17	中国新能源汽车上演“速度与激情”	展示中国新能源汽车出口成就	积极，进口中国新能源汽车	“销量超过特斯拉，欧盟境内最畅销、最实惠的电动汽车来了。”《日本经济新闻》报道称，伴随这句广告词，在波罗的海沿岸国家 立陶宛 的石板路上，开始出现越来越多中国上汽通用五菱生产的一款小型电动汽车。该公司同当地企业开展合作，由五菱提供技术和零件，当地公司进行装配。	http://jx.people.com.cn/n2/2021/0517/c186330-34728421.html
32	中国国防报	2021.05.17	北约大规模军演剑指俄罗斯	声援俄罗斯，谴责北约军事行动	消极，北约成员	据美国《陆军时报》报道，“欧洲捍卫者-2021”系列演习在俄罗斯邻国爱沙尼亚开场。演习开始后，美国与其他10个国家共派出7000名伞兵，在爱沙尼亚、保加利亚、罗马尼亚的多个登陆点展开“敏捷反应”强行介入演习。演习主要模拟爱沙尼亚、 立陶宛 等国遭到俄罗斯攻击时，北约快速反应部队如何在第一时间进行增援。其中，美陆军第82空降师作为先头部队，负责牵制俄军并切断其通信和补给。	http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0517/c1011-32105298.html

33	深圳特区报	2021.05.22	沃尔玛涉事进口啤酒已全部下架	沃尔玛（中国）对立陶宛啤酒进行针对性下架处理	消极，因为立陶宛在台湾问题上的表态	5月11日，沃尔玛（中国）投资有限公司向全国门店下发通知要求对立陶宛卡纳皮里臻选啤酒4罐装进行下架处理，并要求各门店清点核实该批更改生产日期的啤酒数量等情况。5月14日，公司要求下属门店对举报批次啤酒进行召回。	http://sz.people.com.cn/n2/2021/0522/c202846-34739364.html
34	人民网	2021.05.24	外交部答记者问	回应立陶宛退出17+1	消极，对立陶宛撤出表示不满，认为立陶宛无足轻重	中国—中东欧国家合作符合各方共同利益，机制成立9年来成果丰硕，不会因个别事件受影响。相信在机制成员国共同努力下，中国—中东欧国家合作必将为有关国家人民带来更多福祉。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0524/c1002-32112090.html
35	中国国防报	2021.06.30	英俄海上冲突恶化俄欧关系	批评英国主动发起对俄罗斯的军事冲突	消极，不赞同立陶宛对俄罗斯的强硬态度，认为立陶宛唯美国马首是瞻，欧洲不应该与俄罗斯冲突	德国总理默克尔也表示：“欧盟必须寻求与普京的直接接触，美俄两国总统会谈是不够的，欧盟必须与俄罗斯建立对话。”然而，该提议并未得到积极回应。许多欧盟国家表示，召开峰会为时过早。特别是波兰和波罗的海国家对此坚决抵制。立陶宛总统吉塔纳斯·瑙塞达表示，这个想法就像“试图与熊接触以保证一罐蜂蜜的安全一样不切实际”。	http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0630/c1011-32144686.html
36	人民网	2021.07.20	反对我建交国与中国台湾地区发展官方关系	批评立陶宛的台湾政策	消极，反对立陶宛与台湾的关系	国台办发言人朱凤莲20日应询表示，台湾是中国的一部分。我们反对我建交国与中国台湾地区发展官方关系。我们敦促立陶宛恪守一个中国原则，不要向“台独”势力发出错误信号。民进党当局和“台独”势力的设“处”闹剧目的是谋“独”。再怎么折腾，也改变不了台湾是中国一部分的事实，撼动不了一个中国的国际格局。	http://jx.people.com.cn/n2/2021/0721/c186330-34829808.html
37	人民网	2021.08.10	中方决定召回驻立陶宛大使：敦促立方立即纠正错误决定	中国因台湾议题对立陶宛进行惩戒	消极，因为立陶宛对台湾发展官方关系	近一段时间，立陶宛政府不顾中方反复交涉、晓以利害，宣布允许台湾当局以“台湾”名义设立“代表处”。此举公然违背中立两国建交公报精神，严重损害中国主权和领土完整。中国政府对此表示坚决反对，决定召回中国驻立陶宛大使，并要求立政府召回驻中国大使。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0810/c1002-32188306.html

38	新华国际	2021.08.11	立陶宛为何在反华道路上越走越远	分析立陶宛对华政策转变	消极，批评立陶宛为了获得美国的安全保护，舍弃与中国合作的经济利益，推行激进的反华政策	立陶宛 高度依赖美国提供安全保障，一直走亲美路线。拜登政府上台后对中东欧国家有所冷落，立陶宛试图通过打“台湾牌”向拜登政府纳“投名状”，提升自身对美国的价值。由于立陶宛体量有限，影响有限，其反华操作难以影响中欧合作大局。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0811/c1002-32188868.html
39	外交部	2021.08.11	外交部发言人华春莹就中方召回驻立陶宛大使答记者问	批评立陶宛的台湾政策	消极，批评立陶宛的台湾政策，呼吁立陶宛改变对台政策		http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0811/c1002-32189904.html
40	人民网	2021.08.12	驻美使馆：美方无权指手画脚，没资格说三道四！	批评美国对立陶宛在台湾问题上的支持	消极，因为台湾问题，同时批评美国的支持，认为事件与美国相关	立陶宛 政府允许台湾当局以“台湾”名义设立“代表处”，同台湾当局发展官方实质关系，公然违背中立两国建交公报精神，严重损害中国主权和领土完整，严重违反国际社会公认的一个中国原则，中方作为主权国家，有权也应当做出正当合理的反应。美方无权指手画脚，也没有资格说三道四	http://usa.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0812/c241376-32190333.html
41	新华社	2021.08.13	外交部发言人华春莹就美国、欧盟妄评中国召回驻立陶宛大使答记者问	批评欧洲对中国对立陶宛外交应对的干涉	消极，台湾问题，以及绑架欧盟	个别国家 和某些人妄图混淆视听，用心险恶，但他们的图谋注定不会得逞。中方敦促欧盟方面在涉台问题上坚持正确立场，不要在涉及中方核心利益的问题上发出错误信号，给中欧关系制造新的麻烦。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0813/c1002-32192804.html
42	人民网	2021.08.16	美国必须停止向“台独”势力发出错误信号	批评美国参议院议案要求使台湾重获 WHO 观察员地位	消极，再一次批评立陶宛对台政策，坚决反对	立陶宛 政府却反其道而行之，允许台湾当局以“台湾”名义设立“代表处”，同台湾当局发展官方实质关系，公然违背中立两国建交公报精神，严重损害中国主权和领土完整，严重违反国际社会共识，中方作为主权国家，有权也应当做出正当合理的反应。美方无权指手画脚，也没有资格说三道四	http://opinion.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0816/c1003-32193582.html

