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# Weaponizing migration and reinforcing border protection:

Development of Belarus-Lithuania border dynamics between the 2020 Belarusian presidential election and the start of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine

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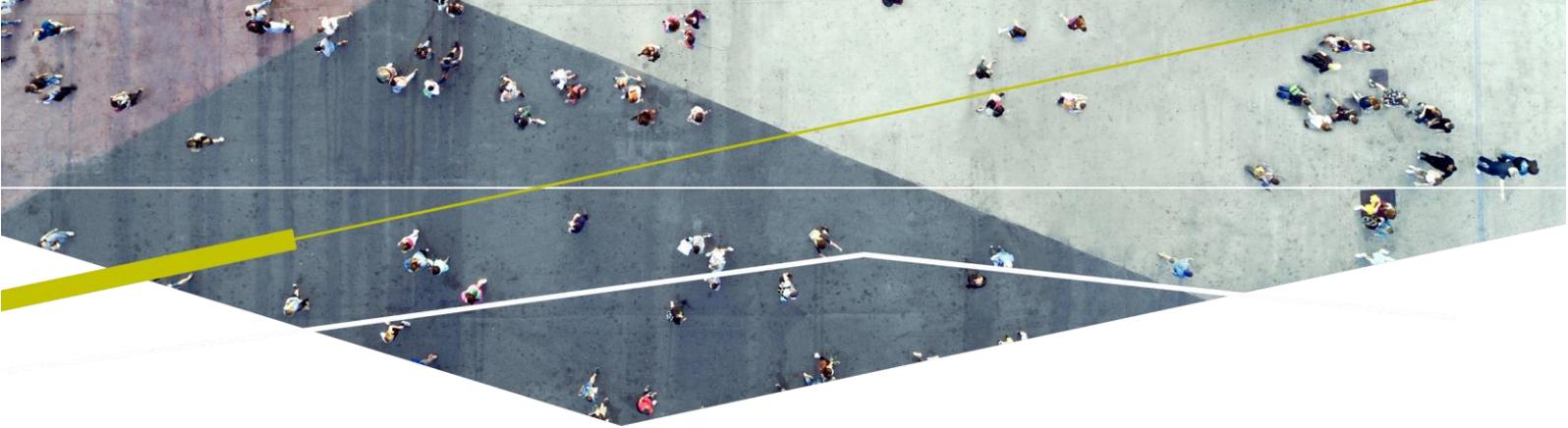
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# UniGR-Center for Border Studies

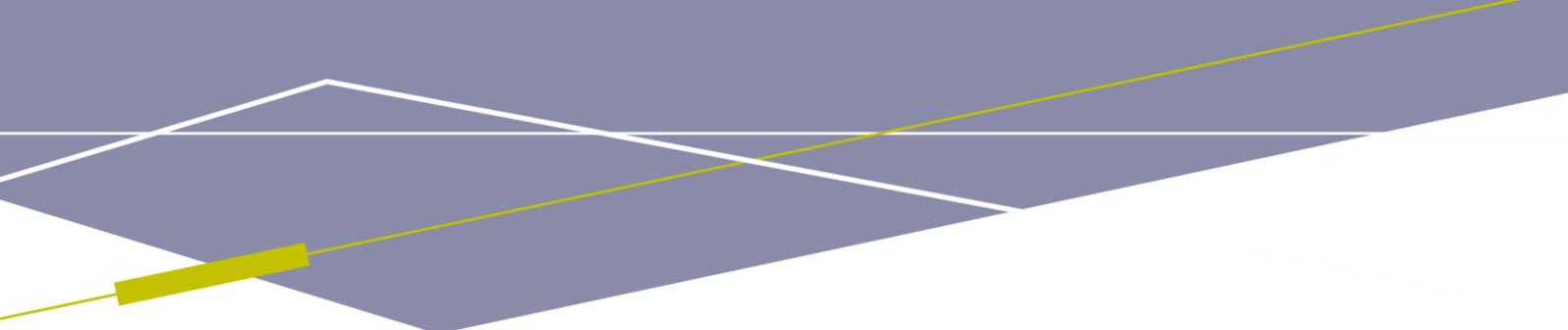
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**FR** L’UniGR-CBS un réseau transfrontalier et thématique qui réunit environ 80 chercheuses et chercheurs des universités membres de l’Université de la Grande Région (UniGR) spécialistes des études sur les frontières, leurs significations et enjeux. Grâce à sa position géographique au « cœur de l’Europe », à sa capacité d’expertise et à la diversité des disciplines participantes, l’UniGR-CBS revêt tous les atouts d’un réseau d’excellence européen. L’UniGR-CBS bénéficie d’un financement d’environ 2,6 M € FEDER dans le cadre du programme INTERREG VA Grande Région de 2018-2022 pour mettre en place le Centre européen de ressources et de compétences en études sur les frontières. Via ce projet transfrontalier, le réseau scientifique UniGR-CBS créera des outils de recherche harmonisés. Il œuvre en outre à l’ancrage des Border Studies dans l’enseignement, développe le dialogue entre le monde scientifique et les acteurs institutionnels autour d’enjeux transfrontaliers et apporte son expertise à la stratégie de développement territorial de la Grande Région.

**DE** Das UniGR-CBS ist ein grenzüberschreitendes thematisches Netzwerk von rund 80 Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern der Mitgliedsuniversitäten des Verbunds Universität der Großregion (UniGR), die über Grenzen und ihre Bedeutungen sowie Grenzraumfragen forschen. Dank seiner geographischen Lage „im Herzen Europas“, hoher Fachkompetenz und disziplinärer Vielfalt verfügt das UniGR-CBS über alle Voraussetzungen für ein europäisches Exzellenz-Netzwerk. Für den Aufbau des Europäischen Kompetenz- und Wissenszentrums für Grenzraumforschung wird das Netzwerk UniGR-CBS von 2018-2022 mit knapp 2,6 Mio. Euro EFRE-Mitteln im Rahmen des INTERREG VA Großregion Programms gefördert. Im Laufe des Projekts stellt das UniGR-Netzwerk abgestimmte Forschungswerkzeuge bereit, verankert die Border Studies in der Lehre, entwickelt den Dialog zu grenzüberschreitenden Themen zwischen wissenschaftlichen und institutionellen Akteuren und trägt mit seiner Expertise zur Raumentwicklungsstrategie der Großregion bei.





# Weaponizing migration and reinforcing border protection: Development of Belarus-Lithuania border dynamics between the 2020 Belarusian presidential election and the start of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine

Jordi Bakker

Up until May 2021, the post-election insecurity in Belarus had mostly been a national affair, but with Lukashenka's regime starting to retaliate against foreign actors, the crisis internationalised. This article follows the development of Belarus-Lithuania border dynamics between the 2020 Belarusian presidential election and the start of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine. A qualitative content analysis of English-language articles published by Lithuanian public broadcaster LRT shows that there were relatively few changes to the border dynamics in the period between 9 August 2020 and 26 May 2021. After 26 May 2021, the border dynamics changed significantly: The Belarusian regime started facilitating migration, and more than 4,200 irregular migrants crossed into Lithuania from Belarus in 2021. In response, Lithuania reinforced its border protection and tried to deal with the irregular migration flows. Calls for action were made, protests were held, and the country received international support.