43	人民网	2021.09.07	打响中国支付名片	概述中国支付在欧洲地区的推广进展	积极，即使在台湾问题上批评立陶宛的语境下，还在与中国合作上给予了一定肯定	经过多年的受理网络建设，银联国际在此基础上不断推进业务本地化，将银联卡服务带给更多欧洲本地消费者，并已在英国、葡萄牙、瑞士、 立陶宛 等国家实现发卡。	http://uk.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0907/c352308-32220581.html
44	新华网	2021.09.10	美国以反恐之名，行反人权之实——“9·11”二十周年系列评论之二	批评美国支持恐怖主义，践踏人权	消极，批评立陶宛与美国合作践踏人权	美国中情局在波兰、 立陶宛 、罗马尼亚、阿富汗等国设立“黑狱”，关押恐怖嫌疑人。中情局在海外监狱大搞刑讯逼供，水刑、剥夺睡眠、狭小空间禁闭、人身羞辱等“加强审讯方法”令人触目惊心。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0910/c1002-32223979.html
45	人民网	2021.09.15	望两岸同胞一起努力，坚决反对和遏制“台独”分裂活动	针对台湾反对大陆的舆论强调大陆统一台湾的立场	消极，台湾问题	你所说的这些情况确实是当前复杂严峻台海形势的一种反映。我们多次指出，造成台海形势复杂严峻的根源就是民进党当局和“台独”分裂势力不断勾连外部势力进行谋“独”挑衅，破坏了两岸关系和平发展的气氛和氛围，两岸民众对这一点是感同身受的，	http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0915/c14657-32227800.html
46	人民网	2021.09.15	外交部答记者问	回应中国威胁论	消极，认为立陶宛与美国一道挑战中国国家主权	澳亚卫视记者：美国总统国家安全事务助理沙利文日前在和 立陶宛 总理通话时，在涉及到中国主权的问题上渲染所谓“中国胁迫”。发言人对此有何回应？赵立坚：中国文化主张己所不欲、勿施于人。中国外交从无霸权基因、扩张冲动，从不胁迫任何国家。面对损害中国主权和安全利益的行径，中方采取的是合理合法反制，捍卫的是国家正当权益，维护的是国际公平正义。胁迫的帽子扣不到中国头上。美方应立即停止在国际上拉帮结伙、肆意对中国诬蔑抹黑，停止煽风点火、制造矛盾对立的把戏。中方不吃那一套。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0915/c1002-32228225.html

47	人民网	2021.09.16	欧盟理应敦促其成员国改正错误	敦促欧盟施压立陶宛阻止其在台湾问题上的动作	消极，挑战中国领土完整		http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0916/c1002-32228837.html
48	人民网	2021.09.16	外交部回应欧盟轮值主席国指责中国“驱逐”立陶宛大使	回应欧盟对中国在中国和立陶宛外交冲突中的行动的指责	消极，认为立陶宛挑战中国领土完整事实清楚，欧盟应干涉		http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/0916/c431206-32229300.html
49	人民网	2021.09.17	立陶宛涉台问题责任完全在立方	回应立陶宛涉台问题并敦促斯洛文尼亚和欧盟不要在台湾问题上与中国相悖	消极，立陶宛在台湾问题上的举措应该承担全部责任，中国是正当反制	立陶宛涉台问题的是非曲直已十分清楚，责任完全在立方...不要借题发挥，给中欧关系制造新的麻烦。	http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0917/c14657-32229730.html
50	人民网	2021.10.22	民进党“金援外交”肮脏黑暗	批评台湾当局以经济利益为诱惑拉拢其他国家支持台独	消极，认为立陶宛经不住台湾的经济诱惑，见利忘义，警告台湾当局和受到台湾经济援助的国家	近一段时期，民进党当局加紧勾连外部势力谋“独”挑衅，一边跟索马里兰、立陶宛、圭亚那等眉来眼去，企图以“台湾”名义更名其所谓的“代表处”“办公室”，一边疯狂购买美国武器，资助美国多家智库，游说多国政要，在国际媒体上刊登政治软文，鼓吹“台湾防疫经验”“台湾加入世卫”“台湾入联”等，其中有多少肮脏交易，值得岛内民众警惕与深思。	http://opinion.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1022/c1003-32260731.html
51	人民网	2021.10.22	中俄两国不是盟友，胜似盟友（外交部答记者问）	认为中俄都是国际秩序的维护者，是高层次合作伙伴	消极，台湾问题	再一次批评了立陶宛在台湾问题上的行为，并同时批评美国针对中国的打压	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1022/c1002-32261779.html

52	新华社	2021.10.23	2021 中国-波罗的海三国武术网络大赛即将启动	2021 中国-波罗的海三国武术网络大赛	积极，人文交流积极进行	中国武术协会 22 日消息，2021 中国-波罗的海（拉脱维亚、立陶宛、爱沙尼亚）三国武术网络大赛将于 11 月 1 日至 28 日在线上举行。	http://ent.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1023/c1012-32261917.html
53	新华网	2021.10.30	外交部敦促立陶宛不要作出不可挽回的错误决定	外交部批评立陶宛在台湾问题上的作为，批评欧盟对立陶宛的支持	消极，立陶宛做出了不可挽回的错误决定	问：据报道，日前欧洲理事会主席和欧盟委员会主席联名复信欧洲议会和欧盟国家议会部分议员，就立陶宛宣布同台当局互设代表处遭中国批评表达关切，称此举没有违反欧盟的一个中国政策，针对欧盟成员国的施压不可接受。中方对此有何回应？答：一个中国原则是国际社会普遍共识，也是中国同所有建交国发展关系的政治基础。我们坚决反对台当局在国际上制造“两个中国”和“一中一台”的图谋，坚决反对建交国同台当局进行官方往来，敦促立陶宛政府恪守同中国建交时所作庄严政治承诺，不要作出不可挽回的错误决定。欧方应当采取正确立场，防止干扰中欧关系健康发展。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1030/c1002-32269187.html
54	南方日报	2021.11.04	粤港澳大湾区开出今年第 300 趟中欧班列 超去年全年总数	展现中欧班列与中东欧的经济合作成就	积极，称为“朋友”（经济合作方面）	从 2013 年中欧班列开行至今，东莞、广州、深圳 3 座城市已成为粤港澳大湾区中欧班列的“中心站”，这条泛欧运输大通道已延伸覆盖到多个“一带一路”沿线国家和地区，并以多式联运形式贯通东南亚。俄罗斯、德国、乌克兰、匈牙利、立陶宛、哈萨克斯坦、塔吉克斯坦……越来越多的国家已加入粤港澳大湾区中欧班列的“朋友圈”，其成员队伍越来越壮大，联系越来越紧密。	http://gd.people.com.cn/n2/2021/1104/c123932-34989217.html
55	新华网	2021.11.14	白俄罗斯为边境难民发放救援物资	与白俄罗斯作对比，指出立陶宛对难民采用暴力	消极，对难民采用暴力，践踏人权	今年 8 月以来，为进入德国等西欧国家，越来越多来自中东的难民取道白俄罗斯进入欧盟成员国波兰和立陶宛，波立两国边境管控压力随之加大。据报道，由于边境地区没有足够的食品、水和医疗保障，再加上需要躲避波兰和立陶宛方面的抓捕，难民处境艰难，已有多人死亡。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1114/c1002-32281737.html