**Belarusian protests, Belarus-EU border crisis, international security, Ryanair Flight 4978, hybrid warfare, irregular migration, migrant pushbacks**

## Migration als Waffe und Stärkung des Grenzschutzes: Entwicklung der belarussisch-litauischen Grenzdyamik zwischen den belarussischen Präsidentschaftswahlen 2020 und dem Beginn der russischen Invasion in der Ukraine 2022

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Bis Mai 2021 war die Unsicherheit nach den Wahlen in Belarus hauptsächlich eine nationale Angelegenheit, aber als Lukaschenkas Regime begann, Vergeltungsmaßnahmen gegen ausländische Akteure zu ergreifen, internationalisierte sich die Krise. Dieser Artikel verfolgt die Entwicklung der Grenzdyamik zwischen Belarus und Litauen zwischen den belarussischen Präsidentschaftswahlen 2020 und dem Beginn der russischen Invasion in der Ukraine 2022. Eine qualitative Inhaltsanalyse englischsprachiger Artikel des öffentlichen rechtlichen litauischen Senders LRT zeigt, dass sich die Grenzdyamik im Zeitraum vom 9. August 2020 bis zum 26. Mai 2021 relativ wenig verändert hat. Nach dem 26. Mai 2021 hat sich die Grenzdyamik erheblich verändert: Das belarussische Regime begann, die Migration zu fördern, und mehr als 4.200 irreguläre Migranten kamen 2021 aus Belarus nach Litauen. Als Reaktion darauf verstärkte Litauen seinen Grenzschutz

und versuchte, mit den irregulären Migrationsströmen fertig zu werden. Es gab Aufrufe zum Handeln, es fanden Proteste statt und das Land erhielt internationale Unterstützung.

**Proteste in Belarus, Grenzkrise zwischen Belarus und der EU, internationale Sicherheit, Ryanair-Flug 4978, hybride Kriegsführung, irreguläre Migration, Pushbacks von Migranten**

## **Migration comme arme et renforcement de la protection des frontières : évolution de la dynamique frontalière entre la Biélorussie et la Lituanie entre l'élection présidentielle biélorusse de 2020 et le début de l'invasion russe de l'Ukraine en 2022**

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Jusqu'en mai 2021, l'insécurité post-électorale en Biélorussie était principalement une affaire nationale, mais avec le régime de Loukachenko commençant à riposter contre les acteurs étrangers, la crise s'est internationalisée. Cet article suit le développement de la dynamique frontalière entre la Biélorussie et la Lituanie entre l'élection présidentielle biélorusse de 2020 et le début de l'invasion russe de l'Ukraine en 2022. Une analyse qualitative du contenu des articles en anglais publiés par le radiodiffuseur public lituanien LRT montre qu'il y a eu relativement peu de changements dans la dynamique frontalière entre le 9 août 2020 et le 26 mai 2021. Après le 26 mai 2021, la dynamique frontalière a changé de manière significative : le régime biélorusse a commencé à faciliter la migration et plus de 4 200 migrants irréguliers sont entrés en Lituanie depuis la Biélorussie en 2021. En réponse, la Lituanie a renforcé sa protection aux frontières et a tenté de faire face aux flux migratoires irréguliers. Des appels à l'action ont été lancés, des manifestations ont eu lieu et le pays a reçu un soutien international.

**Manifestations en Biélorussie, Crise frontalière entre la Biélorussie et l'UE, sécurité internationale, vol Ryanair 4978, guerre hybride, migration irrégulière, refoulements de migrants**

### **SUGGESTED CITATION**

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## Introduction

*"It is clear that 9 August 2020 was a turning point in Belarusian history. An entire country is being held hostage by Alexander Lukashenko."*

These were the words of former German foreign minister Heiko Maas on the situation in Belarus one year after the presidential election in that country (Federal Foreign Office, 2021). His message was in line with a joint statement issued by the members of the European Council nearly one year prior, refusing to recognise the results of the election because they "were neither free nor fair", and condemning "the disproportionate and unacceptable violence displayed by the state authorities against peaceful protesters" (European Council, 2020). The latter statement had little effect on incumbent Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka: "We held elections already. Until you kill me, there will be no other elections", he responded (Reuters, 2020).

Belarus is often labelled as the last dictatorship in Europe, with Lukashenka ruling without major challenges since 1994 (Bedford, 2021). However, the 2020 presidential election was different from previous ones: three political newcomers gathered the 100,000 signatures needed to register their candidacy, and especially political and business vlogger Siarhei Tsikhanouski became a popular presidential candidate. Fearing their popularity, Lukashenka's regime didn't accept the candidacy of the two other newcomers. Tsikhanouski himself was arrested, leaving his wife Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya to register in his place. Her campaign was met with unprecedented enthusiasm and her opposition rallies attracted as much as 60,000 people (Way, 2020). The government's official election results published on the day after the election did not seem to reflect reality, however, and showed Lukashenka beating Tsikhanouskaya 80 to 10 percent. This led to claims of electoral fraud the world over. Two days after the election, Tsikhanouskaya was forced leave Belarus and fled to Vilnius, Lithuania, where she lives and works to this day (Atlantic Council, 2021).

The discrepancy between the official election result and alternative polls was so stark that it caused immense backlash throughout Belarus. Hundreds of thousands of Belarusians gathered for peaceful protests in cities all over the country, making them the largest ever protests in independent Belarus (Rosenfeld, 2022). Although they were violently suppressed by Belarusian military forces, protest marches against Lukashenka's authoritarian regime were held every weekend for the next six months. The number of participants slowly decreased from hundreds of thousands at the height of the protests to just a few thousand in December 2020 (Bedford, 2021). Over the course of this half year of protests, approximately 45,000 people were detained, some of them receiving fines or prison sentences of up to several years, while key opposition figures and critical journalists faced trial and death sentences or were forced into exile (Korosteleva & Petrova, 2021). The desired regime change has not taken place: Lukashenka remains in power to this day.

One of the critical journalists who used to live and work in exile is Raman Pratasyevich. On 23 May 2021, he was on Ryanair Flight 4978 from Athens to Vilnius, which was diverted to Belarus under the presence of an explosive device on board the aircraft. Under escort of a Belarusian fighter jet, his plane was forced to land in Minsk, where Belarusian security officials detained him and his girlfriend Sofia Sapega (Huttunen, 2021; Leukavets, 2022). Internationally, the diversion was condemned, and Belarus was accused of air piracy, state terrorism and hijacking the plane (BBC, 2021). The European Council, among others, demanded the immediate release of Pratasyevich and Sapega, and called for further economic sanctions against Belarus and a ban on Belarusian airlines in EU airspace (European Council, 2021a). On 26 May 2021, Lukashenka threatened to retaliate if restrictive measures were imposed on his regime.

After 26 years of relatively unchallenged rule, Lukashenka has faced unprecedented difficulty staying in power after the 2020 Belarusian presidential election. A national crisis developed after the fraudulent elections, which gained an international dimension after Lukashenka's threats and the EU sanctions against his regime. This instability in and around Belarus is likely to have influenced the dynamics of the Belarus-Lithuania border. The goal of this research therefore is to find out what actors in Lithuania and Belarus have done to change the forms and functions of their shared border after the presidential election.

## Theoretical Framework

### Bordering the state

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State borders have traditionally been regarded as the most distinct geographic demarcation lines, distinguishing a sovereign state from its neighbours (Newman, 2001). They classify space, communicate a sense of place, and impose jurisdiction over a place. In doing so, they materialise power and become expressions

of power relations (Paasi, 1998; Sack, 1986). Borders are constantly being negotiated by plethora of social actors, making them “social and discursive constructs with important ramifications, both politically and in people’s everyday lives” (Storey, 2017, p. 118) and sites of “a certain intensification of political and even existential stakes that crystallize relations of domination and exploitation, subjection and subjectivation, power and resistance” (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2012, p. 60).

Closely related to ‘state’, ‘borders’, and ‘power’ is the concept of sovereignty, which refers to the power of a state to have control over its territory and the people within its borders, without external interference (Storey, 2017). State sovereignty is not a matter of simply drawing borders on a map; it requires the consolidation of domestic power within state borders (Sheehan, 2006). The origins of state sovereignty can be traced back to the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, which acknowledged that each state had exclusive power over its own territory (Flint & Taylor, 2018). Little by little, centrally organised legal, taxation, defence, and education systems as well as social protection policies and police jurisdiction reinforced the sovereign state’s claims to control social life (Sheehan, 2006). It is through these numerous ways of state control over the lives of citizens that we come to think in a strongly state-centred territorial way, which serves to materialise political-territorial structures (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002; Sack, 1986).

The territorialisation of sovereignty also means that borders have become increasingly spatial, with guard towers and barbed wire serving as extreme examples of the markers of the territorial limits within which sovereign power can be exercised (Donnan & Wilson, 2021). States have never been neatly bounded spatial containers, however. Storey (2017, p. 121) perceives them as “dynamic evolving entities, constantly reconfigured through the interactions of social, economic, cultural and political activity”. Because of this constant negotiation, states are never finished as entities, and the current state of borders should always be regarded as an expression of the power structures that exist between societies (Paasi, 1998).

## Debordering and rebordering

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In the early 1990s, the Soviet Union collapsed, East and West Germany reunited, the European Union was formed, and trade, transportation, and communication became increasingly globalised. In this context, many assumed that the importance of states and their borders would be significantly reduced (Diener & Hagen, 2009). Although some questioned this ‘debordering’ presumption, scholars, entrepreneurs, and government officials largely believed the world system would change profoundly and that international borders would indeed become increasingly porous, permeable, and irrelevant.

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 have heralded developments in border theory that are conflicting with – but at the same time related to – the prevalent debordering hypotheses of the 1990s. Increasingly aware and fearful of porous borders, states and their citizens gained renewed determination to assert greater control over them (*ibid.*). In the face of the perceived security threat, governments began reassessing their border policies, re-closing their borders, and hardening visa requirements and immigration procedures, making it more difficult to cross them (Andreas, 2003). The developments of the 1990s cannot be reversed, however. This makes it almost impossible to close borders as hermetically as in the past (Newman, 2006). Rumford (2006, p. 156) describes the seemingly contradictory simultaneous opening and closing of borders as follows:

*“Alongside this diminution in the importance of borders as physical barriers (or mental boundaries) is the awareness that ‘hard’ borders still exist at the edges of nation-state territories, brimming with security controls and state-of-the-art surveillance technology.”*

Thus, increasing globalisation can be consistent with the reinforcement of state borders. Despite tension between narratives that emphasize the porosity and permeability of borders as a feature of globalisation and narratives that draw attention to the increasing securitisation of borders, debordering and rebordering occur simultaneously and accompany each other.

## Categorising border forms and functions

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*“Boundaries should not [...] be taken for granted, as if they were elements with one essence, function and trajectory. Neither should boundaries be understood as having some universal, independent causal power. Instead they are social and political constructs that are established by human beings for human – and clearly at times for very non-human – purposes.”* (Paasi, 2005, p. 27)

Despite always being arbitrary lines between territorial entities, borders may also have deep cultural, political, and economic meanings for social communities. Inscribed in these meanings is a plethora of functions that borders can fulfil. Haselsberger (2014, p. 511) has tried to “create a fundamental basis in understanding how the different functions and components of boundaries work together to constantly create and diminish borders” and has summarised border functions in a framework that, among others, distinguishes between geopolitical, sociocultural, and economic borders. According to Haselsberger, the purpose of geopolitical borders is to represent space, delimit territorial sovereignty, administer and manage territories, and defend and protect territories through processes of political inclusion and exclusion. By contrast, sociocultural borders support processes of social inclusion and exclusion, maintain commonalities such as a common history, religion, or language, and protect group-interests, ideologies, culture, tradition, and collective memory. Economic borders are responsible for economic inclusion and exclusion, the administration and management of entire economies, and the regulation and control of flows of commerce, labour, and capital. Because geopolitical, sociocultural, and economic borders frequently exist within the same space, many borders serve many or all the above purposes simultaneously.

One of the fundamental polarities in theorising border differences, which is also closely related to the simultaneous yet conflicting debordering and rebordering processes, is the difference between open and closed borders (Delanty, 2006). The openness of borders is not a binary distinction but can be regarded as a continuum between open and closed, with the concept of border permeability referring to the extent to which cross-border interaction takes place. Especially the increased permeability of European state borders that is the result of European integration processes has received ample attention in academic literature (see for example O’Dowd, 2002; Scott, 2012). However, few attempts to categorise or construct a theory of border permeability have been made (Newman, 2003). One noteworthy endeavour has been undertaken by Oscar Martinez (2002), who has developed four models of borderlands interaction, which can be placed on a continuum ranging from alienated borderlands via ‘co-existent’ and ‘interdependent’ to integrated borderlands.

Whereas the globalisation and debordering narratives of the 1990s fuelled discussions about border permeability and border opening processes, the academic focus turned towards securitisation and border closure processes after 11 September 2001 (Amoore, 2006). Border closure processes consist of attempts “to control all cross-border movements and to direct them to appropriate check-points” (Rosière & Jones, 2012, p. 218) and does not mean that borders get completely sealed shut. This control is achieved by fortifying borders with asymmetrical, physical barriers, which are usually composed of a combination of ditches, barbed wire, fences, walls, and guard towers. The goal of these physical barriers is to protect a country from unwanted cross-border flows (Hassner & Wittenberg, 2015). The number of fortified borders has increased substantially since the turn of the millennium, and more barriers have been built in the last two decades than in the entire twentieth century (Vallet, 2021). However, there are major differences in the extent to which states fortify their borders. Closely linked to Martinez’ categorisation of border types is a typology of border infrastructures developed by Gülzau and Mau (2021), who distinguish between no-man’s-land borders, landmark borders, checkpoint borders, barrier borders, and fortified borders. Rosière and Jones (2012) do not include the absence of border infrastructure in their typology of border infrastructures and only focus on different types of barriers. They consider four categories of barriers that limit cross-border flows: fences, walls, frontlines, and closed straights.

## The Belarus-Lithuania border

The border between Lithuania and Belarus starts at the tripoint with the Latvian border in the north and stretches to the tripoint with the Polish border in the southwest. Its total length is 679 kilometres, of which 380 kilometres are land borders and 299 kilometres are water borders, and it was not fully demarcated until 2007 (Nacionalinė Žemės Tarnyba, 2020). Apart from being a state border, the border between Belarus and Lithuania also forms part of the EU and Schengen Area border with the Union State and the Commonwealth of Independent States. 19 border control posts exist: four international road crossings, eleven local road crossings, three rail crossings and one river crossing (Ministry of Transport and Communications, 2021).

After Lithuania and Belarus gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1990 and 1991 respectively, their border changed from being merely administrative in character to a border between two countries heading in vastly different political directions (Kudžmaitė, 2022). Especially after joining the EU and NATO in 2004, Lithuania has openly criticised violations of human rights and the principles of democracy in Belarus and has actively supported the Belarusian opposition, social activists, and independent media (Kłysiński, 2013). Unlike Lithuania, Belarus has close political and economic ties to Russia and has not showed interest

in joining the EU or NATO. Instead, the country has been lingering between pro-Russian rhetoric and maintaining good relations with the EU through the Eastern Partnership initiative (Kudžmaitė, 2019).