56	人民网	2021.11.17	外交部发言人就立陶宛批准台湾当局设立所谓“驻立陶宛台湾代表处”发表谈话	严厉指责立陶宛发展与台湾的官方关系，支持台独	消极，台湾问题	世界上只有一个中国，台湾是中国领土不可分割的一部分，中华人民共和国政府是代表全中国的唯一合法政府。我们要求 立方 立即纠正错误决定。我们也正告台湾当局，妄图挟洋谋“独”是打错了算盘，注定逃脱不了失败的下场。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1119/c1002-32286226.html
57	新华网	2021.11.19	背信弃义，立陶宛必将付出代价	警告立陶宛不要在台湾问题上有进一步的动作，纠正错误	消极，立陶宛与台湾发展官方关系侵害中国核心利益	我们正告 立陶宛 方面，立即纠正错误决定，亡羊补牢，为时不晚，不要在错误的道路上走到黑。我们也正告台湾当局，妄图挟洋谋“独”是打错了算盘，注定逃脱不了失败的下场。任何人都不要低估中国人民捍卫国家主权和领土完整的坚强决心、坚定意志、强大能力。“台独”是绝路一条，任何逆历史潮流、挟洋自重的图谋注定将以失败告终。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1119/c1002-32286933.html
58	新华网	2021.11.19	中国大使敦促欧盟国家遵守建交承诺维护一中原则共识	谴责欧盟国家（立陶宛）干涉台湾问题，呼吁欧盟出面协调	消极，台湾问题，破坏两国互信基础	30年前，中国与 立陶宛 建立了外交关系，立陶宛承认并接受一个中国原则，这是双方关系的坚实政治基础。台湾问题事关中国核心利益，任何企图越过一个中国原则这条红线的行为都是不可接受的，是对中国内政的干涉。“我们希望立陶宛当局能够充分认识到这一点，纠正错误，回到一个中国原则立场上来。”	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1119/c1002-32286935.html
59	人民网	2021.11.19	公然违背一个中国原则，立陶宛要承担一切后果	指责立陶宛破坏两国政治互信，挑战中国底线	消极，台湾问题，破坏两国互信基础	立陶宛 政府在错误的道路上越走越远，以为可以吸引一些眼球，并借此捞取一些政治资本。然而，立方此举只会自食恶果。1975年，欧洲经济共同体与中方就中国与欧共体建立正式关系达成一致。在台湾问题上，欧共体明确表示，“欧共体的所有成员国都承认中华人民共和国政府，并就台湾问题采取了人民共和国所接受的立场”，“欧共体不同台湾保持任何官方关系或缔结任何协定”。作为欧盟成员国，立陶宛当前的行径破坏了欧盟有关承诺，站在了所有坚持一个中国原则的国家的对立面。	http://opinion.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1119/c1003-32287040.html

60	新华网	2021.11.21	波兰与白俄罗斯边境人权状况堪忧 俄罗斯呼吁白方与欧盟直接接触	批评波兰和立陶宛等欧盟国家以暴力手段组织难民进入	消极，没有保护难民的人权	近期，数以千计难民试图从白俄罗斯进入波兰、 立陶宛 等欧盟国家，最终前往西欧，其中多数人来自中东。波兰等国强化边境管控，严防非法入境，导致大量移民滞留边境。波兰等国指责白俄罗斯策划这场危机，以此报复欧盟先前对白施加的制裁。白方则表示，制裁使白俄罗斯无法控制移民流入。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1121/c1002-32287756.html
61	人民网	2021.11.22	中方决定将中立两国外交关系降为代办级	宣布降级两国外交关系，谴责立陶宛，警告台湾	消极，台湾问题，破坏两国互信基础		http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1121/c1002-32287817.html
62	新华网	2021.11.22	摩擦齟齬不断 俄西矛盾难解	俄罗斯与西方的矛盾升级	消极，波兰和立陶宛不接纳难民加剧俄罗斯和西方矛盾	今年8月以来，大量难民聚集在白俄罗斯与波兰、 立陶宛 等欧盟成员国的边境地区，加剧白俄罗斯与欧盟之间的政治危机。一些西方国家开始指责俄罗斯和白俄罗斯在背后策划了这场难民危机。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1122/c1002-32288709.html
63	人民网	2021.11.22	中方是否有同立陶宛断交的打算？	外交部就“中国是否会与立陶宛断绝外交关系”表态	消极，立陶宛在台湾问题上没有纠正错误，反而越走越远	未正面回复，表述为“一切必要措施”	http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1122/c431206-32289073.html
64	人民网	2021.11.22	立陶宛走到这一步明显是被某些大国所策动	是美国鼓动立陶宛做出了在台湾问题的举动	消极，违背国际公理，受到美国蛊惑	表述为“不会取得任何积极结果的对抗”	http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1122/c431206-32289075.html

65	人民网	2021.11.22	立陶宛军队用军犬在边境驱逐滞留难民	呼吁立陶宛停止暴力，维护难民人权（同时批评美国人权问题的虚伪）	消极，践踏难民人权	同时提到了“某些国家”	http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1122/c431206-32289076.html
66	人民网	2021.11.22	外交部敦促立陶宛立即纠正错误	呼吁立陶宛纠正错误，并认为“不具有外交地位”的表态是借口	消极，呼吁立陶宛“纠正错误”	立外交部副部长接受采访时称，台湾方面在立陶宛设立“代表处”不具有外交地位，立方希望对华关系正常化。发言人对此有何回应？立方狡辩所谓“代表处不具有外交地位”纯属欲盖弥彰。台湾当局妄称，在立陶宛设立“台湾代表处”是台湾所谓“重要外交突破”，是一项所谓“重要外交成果”。这分明就是台湾当局和“台独”分裂势力不打自招，是他们搞“台独”分裂行径的有力罪证。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1122/c1002-32289106.html
67	新华网	2021.11.23	外交部回应美涉台表态：停止煽风点火的把戏	批评美国支持台独	消极，美国支持立陶宛在台湾问题上强硬态度，警告立陶宛，远离美国鼓动	“我们也告诫立陶宛，为某些大国火中取栗，最终只会引火烧身。”赵立坚说。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1123/c1002-32290070.html
68	人民网	2021.11.24	中国回应美国国务院发言人表态支持立陶宛	批评美国对立陶宛在台湾问题上的支持	消极，台湾问题	美方的有关言论恰恰是不打自招，进一步证明立陶宛批准设立所谓“驻立陶宛台湾代表处”是在国际上公然制造“一中一台”，是同“台独”分裂势力沆瀣一气。同时，我们也能由此清楚地看到，到底是谁在背后捣鬼。美方应恪守一个中国原则和中美三个联合公报规定，恪守同中国建交时所作庄严政治承诺，停止煽风点火、制造矛盾对立的把戏，停止向“台独”分裂势力释放错误信号。我们也告诫立陶宛，为某些大国火中取栗，最终只会引火烧身。	http://usa.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1124/c241376-32290646.html