Lithuania has developed what Kłysiński (2013, p. 1) calls a “double-track policy with regard to Belarus”: it criticises Lukashenka’s regime and supports the Belarusian opposition, while continuing to deepen cross-border economic ties at the same time. This approach can be explained by the Soviet past that Belarus and Lithuania share. The dissolution of the Soviet era connections made the two countries economically dependent on each other: landlocked Belarus needed Lithuanian road, rail, and port infrastructure for the transit of Belarusian goods, whereas Lithuania became reliant on Belarus for the transit of its gas and oil supplies from Russia (Goujon et al., 2005). The transit links between Belarus and the Lithuanian ports have been maintained and developed, and in 2012 approximately one third of the cargo handled at the Lithuanian port of Klaipėda and forty percent of goods transported by Lithuanian railways originated from Belarus (Kłysiński, 2013). Between 2004 and 2012, Lithuanian exports to Belarus increased fourfold and trade in the other direction tripled, despite EU sanctions against Lukashenka’s regime (Dudzińska & Dyrer, 2013).

The Belarus-Lithuanian border has constituted a major obstacle for passenger transport until relatively recently. In 2010, both countries agreed on the establishment of a Local Border Traffic area, which would allow residents living within fifty kilometres of either side the border to cross it without visas and with special local border traffic permits. However, Belarus never ratified the agreement and has since abandoned the plan (Ivan et al., 2016). Instead, citizens of Lithuania and eighty other countries have been able to visit Belovezhskaya Pushcha National Park in Belarus visa-free since 2015. The same has been the case for visitors to the Grodno region since 2016 and for travellers entering Belarus through the airport of Minsk since 2017 (Kudžmaitė, 2019). From the Lithuanian side, the border has remained relatively closed for passengers. This changed only in July 2020, when a Visa Facilitation Agreement between the EU and Belarus came into force. The agreement brought down the costs and issuing time of visas, making it easier for Belarusians to enter the EU and therefore also to cross the border from Belarus into Lithuania (Kudžmaitė, 2022).

## Methodology

*“We stopped drugs and migrants. Now you will eat them and catch them yourselves.”*

This is how Lukashenka phrased his threat to retaliate if the European Union would impose restrictive measures on his regime for the forced landing of Ryanair Flight 4978 (Bennetts, 2021). These EU sanctions were eventually imposed in June 2021 (European Council, 2021b), which meant that if Lukashenka was to keep his promise, he would have to start using not only drugs and migrants, but also the Belarus-Lithuania border as leverage in the conflict. The border in question demarcates the territorial limits of both Belarus and Lithuania, however, which implies that Lithuanian actors can influence its forms and functions too. Moreover, the fact that Lithuania’s favourable attitude towards the Belarusian opposition goes back to at least 2004 raises the question how the dynamics of the Belarus-Lithuania border evolved before Lukashenka’s threat. This research therefore aims to answer the following questions:

1. How have actors in Belarus changed the forms and functions of the Belarus-Lithuania border between the 2020 Belarusian presidential election and Lukashenka’s threat of 26 May 2021?
2. How have actors in Lithuania changed the forms and functions of the Belarus-Lithuania border between the 2020 Belarusian presidential election and Lukashenka’s threat of 26 May 2021?
3. How have actors in Belarus changed the forms and functions of the Belarus-Lithuania border between Lukashenka’s threat of 26 May 2021 and the start of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine?
4. How have actors in Lithuania changed the forms and functions of the Belarus-Lithuania border between Lukashenka’s threat of 26 May 2021 and the start of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine?

Together, these questions answer the central question of this research, which is the following:

How have the dynamics of the Belarus-Lithuania border developed between the 2020 Belarusian presidential election and the start of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine?

Changes to the dynamics of the Belarus-Lithuania border are identified through a qualitative content analysis of English-language online news articles. Because of the topicality of the subject, little has been written about the dynamics of the Belarus-Lithuania border after the 2020 Belarusian presidential election in academia, and no theory has been developed thus far. Therefore, an inductive approach is used.

Considering that public broadcasters usually are independent and distanced from all government interests and that their articles cater for a diverse range of interests and are freely available to the public (Harrison & Woods, 2001), an analysis of articles about the Belarus-Lithuania border dynamics published by Belarusian state broadcaster BelteleRadio and Lithuanian public broadcaster LRT should provide well-balanced answers to both the main question and sub-questions of this research. However, BelteleRadio is considered a propaganda outlet of the Belarusian state. For this reason, its European Broadcasting Union membership has been suspended and its website is currently unavailable in the EU (EBU, 2021). Aware of the fact that they only offer one perspective on the border dynamics, this research therefore only analyses English-language news articles published by LRT. The text material used for analysis is defined as follows:

	Sub-questions 1 & 2	Sub-questions 3 & 4
Source of articles	Lithuanian public broadcaster LRT	
Publication date	9 August 2020 – 26 May 2021	26 May 2021 – 24 February 2022
Selection criteria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Article must contain the words “Belarus” and “border”</li> <li>• Title must contain the word “border”</li> <li>• Subject of the article must be the Belarus-Lithuania border</li> </ul>	
Analysed material	Title and main body of text	

Overview of the text material used for analysis, fig. 1  
Source: own work

The scope of this analysis is explorative, so there is no preformulated set of categories and the categories must be developed inductively. The category definition is formulated as:

Changes to the physical forms and socio-political functions of the Belarus-Lithuania border undertaken by actors in Lithuania or Belarus.

The level of abstraction is formulated as:

Concrete actions undertaken by actors in Belarus or Lithuania between 9 August 2020 and 24 February 2022 with the aim of altering the existing forms or functions of the Belarus-Lithuania border.

All collected LRT articles are analysed applying the same rules and using the same category system. The results of this qualitative content analysis are a list of main and sub-categories, a frequency analysis of the category occurrences, and an interpretation in the direction of the research question.

## Results

### Developments before Lukashenka’s threat

19 articles have been analysed to find out how actors in Belarus and Lithuania have tried to influence the dynamics of their shared border between 9 August 2020 and 26 May 2021. The prevailing categories of action that result from this analysis are the reinforcement of border protection and the closing of the border. Both activities were undertaken by Belarus and are discussed in six of the nineteen articles. All other identified categories of action are only discussed in one or two articles. Among others, these measures include NATO exercises in Lithuania and a Lithuanian boycott of Belarusian energy. Figure 2 provides an overview of all defined categories and their occurrence, and an overview of which categories are discussed in every analysed article can be found in the annex.

The only two steps Belarus has undertaken to change the form and function of the border are closing it and reinforcing its protection. “Worried about NATO’s military exercises in neighbouring Lithuania” (Article no. 2), Belarusian military presence in the west of the country was strengthened a week after the elections. An airborne brigade was relocated to Grodno, near the Polish and Lithuanian borders, and military

drills were carried out at this location a few days later. In September, Lukashenka announced plans to close the border and further reinforce it:

*“We are compelled to withdraw our troops from the streets, have half our army on guard and close our state border with the West, first of all with Lithuania and Poland.” (Art. 8)*

Belarus completely closed its border with Lithuania for all light transport on 29 October, citing safety requirements to prevent the spread of the coronavirus. Only freight transport was allowed to enter and even Belarusian citizens were being turned down at the crossings. This policy was revised one day later, when Belarus allowed “its nationals and foreigners who have work visas, employment contracts or residence permits to enter” (Art. 13).

Actions undertaken in Belarus	Actions undertaken in Lithuania
Reinforcing border protection (6)	NATO exercises (2)
Closing border (6)	Boycotting Belarusian energy (2)
	Upgrading border infrastructure (1)
	Protesting border closure (1)

Overview of the defined categories and their occurrence, fig. 2

Source: own work

Lithuania has taken several measures with the aim to change the dynamics of its border with Belarus after 9 August 2020. When Belarus started power production at the Astravyets nuclear power plant fifty kilometres from Vilnius, Lithuania suspended all power trading and started boycotting Belarusian electricity. Furthermore, the country decided on a 24-million-euro upgrade of the Medininkai border crossing with Belarus and sent “a diplomatic note to Minsk in protest over its decision to close the Belarusian border to passenger transport” (Art. 15). Lastly, NATO exercises and deployment of foreign forces continued to take place in Lithuania, with the purpose of “deterrence and defence” (Art. 3).

## Developments after Lukashenka’s threat

Compared to the nine months before 26 May 2021, the dynamics of the Belarus-Lithuania border changed considerably after Lukashenka’s threat. A total of 136 articles have been analysed to find out how actors in Belarus and Lithuania have tried to influence the dynamics of their shared border between 26 May 2021 and 24 February 2022. The main categories that have been defined include international actions involving Belarus and Lithuania respectively, actions undertaken by either of the two states, and actions undertaken by the public in Lithuania. In total, five actions undertaken in Belarus and eighteen actions undertaken in Lithuania have been identified.

Two international actions involving Belarus result from the analysis: irregular border crossings from Belarus into Lithuania (discussed in 57 articles, 41.9% of all articles) and military build-up near the border (8 articles, 5.9%). The most widely discussed action undertaken by the Belarusian state is the facilitation of migration from Belarus to Lithuania, which is talked about in half of the articles (67 articles, 49.2% of all articles). Other identified steps taken by the Belarusian state are the restriction of travel rights of Belarusian citizens (3 articles, 2.2%) and the taking down of border barriers (2 articles, 1.4%).

The number of identified actions undertaken by actors in Lithuania is larger. The most widely discussed international action involving Lithuania is EU support, which can be divided into the deployment of Frontex officers (discussed in 17 articles, 12.5% of all articles), sanctions against Belarus (10 articles, 7.4%), and support from the European Asylum Support Office (EASO) (3 articles, 2.2%). Bilateral cooperation is talked about in 11 articles (8.1%). Actions undertaken by the Lithuanian state include the reinforcement of border protection, dealing with irregular migration flows, calls for international action, and diplomatic protest. Five sub-categories fall under the reinforcement of border protection: the declaration of a state of emergency (discussed in 29 articles, 21.3% of all articles), the construction of border barriers (27 articles, 19.9%), the strengthening of border patrols (25 articles, 18.4%), the restriction of border area access (12 articles, 8.8%), and the installation of surveillance systems on the border (4 articles, 2.9%). Three sub-categories deal with irregular migration flows: migrant pushbacks (discussed in 45 articles, 33.1% of all articles),

the detention of migrants (21 articles, 15.4%), and the restriction of migrant rights (11 articles, 8.1%). Calls for international action are made in 22 articles (16.2% of all articles), and diplomatic protest is discussed in four (2.9%). The last main category encompasses all actions undertaken by the Lithuanian public. Protests by Belarusians in Lithuania are discussed in five articles (3.7% of all articles), protests against limited border access in two (1.4%), calls for action in five (3.7%), and civilian border patrols in three (2.2%). Figure 3 provides an overview of the main and sub-categories and their occurrence.

	Undertaken in Belarus	Undertaken in Lithuania
International actions	Irregular border crossings (57) Military build-up near the border (8)	EU support: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Deploying Frontex officers</i> (17)</li> <li>• <i>Sanctions</i> (10)</li> <li>• <i>EASO assistance</i> (3)</li> </ul> Bilateral cooperation (11)
State actions	Facilitating migration (67) Restricting citizen travel rights (3) Taking down border barriers (2)	Reinforcing border protection: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>State of emergency</i> (29)</li> <li>• <i>Constructing border barriers</i> (27)</li> <li>• <i>Strengthening border patrols</i> (25)</li> <li>• <i>Restricting border area access</i> (12)</li> <li>• <i>Installing surveillance systems</i> (4)</li> </ul> Dealing with irregular migration flows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Migrant pushbacks</i> (45)</li> <li>• <i>Detaining migrants</i> (21)</li> <li>• <i>Restricting migrant rights</i> (11)</li> </ul> Calls for international action (22) Diplomatic protest (4)
Public actions		Protests <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>By Belarusians in Lithuania</i> (5)</li> <li>• <i>Against limited border access</i> (2)</li> </ul> Calls for action (5) Civilian border patrols (3)

Overview of the defined main and sub-categories and their occurrence, fig. 3  
 Source: own work

Irregular border crossings and facilitation of migration from Belarus to Lithuania are by far the most widely discussed actions undertaken by actors in Belarus aiming to change the forms and functions of the border. Other actions include military build-up near the border, the restriction of citizen travel rights and the taking down of border barriers erected by Lithuania.

Unsurprisingly, “illegal migrants began crossing into Lithuania in May 2021 after Lukashenka threatened to flood the country with migrants and drugs” (Article no. 80). As early as on 27 May – the day after the threat – Lithuania’s Interior Minister Agnė Bilotaitė stated that there had been “an increase in smuggling across the border as well as irregular migration” (Art. 20). In mid-June, the head of the Lithuanian State Border Guard Service said that groups of migrants were crossing from Belarus “on a regular basis, almost every night” and that according to their information, “there is a sufficiently large group of illegal migrants in Minsk and it keeps growing, with new migrants coming from Baghdad or Istanbul” (Art. 29). One month later, around a hundred migrants were crossing into Lithuania each day, compared to 81 in all of 2020, 46 in 2019, and 104 in 2018. In total, “more than 4,200 irregular migrants crossed into Lithuania from Belarus” in 2021 (Art. 155), 2,858 of which were Iraqi nationals, and most others coming from other countries in the Middle East or from Africa.

The first mention of the Belarusian state facilitating migration to Lithuania also comes from the day after Lukashenka’s threat. When Bilotaitė announced on 27 May that cross-border smuggling as well as irregular migration were on the rise, she also said:

*"It seems that, for a fee, these people are transported to the Lithuanian border and then cross into Lithuania in an organised way. [...] Belarusian officials seem to be involved in this, too."* (Art. 20)

Lithuanian prime minister Ingrida Šimonytė echoed Bilotaitė's words a few weeks later and stated that "irregular migration across the Belarusian border has been spurred by the actions of Minsk authorities" and that "some institutions, like tourism agencies, might be part of this picture in the Belarusian regime" (Art. 29). Other Lithuanian and EU officials also blamed Minsk for facilitating the border crossings, calling it "hybrid aggression in retaliation for EU sanctions" (Art. 94) and "weaponization of migration organised by the Minsk regime" (Art. 95). According to the articles, foreigners were being invited to Belarus, and Belarusian law enforcement institutions were taking irregular migrants to the border and then pushing them into Lithuania's territory. Over time, the Belarusian regime took increasingly extreme measures to force migrants over the border. In one instance, "Belarusian officers armed with shields and riot gear forcibly pushed a group of 35 irregular migrants into Lithuania and then entered the country's territory" (Art. 68), and another article reports that "Belarusian border guards started firing flares and gunshots, forcing migrants to enter Lithuania" (Art. 78). Furthermore, Belarusian officers were observed "channelling irregular migrants, pushed back by Poland, into Lithuania" (Art. 98).