69	人民网	2021.11.24	立陶宛被曝同美国共谋设立“黑狱”	批评立陶宛支持美国侵犯人权的行动	消极，支持美国/人权	立陶宛为虎作伥却不敢承认，是不负责任的，敦促改正	http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1124/c431206-32291114.html
70	人民网	2021.11.24	外交部确认中方会在经贸等领域对立陶宛采取配套惩罚	宣布经济制裁	消极，违背原则	第一次明确中方会强硬惩罚	http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1124/c431206-32291113.html
71	人民网	2021.11.24	与“台独”一起玩火终将引火烧身	批评美国支持立陶宛在台湾问题上的作为	消极	中方坚决反对美方邀请台湾当局参加所谓“领导人民主峰会”。世界上只有一个中国。中华人民共和国政府是代表全中国的唯一合法政府，台湾是中国领土不可分割的一部分。一个中国原则是公认的国际关系准则。台湾除了作为中国的一部分，没有别的国际法地位。我们严正敦促美方恪守一个中国原则和中美三个联合公报规定，停止向“台独”势力提供任何讲台，停止为“台独”势力张目。为“台独”势力搭台，只会让自己下不来台。与“台独”一起玩火，终将引火烧身。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1124/c1002-32291137.html
72	人民网	2021.11.25	立陶宛是美国海外“黑监狱”的一环	批评立陶宛在美国迫害人权的行动上的支持	消极，人权问题	早在 10 年以前，德国的媒体就报道说，美国曾将一些涉恐的穆斯林嫌疑人转移到立陶宛的“黑狱”。尽管立陶宛政府对此予以否认，但 2018 年欧洲人权法院最终判定立陶宛允许美国中情局在本国设立秘密监狱，犯有共谋罪，而且实施了若干侵犯人权的行动。	http://usa.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1125/c241376-32291570.html
73	人民网	2021.11.25	立陶宛将与美国签署 6 亿美元出口协议不道德	批评立陶宛在台湾问题上对美国的支持，美国不负责任	消极		http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1125/c431206-32292128.html

74	人民网	2021.11.25	立陶宛取得了“外交独立”？	质问立陶宛外长在美国做什么	消极		http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1125/c431206-32292125.html
75	新华网	2021.11.26	世界上搞各种胁迫最多的国家正是美国	美国在世界上搞经济胁迫，军事胁迫，立陶宛是帮凶	消极	美国泛化国家安全概念，滥用国家力量，甚至通过编造谎言等手段肆意打压别国企业，手段层出不穷。世界上搞“经济胁迫”“军事胁迫”“人质胁迫”等各种胁迫最多的国家正是美国。胁迫的帽子扣不到中方头上。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1125/c1002-32292181.html
76	新华网	2021.11.26	约1000名在白难民愿意返回伊拉克	欧盟制裁白俄罗斯使白俄罗斯无法控制难民进入欧洲	消极，不尊重中东难民人权		http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1126/c1002-32292830.html
77	人民网	2021.11.26	立陶宛外长会见乱港分子：玩火者必自焚	批评立陶宛外长会见港独分子罗冠聪	消极，立陶宛对香港问题表现出干预态度		http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1126/c431206-32293159.html
78	人民网	2021.11.26	中国人民不可侮	正当反制立陶宛外交挑衅	消极，台湾问题	中国主权不容侵犯	http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1126/c431206-32293161.html
79	人民网	2021.11.26	立陶宛奥委会拒绝抵制北京冬奥会	侧面回应立陶宛奥委会拒绝地址冬奥会，予以积极评价（隐晦的）	积极，立陶宛奥委会支持拒绝体育赛事政治化	一切有违奥林匹克精神的政治操弄都将销声匿迹	http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1126/c431206-32293162.html

80	人民网	2021.11.27	王毅同匈牙利外长西雅尔多举行视频会晤	希望拉拢欧盟国家支持中国对立陶宛的制裁	消极，台湾问题		http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1127/c1002-32293258.html
81	新华网	2021.11.27	英法相互推诿难民问题难解	指责欧洲国家互相推卸责任，放任立陶宛和波兰难民的人权灾难	消极，不保护难民人权	在提到欧洲国家时，也开始将立陶宛作为反面典型	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1127/c1002-32293542.html
82	人民网	2021.11.30	立陶宛在人权领域劣迹斑斑，应作出深刻反省	批评立陶宛国内人权问题，不仅仅针对难民	消极，立陶宛内部人权问题	立陶宛 曾经发生犹太人大屠杀，现在内部种族主义歧视严重，少数族裔没有得到有效保护，儿童权利受到侵害，20%色情行业从业者是未成年人	http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1130/c431206-32295968.html
83	人民网	2021.11.30	敦促立陶宛深刻反省人权劣迹	批评立陶宛国内人权问题，不仅仅针对难民	消极，立陶宛内部人权问题	这些难民的悲惨遭遇令人痛心和愤慨。两条鲜活的生命再也看不到明天的太阳。更加令人痛心的是，你提到的报道恐怕只是立陶宛侵犯人权问题的冰山一角。根据有关报道，立陶宛监狱看守蓄意虐囚和滥用暴力。 立陶宛 历史上发生过犹太人大屠杀，如今种族主义问题仍然十分严重，犹太人和其他少数族裔遭受严重歧视，就医、出行等权利遭剥夺和侵犯。立陶宛儿童权利也受到严重侵犯。立陶宛儿童权益保障热线回复率极低，孤儿院数量不足以容纳现有孤儿。有关国际组织报告显示，立陶宛 20% 以上从事色情行业的是未成年人。立陶宛在人权领域劣迹斑斑，违反欧洲人权公约和国际人权法有关条款。 立方 应作出深刻反省，给国际社会一个负责任的交代。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1130/c1002-32295998.html
84	中国国防报	2021.12.06	2021：北约加快军备建设步伐	总结 2021 年北约军事演习和军事力量的发展	消极，协助北约开展在波罗的海地区的军事行动		http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1206/c1011-32300615.html