Other actions undertaken by actors in Belarus include the build-up of military near the border. One article suggested that "S-300 missile systems may be moving close to the Lithuanian and Polish borders in Belarus" (Art. 34). Moving these systems may have been a preparation for Zapad 2021, "the biggest joint military exercise" between Belarus and Russia "on NATO's eastern borders since Zapad 2017" (Art. 82), which saw Russia deploy between 60,000 and 70,000 troops to Belarus. Zapad 2021 took place in September and was followed by "unannounced military drills near the border with Poland and Lithuania" in November 2021, which were claimed to be a "response to the build-up of military activity nears its borders" (Art. 120).

Furthermore, Belarus has aimed change the dynamics of the border by restricting the travel rights of Belarusian citizens:

*"Minsk began making it more difficult for citizens to leave the country last December, by limiting departures to those Belarus citizens who could present long-term residency permits from abroad. The new rules now forbid the holders of such documents from leaving as well. Those who can prove that they have permanent resident status in another country will be permitted to travel abroad."* (Art. 21)

The last action undertaken by actors in Belarus is the taking down of border barriers erected by Lithuania. According to one article "Lithuania has [...] recorded several cases where someone cut concertina wire on the border" (Art. 137), and in another article it is confirmed that the people doing so were "wearing uniforms of the Belarusian border guards" (Art. 54).

The actions undertaken by actors in Lithuania aiming to change the border dynamics are more numerous than those undertaken by actors in Belarus. Some of the actions that are most widely discussed include the deployment of Frontex officers to Lithuania, the construction of a border barrier, and the pushing back of migrants. All actions undertaken by actors in Lithuania are discussed in more detail below.

The European Union has supported Lithuania in three different ways: by deploying Frontex officers to the country, by sanctioning Belarus, and by sending EASO assistance. The first Frontex officers joined "Lithuanian border guards in patrolling Lithuania's border with Belarus" in early July 2021 and their number was "gradually increased to 30 by mid-July" (Art. 35). Before all thirty officers were deployed, "Lithuania asked Frontex for rapid response forces, 60 officers, four questioning teams with interpreters, 30 vehicles, two helicopters and two sets of thermal vision equipment" (Art. 46). In response, the European Commission allocated "10–12 million euros to help Lithuania deal with migration" in "all the aspects of migration management" where Frontex had capabilities and had "received requests from Lithuania" (Art. 49). At the height of this five-month Rapid Border Intervention mission, 126 Frontex officers were deployed to Lithuania. The mission ended at the end of November and was immediately followed by operation Flexible Operational Activities, which started on 1 December (30 Nov 2021). This new mission involved only around 50 EU border guards, because "the border situation [had] slightly improved" (Art. 136).

Together with all other EU member states, Lithuania also imposed sanctions on Belarus. In response to the forced landing of Ryanair Flight 4978 and the arrest of Raman Pratasevich, the EU banned the Belarusian state-owned airline Belavia from its airspace and imposed restrictive measures on "166 individuals, including Lukashenka and two of his sons, along with 15 companies and agencies linked to the Belarus government" (Art. 62). Lastly, the EU supported Lithuania through the European Asylum Support Office. In

July, Lithuania signed an assistance action plan with EASO, whose migration experts and interpreters came to Lithuania “to help specialists of the country's Migration Department to step up the processing of asylum applications, to communicate with migrants and discuss their return” (Art. 46).

To change the forms and functions of its border with Belarus, Lithuania has also worked together with other countries on a bilateral basis. “Lithuania received 105km of concertina from Estonia and another 24km from Ukraine”, and Slovenia sent another ten kilometres of the wire “along with other elements needed to erect a fence on the Lithuanian-Belarusian border”. Moreover, “Austria donated 50 modular units to house the migrants”, Lithuania “reached agreements with Poland, Ukraine and the United States on technical and expert-level assistance” (Art. 72), and “some 50 officers, including from Poland and Estonia, have helped to protect the border under bilateral agreements” (Art. 133). Lastly, Lithuanian Foreign Minister Gabrielius Landsbergis “asked Iraqi and Turkish governments to step up checks at their airports due to increasing irregular migration via Belarus” (Art. 30).

One way Lithuania has tried to change the forms and functions of its border with Belarus is through the reinforcement of its border protection. This has been done in five different ways: by declaring a state of emergency, by strengthening border patrols, by limiting access to the border area, by constructing border barriers, and by installing surveillance systems. In July, Lithuania declared “a state-level extreme situation” (Art. 59) that allowed “involving additional forces”, made it easier for the State Border Guard Service to work, and obliged municipal authorities “to take care of accommodating the migrants” (Art. 36). On 9 November 2021, the Lithuanian parliament declared a state of emergency “along the five-kilometre strip on the border with Belarus as well as in the migrant accommodation facilities in Kybartai, Medininkai, Pabradė, Rukla, and Vilnius” (Art. 114). According to Bilotaitė, this allowed for “restrictions on movement along the border, [...] restrictions on assembly, restrictions on communication in migrant accommodation centres and, of course, a greater involvement of the Armed Forces” (Art. 112). The state of emergency was in place until 14 January 2022 (Art. 154). The consequences it had on the form and function of the border are discussed in the next paragraphs.

One of the things that the state of emergency made easier was the strengthening of border patrols. It is important to note that Lithuania already started physically reinforcing patrols on the border in June, however, when it “mobilised the Public Security Service and the Riflemen's Union to assist border guards” (Art. 29). In the following month, 260 additional military forces were deployed to the border, and it was not until September that the legal basis was laid for the additional powers that soldiers received after the declaration of a state of emergency in November:

*“The decree authorises the troops patrolling the border with Belarus to give mandatory instructions and detain those who do not comply. The military will also be able to stop, check and inspect vehicles, persons and luggage, and use special equipment if necessary. Troops will only have such powers in border areas as well as in temporary holding or accommodation facilities for irregular migrants.”* (Art. 63)

The soldiers patrolling the border were not only strengthened in their rights, but also in their numbers: by January 2022, over a thousand troops had been deployed to assist the State Border Guard Service.

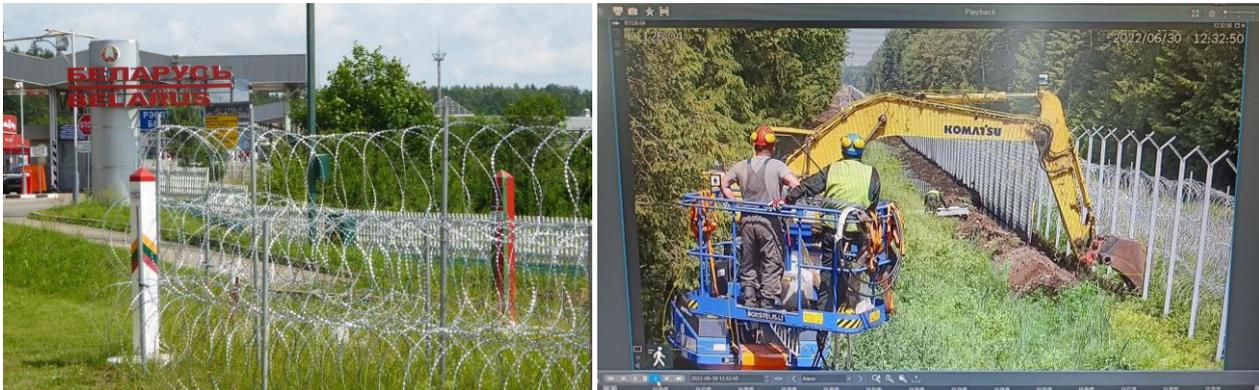
Another result of declaration of the state of emergency in November was that access to the border area became restricted:

*“Under the state of emergency, the movement of vehicles without the permission of the border guards is restricted in the border area. Civilians, except for the local residents, are also banned from entering the border area, stretching five kilometres inland.”* (Art. 122)

Journalists had “been denied entry to the border with Belarus to observe the work of the Lithuanian State Border Guard Service (VSAT) and other authorities” since August already (Art. 77). This policy was reversed a few days after the declaration of the state of emergency. After the state of emergency expired on 14 January, the border area became accessible to everyone again.

Yet another development that has helped reinforce border protection is the construction of border barriers. Unlike the strengthening of border patrols and the restriction of access to the border area, this action is unrelated to the state of emergency. In July 2021, military personnel started “building barbed wire fencing on the border” (Art. 39), and Bilotaitė announced that in parallel, Lithuania would build a fence. In September 2021, construction started on this 508-kilometre long, four-meter-high Y-shaped fence, which was estimated to cost 152 million euros and be finished by September 2022.

The last measure that was taken to reinforce border protection is the installation of surveillance systems. In May 2021, only 38 percent of Lithuania's border with Belarus was covered by surveillance systems, and the country planned “to install surveillance systems along the entire border by late 2022, a project estimated to cost 38 million euros” (Art. 29).



Barbed wire at the Kotlovka-Lavoriškės border crossing and surveillance camera view of the construction of border barriers, fig. 4  
Source: own work

The articles reveal that Lithuania has tried to gain control over irregular migration flows in three different ways: it has detained migrants, restricted their rights, and pushed them back. The Lithuanian government adopted a pushback policy on 3 August, allowing “border guards to push irregular migrants entering Lithuania back to Belarus and [...] oblige them to use legal ways of crossing the border or asking for asylum”. This meant that migrants started being diverted “to the nearest operating international border checkpoint or diplomatic representation” (Art. 53). After adoption of the pushback policy, migrant flows decreased considerably. On some days, over 250 migrants were turned away, and by January 2022, a total of over 8,100 migrants had been pushed back to Belarus.

Closely related to the pushbacks is the restriction of migrant rights. With the adoption of the pushback policy, the number of places where migrants could request asylum was restricted “to the State Border Guard Service at border checkpoints or transit zones, as well as to the Migration Department or Lithuania's diplomatic representations in foreign countries” (Art. 63). Furthermore, in November 2021, “the right of irregular migrants accommodated in Lithuania to communicate in writing or by telephone” was restricted, “except to contact the country's authorities” (Art. 112).

Another way in which Lithuania has tried to deal with migration flows is by detaining irregular migrants. This was done because “the necessary procedures (questioning, finding interpreters, checking documents) can often take a while” (Art. 37). As of August 2021, 4,100 people had been detained, compared to 81 in all of 2020. The majority requested asylum in Lithuania, but some just fled the country after having been questioned by border guards. After adoption of the pushback policy, most irregular migrants were turned away instead of detained.

Beside reinforcing border protection and trying to deal with irregular migration flows, Lithuania has also called for international action and diplomatically protested Belarus' actions. Lithuanian politicians repeatedly called for additional sanctions on Belarus, as well as for the establishment of a unified EU migration policy. Moreover, Lithuania has persistently “called for more attention from Brussels to help protect the country's border with Belarus” (Art. 37). The most frequent request was for EU funding for the construction of border barriers. Lastly, Lithuania handed in a diplomatic note to Belarus twice, “in protest over repeated violations of the border” by Belarusian border guards (Art. 98).

Both Lithuanians and Belarusians living in Lithuania organised protests with the aim to change the form and function of the border. On 5 June, exiled Belarusians launched a protest on the Lithuanian side of the border. The activists set up a tent camp and protested non-stop for over three weeks. Their goal was “to block Belarusian commercial traffic, to pressure the regime to open the borders, release political prisoners, and rally the EU to impose strict sanctions against Minsk” (Art. 33). Lithuanians also staged protests: 150 people participated in an anti-migration rally close to the border in July, “demanding to stop migrants crossing into Lithuania” (Art. 43), and during the state of emergency, journalists and volunteers campaigned for renewed access to border.

Where their government pressed for international action, the Lithuanian public asked for measures on both the international and the national level. As mentioned, the Belarusian activists on the Lithuanian side of the border called for hard-hitting EU sanctions against Lukashenka's regime. Other demands coming

from the public include the call for a national emergency by the State Border Guard Service and calls for sanctions on airlines transporting migrants, such as Aeroflot and Turkish Airlines. Civilians also sprang into action themselves: in November, a group of anti-migration activists gathered on the border “to patrol and look for irregular migrants crossing into the country” (Art. 122), and members of the voluntary organisation Border Group provided humanitarian aid to migrants stranded in the border area in winter.

## Conclusion

Analysis of 19 articles published by Lithuanian public broadcaster LRT between the day of the 2020 Belarusian presidential election and 26 May 2021 – the day President Lukashenka threatened to flood the European Union with drugs and migrants – shows that there were relatively few changes to the border dynamics in this period. The biggest changes were Belarus strengthening its military presence in the west of the country and closing the border to prevent the spread of the coronavirus, and Lithuania boycotting Belarusian energy after power production at the Astravyets nuclear power plant had started.

Analysis of 136 articles published between 26 May 2021 and the start of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine shows that the border dynamics have changed significantly over the course of this nine-month period. The Belarusian regime started facilitating migration, and more than 4,200 irregular migrants crossed into Lithuania from Belarus in 2021. These developments triggered a multitude of reactions in Lithuania. The country reinforced its border protection through declaring a state of emergency, constructing border barriers, strengthening border patrols, and restricting border area access, and tried to deal with the irregular migration flows by detaining migrants, restricting their rights, and pushing back over 8,100 of them. Calls for action were made by the public and by politicians, and protests were held by Belarusians in Lithuania as well as against the restricted access to the border area. Lastly, Lithuania received international support in the form of Frontex officers, joint EU sanctions against Belarus, and bilateral cooperation agreements.

The results of this research show that increasing globalisation can be consistent with the reinforcement of state borders. The seemingly contradictory simultaneous opening and closing of borders described by Rumford (2006) have taken place at the same time: while Lukashenka’s regime set up a new migration route from the Middle East via Belarus to the EU, Lithuania restricted the permeability of its border with Belarus. Especially the actions undertaken by Lithuania after 26 May 2021 support Andreas’ (2003) assertion that in the face of a security threat, governments reassess their border policies, re-close their borders, and harden immigration procedures, making it more difficult to cross them. Furthermore, one can apply Martinez’ (2002) borderlands interaction models and Gülzau and Mau’s (2021) typology of border infrastructures to the Belarus-Lithuania border and conclude that the once co-existent Belarusian-Lithuanian borderlands have become more alienated, and the checkpoint border has turned into a fortified one.