85	人民网	2021.12.09	拜登的“民主峰会”召开前夕，美国海量虐囚细节被曝光	立陶宛等东欧国家协助美国迫害人权	消极，协助美国迫害人权		http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1209/c1002-32304126.html
86	人民网	2021.12.10	中国要求跨国公司与立陶宛断绝关系	立陶宛生产的汽车零件受到制裁，中国要求跨国公司与立陶宛切割	消极，政治承诺的违背		http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1210/c431206-32304688.html
87	新华网	2021.12.12	为生存而呐喊——关于人权的海外新闻调查	难民访谈，说明立陶宛侵犯难民人权	消极，难民人权	实际是批评美国对中东的干预，认为美国对中东的干预是难民问题产生的根源，立陶宛是美国的帮凶	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1212/c1002-32305797.html
88	人民网	2021.12.15	斯洛伐克官员窜台 国台办斥：给“台独”势力发出错误信号	树立反面典型，警告斯洛伐克	消极，反面典型		http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1215/c14657-32308688.html
89	中国青年报	2021.12.16	对体育政治化说“不” 还冰雪一片纯洁	赞扬立陶宛奥委会的态度	积极，反对体育活动政治化	在立陶宛，对于有议员呼吁在冬奥会问题上追随美国，立陶宛奥委会公开发表声明说，奥运会属于全世界，以政治原因要求运动员放弃参赛不公平。	http://sc.people.com.cn/n2/2021/1216/c345460-35053034.html

90	人民网	2021.12.18	立陶宛对中方政治讹诈是打错了算盘	立陶宛外交人员突然离开北京是政治讹诈	消极，政治讹诈不会成功	立方 不正视并纠正自身错误行为，反而散布虚假信息，借以推卸自身责任，中方对此深感不满并坚决反对。立方试图制造“一中一台”，损害中方主权，不会得逞。立方试图推卸自身责任，对中方进行政治讹诈，这完全是打错了算盘。	http://jx.people.com.cn/n2/2021/1218/c186330-35056378.html
91	人民网	2021.12.20	立陶宛背信弃义绝不会有好下场	立陶宛违反公理和正义	消极，台湾问题	立陶宛 违背尊重领土和主权的国际公理和正义，不会有好下场，某些人将被扫进历史的垃圾堆	http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1220/c431206-32312752.html
92	人民网	2021.12.21	立陶宛不要像鸵鸟一样把头埋进沙子里，装作无事发生	立陶宛国内人权问题	消极，国内人权问题	国内劳动力市场存在眼中的基于种族和宗教的歧视，少数族裔遭到系统性歧视，导致少数族裔的系统性贫困。统计显示，立陶宛境内的罗姆人月收入仅有国内其他族裔的四分之一，贫困率达到 75%，为全国平均水平的 3.5 倍。种族不平等导致的贫困直接影响了罗姆人的健康保障，因此导致罗姆人（Romania people）贫困率居高不下，……罗姆人的遭遇只是立陶宛国内严重人权问题的冰山一角。立陶宛还存在严重的家庭暴力，侵犯儿童权益等问题……立陶宛应该切实采取措施保障弱势群体的权益，而不是像鸵鸟一样把头埋在沙子里，装作无事发生	http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1221/c431206-32313700.html
93	中国国防报	2021.12.22	美俄在对话与对抗中寻平衡	美国与俄罗斯进行对抗和有限合作，在外交上进行孤立	消极，孤立俄罗斯	报道称，美势必继续联合西方盟友炒作“俄罗斯威胁论”，以不尊重人权、破坏国际秩序等理由，采取政治外交孤立、经济技术制裁、军事领域威慑等措施，对俄进行“围剿”。	http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1222/c1011-32314331.html
94	人民网	2021.12.22	立陶宛应正视中立关系出现困难的症结，而不是去抱美国人大腿	首次 正告立陶宛应该与美国划清界限	消极，警告立陶宛追随美国，敦促立陶宛对中国做出让步		http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1222/c431206-32314675.html

95	人民网	2021.12.22	美方称中方对立陶宛构成经济胁迫 外交部：停止颠倒黑白	否认立陶宛受到来自中国的经济胁迫并督促立陶宛改变台湾政策	消极，否认立陶宛受到来自中国的经济胁迫并督促立陶宛改变台湾政策		http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1222/c1002-32314702.html
96	人民网	2021.12.23	美欧应敦促立陶宛尽快承认并纠正错误	呼吁美国和欧洲敦促立陶宛改正错误	消极，受到美国支持挑战中国台湾政策		http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1223/c431206-32315622.html
97	人民网	2021.12.24	美国是单边霸凌和胁迫外交的“集大成者”	批评美国在亚太地区挑战中国	消极，以立陶宛作为干涉中国内政的工具		http://usa.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1224/c241376-32316022.html
98	人民网	2021.12.24	中国海关对欧盟国家使用立陶宛零部件产品不予清关？外交部：不属实	否认立陶宛被从中国海关的系统除名的消息	积极，即使如此还是没有彻底否定中国与立陶宛的经济合作（态度较好）	立陶宛对华贸易出现问题要归咎于自身	http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1224/c431206-32316541.html
99	新华网	2021.12.27	欧盟对华政策不能被立陶宛“绑架”	肯定了中国与欧洲之间的牢固合作关系，认为立陶宛不会影响中国与欧洲的合作，希望欧洲敦促立陶宛改正错误	消极，希望改正错误		http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1227/c1002-32318281.html

100	新华网	2021.12.28	立陶宛即使颠倒黑白也不能掩盖其错误行径	针对立陶宛所谓中方逼走立陶宛外交人员的消息进行回应，认为立陶宛是颠倒黑白，应该改正错误，呼吁国际社会不要相信立陶宛的假新闻，支持中方立场	消极，立陶宛制造假新闻和借口企图在道德上绑架中方	立陶宛 即使罔顾是非曲直、颠倒黑白，也不能掩盖其一而再再而三的错误行径。我们相信广大国际社会能够坚持客观公正立场，不会偏听偏信。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1228/c1002-32319296.html
101	人民网	2021.12.30	立陶宛民众对政府信任度下降	白俄罗斯钾肥事件体现了立陶宛政客公器私用，不顾国家利益，是不负责任的	消极，白俄罗斯钾肥		http://v.people.cn/n1/2021/1230/c431206-32321062.html

102	人民网	2021.12.30	立陶宛政府不要为个别大国火中取栗	立陶宛因为经济问题在国内受到反对党的批评，错误的根源在于立陶宛当局为了追随美国牺牲国家利益	消极，火中取栗	据报道，立陶宛议会第二大党“绿党和农民联盟”主席卡尔保斯基斯 28 日发文表示，投资者们在问，我们的政府是否头脑正常。立陶宛现政府是疯狂的。执政党的一些人成功地使立陶宛的对华政策变得如此复杂。发言人对此有何评论？赵立坚：我注意到了有关报道。最近一个时期，立陶宛国内有识之士对立陶宛政府和有关政客在对华关系上的不理智言行不断提出尖锐批评。的确，立陶宛政府对华政策原本可以简单明了，那就是在坚持国际公认的一个中国原则基础上，与中国发展各领域友好合作。但遗憾的是，立方部分政客要么没有认清历史大势，要么就是出于政治私利，盲目迎合背后势力，使立陶宛的对华政策越来越偏离正确轨道，给两国关系平添了许多复杂因素。立陶宛前总理库比柳斯最近发文表示，立陶宛对华关系恶化获得的好处在于，立陶宛外长在华盛顿受到了两次接见。这可谓是一语道破玄机。立陶宛政府和有关政客应当多倾听国内理性声音，从国家和人民的根本利益出发，不再充当马前卒，为个别大国火中取栗。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1230/c1002-32321133.html
103	人民网	2021.12.31	外交部答记者问	对立陶宛内政的 1.3 亿美元的企业支持计划表示质疑	消极，认为这不是对立陶宛企业的真正支持	澳亚卫视记者：据报道，立陶宛财长斯凯斯特近日表示，立陶宛正考虑推出一项 1.3 亿欧元的援助计划，支持受立中外交关系影响的立陶宛企业。中方对此有何评论？赵立坚：立陶宛政府本来可以用这笔钱来改善民生、抗击疫情、提升边境难民生存状况，却选择用老百姓的钱包为政府的错误买单。如果立陶宛政府真的想对相关企业提供支持，就应该从国家和人民的根本利益出发，回到在一个中国原则基础上与中国发展各领域友好合作的正道上。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/1231/c1002-32322139.html
104	人民网	2022.01.04	台湾购买立陶宛朗姆酒表达支持？外交部：竹篮打水一场空	批评台湾通过金元外交对立陶宛的支持	消极，台湾问题	竹篮打水一场空	http://v.people.cn/n1/2022/0104/c431206-32323855.html

105	人民网	2022.01.05	外交部回应立陶宛总统认错：认识到错误是正确的，但更重要的是采取行动	就立陶宛总统承认错误的言论发表意见，基于肯定和期待	积极，希望认识错误，改善对华关系	承认错误是重要的一步，但更重要的是纠正制造一中一台的错误行径	http://v.people.cn/n1/2022/0105/c431206-32324723.html
106	人民网	2022.01.06	台湾当局承诺向立陶宛投资 2 亿美元 外交部回应	批评美国对立陶宛的支持（胁迫政治）和台湾的经济支持	消极		http://v.people.cn/n1/2022/0106/c431206-32325669.html
107	新华网	2022.01.07	立陶宛，知道错就得改！	敦促立陶宛改正错误	积极，希望改正错误	立陶宛政府对华政策原本可以简单明了，那就是在坚持国际公认的一个中国原则基础上，同中国发展各领域友好合作。但遗憾的是，立方一些政客出于政治私利，盲目迎合背后势力，给两国关系平添了许多复杂因素。立陶宛前总理库比柳斯最近发文指出，立陶宛对华关系恶化获得的“好处”在于，立陶宛外长在华盛顿受到了两次接见。可谓是一语道破玄机。立陶宛方面无视国家和人民的长远根本利益，上赶着做个别国家遏华制华的工具，为其火中取栗。这绝非正确的处理国际关系之道，引火烧身，咎由自取。认识到错误是正确的一步，但更重要的是采取行动。立方应尽早纠正错误，回到一个中国原则的轨道上来，而不是找出各种理由，为自己的错误行径开脱，或者玩一些可悲的“公关手段”，继续搅浑水，让形势变得更加复杂。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0107/c1002-32326465.html
108	新华社	2022.01.11	外交部敦促立陶宛不要充当反华势力棋子	改正错误，独立的外交路线，不要追随美国	积极	立陶宛违背中立建交时作出的政治承诺、在国际上制造“一中一台”的事实十分清楚。立国内有识之士也对此提出批评。美方不仅从一开始就挑动立当局破坏一中原则，还不断为立当局撑腰打气，妄图拿立陶宛当炮灰，配合美“以台制华”的政治算计“我们敦促立方纠正错误，不要充当反华势力棋子。我们也正告美方，打台湾牌得不偿失，只会引火烧身。”	http://sh.people.com.cn/n2/2022/0111/c134768-35090091.html

109	人民日报	2022.01.12	美国“黑监狱”遍布全球 外交部：世界人权史上黑暗一页	批评美国以反恐为名对人权进行迫害，立陶宛的大力支持	消极，人权问题	日前，立陶宛向曾被关押在立首都郊外美国秘密监狱的“永久囚徒”祖拜达支付了赔偿金，此时距欧洲人权法院判决立方必须赔偿已超过3年，而祖拜达已被美方无罪拘留超过20年。	http://usa.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0113/c241376-32330459.html
110	人民网	2022.01.17	挑战一个中国原则绝没有好下场	总体评述了立陶宛与中国的外交冲突，分析立陶宛国内局势，批评台湾的支持	客观		http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0117/c14657-32332439.html
111	人民网	2022.01.19	欧方应警惕立陶宛用自身错误绑架中欧关系	希望欧洲与中国的经济合作不要受到立陶宛的影响	消极，影响中欧经济合作	“希望欧方明辨是非，恪守一个中国原则和中欧建交时欧方作出的郑重承诺，秉持客观公正立场，以实际行动维护中欧关系健康稳定发展。”	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0119/c1002-32334460.html
112	新华网	2022.01.25	立陶宛将派出迄今为止规模最大的代表团参加北京冬奥会	肯定立陶宛对北京冬奥会的支持	积极		http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0125/c1002-32339392.html
113	人民网	2022.01.26	国台办批民进党当局“金钱外交”“凯子外交”	批评台湾以经济为手段拉拢欧洲国家	消极，批评台湾外交政策	呼吁其他国家不要理睬台湾，讽刺台湾的金元外交	http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0126/c14657-32340329.html

114	人民网	2022.01.26	立陶宛外长提议修改所谓“台湾代表处”名称 国台办：望纠正错误	立陶宛外长提议驻台湾代表处改名，中国未发表意见，只是要求改正错误	中立	对于任何有损一个中国原则的行径，我们坚决反对。希望 立陶宛 有关方面拿出切实行动，纠正之前的错误。	http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0126/c14657-32340373.html
115	新华网	2022.02.05	波罗的海三国总理会晤讨论地区安全、气候变化等问题	三国强调加强北约依托波罗的海国家的存在；气候变化、波罗的海国家在欧盟内部的发展等问题	中立	三国总理在会后举行的记者会上说，北约应加强在包括波罗的海国家在内的整个东翼的存在。地区安全形势十分严峻，为波罗的海地区和整个欧洲找到共同的解决方案非常重要。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0205/c1002-32345647.html
116	新华社	2022.02.08	外交部正告立陶宛不要妄图拉拢其他国家联合反华	消极，认为立陶宛混淆视听，恶意炒作，拉拢其他国家一起反华	消极	据报道，立陶宛外长在访问澳大利亚前接受采访称，此访主要议题是立澳如何互助，应对中国“胁迫”和贸易制裁。对此，外交部发言人赵立坚2月8日在例行记者会上说，中立关系出现问题，是非曲直十分清楚，中方为维护自身正当权益和国际公理作出正当反应，完全合理合法。中方一贯按世贸组织规则行事，所谓中国“胁迫”立陶宛的说法纯属无中生有。“立陶宛应正视客观事实，纠正自身错误，回到坚持一个中国原则的正确轨道上来。立陶宛应停止混淆是非、恶意炒作，更不要妄图拉拢其他国家联合反华。”赵立坚说。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0208/c1002-32348006.html
117	人民网	2022.02.10	立陶宛寻求美国永久驻军	中国对立陶宛寻求美国永久驻军持反对态度	消极，美国驻军	无意置评	http://v.people.cn/n1/2022/0210/c431206-32349618.html

118	新华社	2022.02.10	赵立坚正告立陶宛不要混淆是非恶意炒作	立陶宛外长在澳大利亚呼吁全世界共同抵制中国违反人权的行	消极，立陶宛混淆是非	就立陶宛外长近日在访问澳大利亚期间声称呼吁世界共同应对中俄违反人权的行	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0210/c1002-32349625.html
119	中国国防报	2022.02.21	俄美持续上演“威慑游戏”	美国挤压俄罗斯生存空间，在与俄军事对峙中处于下风	消极，立陶宛参与了北约针对俄罗斯的布防	近期，以美国为首的北约不断鼓噪“俄罗斯威胁论”，并借机在波兰、罗马尼亚、立陶宛等国驻军布势，压缩俄罗斯生存空间，甚至宣称“考虑在乌克兰或立陶宛部署‘萨德’反导系统”。	http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0221/c1011-32356300.html
120	新华网	2022.02.27	俄乌同意进行和平谈判 俄表示可以维持金融稳定	立陶宛航空公司受到俄罗斯制裁	消极，立陶宛对俄罗斯航空有“不友好举动”的报复	今日俄罗斯通讯社 27 日报道，俄罗斯联邦航空运输局在声明中说，鉴于拉脱维亚、立陶宛、爱沙尼亚和斯洛文尼亚做出的“不友好决定”，俄方将对上述国家航空公司及其在其境内注册航空公司航班飞往俄罗斯和过境俄罗斯采取限制措施。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0227/c1002-32360697.html
121	人民网	2022.03.15	美国毫无资格自诩所谓“人权灯塔”	美国在立陶宛设置监狱侵害人权	消极，帮助美国侵害人权	媒体经常曝光美国包括私营监狱在内的各类拘留场所酷刑、虐待和暴力事件。关塔那摩监狱系统性虐囚和酷刑臭名昭著。美国中情局打着所谓“反恐战争”的幌子在多国设立“黑监狱”，秘密拘押所谓恐怖嫌疑人，大搞任意拘押和刑讯逼供。外交部发言人和有关媒体也多次介绍过关于美国 17 艘军舰组成的“海上监狱”、在立陶宛等国设立的“黑狱网”，这更是美国监狱系统肆意蹂躏法治、践踏人权的典型例证。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0315/c1002-32375598.html
122	人民网	2022.03.17	美国虚化掏空一中原则损人终害己	美国干涉台湾问题，并发出警告	消极，立陶宛的行为是美国煽动的	近年来，美国打“台湾牌”成瘾，越来越不知收敛。美国不断推出涉台法案，提升美台接触，加大售台武器，频繁派军舰窜行台湾海峡。美国推动支持台恢复世卫组织观察员资格，邀请台参加所谓“民主峰会”，煽动和支持台在立陶宛开设“台湾代表处”，并鼓动欧洲盟友支持立陶宛……美国在台湾问题上搞小动作，香肠切多了会切到手指，抱薪玩火会引火烧身，若继续一意孤行，终将给自己带来不可承受的严重后果！	http://sc.people.com.cn/n2/2022/0317/c345460-35177771.html

123	人民网	2022.03.28	台日勾连的苦果究竟有多少？	批评台湾的挟洋自重	消极，台湾问题	在 立陶宛 问题上，他们拿着岛内老百姓的血汗钱，不惜重金做赌注；	http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0328/c14657-32385261.html
124	人民网	2022.03.30	敦促立陶宛政府及早纠正正在涉台问题上犯的错误	改正错误，独立的外交路线，不要追随美国	中立		http://tw.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0330/c14657-32387884.html
125	人民网	2022.04.03	乌克兰称乌方已控制整个基辅州 俄媒说俄罗斯给波罗的海三国的天然气供应已中断	立陶宛被拒绝受到俄罗斯天然气	消极，嘲讽立陶宛能源弱势地位	俄罗斯媒体 4 月 2 日援引拉脱维亚天然气运输公司 Conexus Baltic Grid 公司董事长巴利斯的话报道说，从 4 月开始，俄罗斯给波罗的海三国拉脱维亚、立陶宛和爱沙尼亚的天然气供应已经中断，波罗的海三国从 4 月起再也没有接收过俄天然气。 立陶宛 能源部在 4 月 2 日发表的声明中说，从 4 月开始，立陶宛天然气管道系统再也没有接收过来自俄罗斯的天然气。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0403/c1002-32391338.html
126	人民网	2022.04.06	曝光！它是 21 世纪的冷战阴谋家！	拜登在当今仍然用冷战模式对俄罗斯进行打压	消极，立陶宛充当美国意识形态的宣传工具	美国的另一柄“冷战利器”是以“美国之音”为代表的对外宣传机器。1942 年建立的“美国之音”在二战后开始服务于美国的冷战战略，成为美国政府向苏联民众宣传的主要工具，不仅推广美国生活方式，更宣扬“自由世界”原则，希望以此破坏共产主义意识形态。为达到目的，“美国之音”从 1949 年开始在乌克兰、 立陶宛 等地用当地语言广播。美国的宣传加剧了苏联社会的思想混乱，加快了苏联解体，并最终让美国成为单极世界霸主。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0406/c1002-32392626.html
127	光明日报	2022.04.11	北约：维护与扩张霸权的暴力工具	论述北约对破坏世界稳定的作用		因此，北约的存在成为维系欧美跨大西洋同盟关系的最主要力量。从结果上看，北约将所谓西方最主要的“自由民主国家”黏合到了一起。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0411/c1002-32395594.html

128	新华网	2022.05.11	俄乌冲突“世界冲击波”之安全篇——北约与俄对立加剧 分割安全绝非正道	批评北约的军事行动是“分割安全”	消极，立陶宛是北约成员	英国国际战略研究所在俄乌冲突升级前发布的报告显示，北约在其东翼的保加利亚、匈牙利、罗马尼亚、斯洛伐克、波兰以及波罗的海三国爱沙尼亚、拉脱维亚、 立陶宛 驻扎的总兵力为1万多人。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0511/c1002-32419355.html
129	中国国防报	2022.05.18	英军密集主导并参加联合演训	英军联合美军和欧洲国家密集进行联合军事行动	中立描述	近日，英国、美国和立陶宛三国在立陶宛卡兹卢鲁达举行“军刀出击-2022”联合军演。演习中， 立陶宛凯斯图蒂斯机动步兵营 搭乘三国军机，从帕布拉德快速部署至卡兹卢鲁达训练区，并根据演习设想遂行作战行动，摧毁假想敌关键地区的非传统目标。此外，英军还在爱沙尼亚塔帕中心训练区与爱沙尼亚国防军进行联合演习。不过，分析人士认为，受经济、科技、军事实力和综合国力不断下降影响，英军在实现陆海空天网战力有机融合方面存在较大短板，在有效应对传统和非传统安全威胁方面也面临诸多问题。此外，英国“脱欧”后急于加强与美国的特殊关系，与欧洲盟友渐行渐远，在号召他国共同塑造地区安全格局方面缺乏必要的信誉和实力。	http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0518/c1011-32424335.html
130	新华网	2022.05.28	立陶宛：高通胀带火蔬果自种生意	立陶宛蔬果自种生意因为物价上涨越来越被广泛接受	中立评价	由于物价上涨，在立陶宛，越来越多的人开始自种蔬果，以节省开支。该国市场上种子和幼苗销量明显增加。根据立陶宛国家统计局公布的数据，立陶宛4月份年化通胀率达16.8%，创1994年以来新高。其中，住房、水、电、煤气、食品、非酒精饮料等价格上涨明显。以百姓餐桌上经常出现的番茄为例，4月的平均价格就比3月高出43.3%。许多立陶宛人决定自己种植，抵御通胀。据立陶宛最大的连锁超市马克西玛市场部负责人埃内斯塔·达普金介绍，4月份，超市的黄瓜、西红柿、甜菜、南瓜等有机种子的销售额是去年同期的两倍。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0528/c1002-32432783.html

131	中国国防报	2022.06.10	小规模合作助力欧洲防务一体化	小规模合作助力欧洲防务一体化	中立描述	东欧各国在克里米亚危机后迅速“向西靠拢”，英国携手爱沙尼亚在阿富汗战场并肩作战，德国占据了立陶宛军火进口市场的最大份额，捷克向斯洛伐克派遣部队并负责监督驻扎在那里的联合部队，	http://military.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0610/c1011-32443282.html
132	新华网	2022.06.20	俄罗斯警告将对立陶宛“封锁”加里宁格勒作出回击	立陶宛禁止经立陶宛铁路向加里宁格勒运输货物，俄罗斯做出回应	中立描述	立陶宛在未事先通知俄方情况下，禁止经立境内铁路向加里宁格勒州运输大部分种类货物，俄方要求立即取消这些限制。俄方认为，立陶宛措施违反了国际法律义务，特别是俄罗斯和欧盟签署的关于加里宁格勒州和俄联邦其他领土之间过境问题的联合声明。如果在不久的将来未能恢复货物运输，俄方保留采取行动维护国家利益的权利。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0620/c1002-32451403.html
133	新华国际	2022.06.27	立陶宛激怒俄罗斯，面临什么后果	预估俄罗斯对立陶宛的回击（过高估计了俄罗斯的回击力度）	消极，立陶宛以加里宁格勒要挟俄罗斯	鉴于立陶宛具有欧盟和北约成员国的身份，俄与北约和欧盟关系面临的风险急剧上升。一方面，因乌克兰危机恶化的俄欧关系更添复杂因素。俄拟采取的报复措施可能不止影响立陶宛本国，而是会影响欧盟整体利益。对于欧盟来说，更大的担忧在于俄是否会出兵控制苏瓦乌基走廊，切断波罗的海国家与欧盟的联系。苏瓦乌基走廊是加里宁格勒与白俄罗斯之间的狭长地带，是波罗的海国家与其他欧盟成员国的唯一陆路连接。另一方面，俄同北约的军事冲突风险上升。俄联邦委员会外交事务委员会副主席克里莫夫称，通过对加里宁格勒地区实施运输封锁，立陶宛拆除了“这些年作为欧盟成员国一直坐着的椅子”，将引起俄与北约之间不可控的军事风险。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0627/c1002-32457608.html
134	人民网	2022.07.04	分析人士：美国在欧洲渲染俄罗斯威胁 导致紧张局势	援引分析人士亚历山大·帕维奇的分析称美国和欧洲联手在欧洲制造紧张形势	消极，立陶宛人被英美和欧盟当成炮灰，挑起欧洲与俄罗斯的紧张局势	我们看到过去几个月和几年所发生的事情，我想说这是故意挑衅，这可能不是来自芬兰政府的想法，但我认为这是华盛顿的想法。他们把乌克兰人当炮灰，把立陶宛人当炮灰，现在又想把芬兰人当炮灰。我不认为芬兰、瑞典的政治家们会决定这样做，这些（希望在芬兰建北约基地的人），显然受到他们国家以外的权力直接影响和控制。我想说首先是华盛顿，其次是伦敦，还有布鲁塞尔的一些人。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0704/c1002-32465700.html

135	人民网	2022.07.22	欧洲央行开启加息进程	欧洲央行加息应对通胀	中立描述经济状况	虽然当前欧元区整体通胀率略低于美国，但是有近 10 个成员国的通胀率已超过 10%，爱沙尼亚、 立陶宛 等波罗的海国家通胀率更是超过了 20%... 总体来看，考虑到当前欧洲“下一代欧盟”复兴计划以及绿色和数字“双转型”的部分投资项目正在推进当中，第一季度复苏势头也较为强劲，预计全年经济仍将实现正增长。欧盟委员会 7 月 14 日将 2022 年欧元区 GDP 增长预测下调至 2.6%，明年下调至 1.4%。未来，欧盟及欧元区或将根据形势变化进一步使用政策工具来应对当前困境。	http://finance.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0722/c1004-32482953.html
136	人民网	2022.08.05	沪上街巷“云”上课堂	来自多个国家的学生在夏令营互动中学习中文	积极，人文交流活动	日前，由中外语言交流合作中心支持、华东师范大学承办的“2022 年英国大学生暑期中文学校夏令营”结营。营员中，除了来自英国诺丁汉大学、杜伦大学、兰卡斯特大学、中央兰开夏大学、伦敦政治经济学院、伦敦国王学院等英国院校的中文专业大学生之外，还包括来自英国的诺丁山伊令中学、玛丽皇后中学，以及 立陶宛 维尔纽斯大学孔子学院的中文学习者。	http://edu.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0805/c1006-32495127.html
137	人民网	2022.08.11	立陶宛官员率团窜台，中方将坚决回击！	批评立陶宛官方访问台湾	消极，立陶宛官员访台	敦促 立陶宛 有关人员不要充当台湾的棋子	http://v.people.cn/n1/2022/0811/c431206-32500636.html
138	新华网	2022.08.31	欧洲 8 国和欧盟决定 2030 年波罗的海风电产能增 6 倍	欧盟决定大力发展波罗的海风电产能	中立报道	此次峰会的与会国包括丹麦、瑞典、波兰、芬兰、爱沙尼亚、拉脱维亚、立陶宛、德国。会上签署的“马林堡宣言”还规划从位于波罗的海的丹麦博恩霍尔姆岛铺设一条连接德国、长约 470 公里的电缆，以便在需要时输电。	http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2022/0831/c1002-32516486.html