Because only articles published by Lithuanian public broadcaster LRT have been analysed, the Belarusian perspective on the development of the border dynamics remains underexposed in the articles and thus also in the results. However, because LRT does include the Belarusian point of view and is independent and distanced from all government interests, the results are nonetheless valid for the purpose of answering the research questions. Moreover, it is inevitable that some relevant articles are excluded from the analysis because of the use of strict selection criteria. Because most articles about the Belarus-Lithuanian border logically have the word ‘border’ in their title, however, and because LRT does not use the words ‘boundary’ or ‘frontier’ to refer to the border, it is believed that the effect of this strict selection on the validity of the research is negligible.

It is beyond the scope of this study to generate theory that can be applied to borders other than the one between Belarus and Lithuania and to periods other than the one between 9 August 2020 and 24 February 2022. Although Latvia and Poland have also been affected by Lukashenka’s weaponization of migration, they have responded in their own manner. The conclusions of this research can therefore not be transposed to Belarus’ borders with those countries, and further research is needed to find out how the dynamics of the Belarus-Latvia and the Belarus-Poland border have developed. The same goes for the dynamics of the Belarus-Lithuania border after the start of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine: Lukashenka’s regime has supported the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine by providing territory and military airfields to attack from, which has undoubtedly marked the beginning of a new era for the dynamics of the Belarus-Lithuania border.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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JORDI BAKKER completed the Master in Border Studies – taught at UniGR partner universities in Luxembourg, Metz, Saarbrücken and Kaiserslautern – in 2022, has a bachelor's degree in Human Geography from Utrecht University and is passionate about geography, languages, and international relations. Ever since he co-organised a study trip to the Baltic States and Belarus in 2016, he has been interested in geopolitical developments in the post-soviet space. He has followed internships at the embassy of the Netherlands in Estonia and the Swedish Chamber of Commerce in Lithuania and has researched the sustainability motive in the construction of Rail Baltica and the dynamics of the Belarus-Lithuania border.

## ANNEX

Articles used to answer sub-question 1 and 2:

No.	Date	Title	URL	Categories
1	14/8/2020	Lithuania plans human chain from Vilnius to Belarusian border to show solidarity	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1210622/lithuania-plans-human-chain-from-vilnius-to-belarusian-border-to-show-solidarity">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1210622/lithuania-plans-human-chain-from-vilnius-to-belarusian-border-to-show-solidarity</a>	
2	17/8/2020	Lukashenko calls to strengthen military on EU borders, Lithuania monitoring situation	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1211422/lukashenko-calls-to-strengthen-military-on-eu-borders-lithuania-monitoring-situation">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1211422/lukashenko-calls-to-strengthen-military-on-eu-borders-lithuania-monitoring-situation</a>	Reinforcing border protection; NATO exercises
3	17/8/2020	Belarus 'escalates tensions' by launching military drills near Lithuanian border, says minister	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1211594/belarus-escalates-tensions-by-launching-military-drills-near-lithuanian-border-says-minister">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1211594/belarus-escalates-tensions-by-launching-military-drills-near-lithuanian-border-says-minister</a>	Reinforcing border protection
4	19/8/2020	LRT FACTS. Lukashenko blames Lithuania for unrest, finds audience across border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1214458/lrt-facts-lukashenko-blames-lithuania-for-unrest-finds-audience-across-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1214458/lrt-facts-lukashenko-blames-lithuania-for-unrest-finds-audience-across-border</a>	
5	20/8/2020	Belarus' drills near Lithuanian border pose no threat, defence minister says	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1215760/belarus-drills-near-lithuanian-border-pose-no-threat-defence-minister-says">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1215760/belarus-drills-near-lithuanian-border-pose-no-threat-defence-minister-says</a>	Reinforcing border protection
6	23/8/2020	People in Lithuania form human chain from Vilnius to Belarusian border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1217587/people-in-lithuania-form-human-chain-from-vilnius-to-belarusian-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1217587/people-in-lithuania-form-human-chain-from-vilnius-to-belarusian-border</a>	
7	16/9/2020	Belarus to launch nuclear plant on Lithuanian border in November	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1233711/belarus-to-launch-nuclear-plant-on-lithuanian-border-in-november">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1233711/belarus-to-launch-nuclear-plant-on-lithuanian-border-in-november</a>	Boycotting Belarusian energy
8	18/9/2020	Belarus to close border with Lithuania and Poland	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1234912/belarus-to-close-border-with-lithuania-and-poland">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1234912/belarus-to-close-border-with-lithuania-and-poland</a>	Reinforcing border protection; Closing border
9	18/9/2020	Lithuania to 'remain calm' if Belarus sends forces to border – minister	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1235217/lithuania-to-remain-calm-if-belarus-sends-forces-to-border-minister">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1235217/lithuania-to-remain-calm-if-belarus-sends-forces-to-border-minister</a>	Reinforcing border protection; Closing border; NATO exercises
10	18/9/2020	Lithuania to block freight traffic if Belarus closes borders	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1235304/lithuania-to-block-freight-traffic-if-belarus-closes-borders">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1235304/lithuania-to-block-freight-traffic-if-belarus-closes-borders</a>	Reinforcing border protection; Closing border
11	8/10/2020	Lithuania to spend €24m on Belarus border crossing upgrade	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1248406/lithuania-to-spend-eur24m-on-belarus-border-crossing-upgrade">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1248406/lithuania-to-spend-eur24m-on-belarus-border-crossing-upgrade</a>	Upgrading border infrastructure
12	29/10/2020	Belarus closes border with Lithuania	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1265381/belarus-closes-border-with-lithuania">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1265381/belarus-closes-border-with-lithuania</a>	Closing border
13	30/10/2020	Belarusian citizens allowed to cross border between Lithuania and Belarus – VSAT	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1265933/belarusian-citizens-allowed-to-cross-border-between-lithuania-and-belarus-vsats">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1265933/belarusian-citizens-allowed-to-cross-border-between-lithuania-and-belarus-vsats</a>	Closing border

14	30/10/2020	German man cycles across Lithuanian border with a suitcase of heroin	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1266139/german-man-cycles-across-lithuanian-border-with-a-suitcase-of-heroin">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1266139/german-man-cycles-across-lithuanian-border-with-a-suitcase-of-heroin</a>	
15	30/10/2020	Lithuania hands protest note to Belarus over border closure	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1266562/lithuania-hands-protest-note-to-belarus-over-border-closure">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1266562/lithuania-hands-protest-note-to-belarus-over-border-closure</a>	Closing border; Protesting border closure
16	4/11/2020	Lithuania protests Belarus' launch of nuclear plant near border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1268885/lithuania-protests-belarus-launch-of-nuclear-plant-near-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1268885/lithuania-protests-belarus-launch-of-nuclear-plant-near-border</a>	Boycotting Belarusian energy
17	23/12/2020	Lithuanian border 30 years ago: lighting campfires for warmth, fearing Soviet attacks – interview	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1304242/lithuanian-border-30-years-ago-lighting-campfires-for-warmth-fearing-soviet-attacks-interview">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1304242/lithuanian-border-30-years-ago-lighting-campfires-for-warmth-fearing-soviet-attacks-interview</a>	
18	4/3/2021	Russian, Belarusian military activity to increase near NATO borders – report	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1357972/russian-belarusian-military-activity-to-increase-near-nato-borders-report">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1357972/russian-belarusian-military-activity-to-increase-near-nato-borders-report</a>	
19	27/4/2021	'Million troops on your borders': Can Belarus-China ties pose threat to Baltics?	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1395681/million-troops-on-your-borders-can-belarus-china-ties-pose-threat-to-baltics">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1395681/million-troops-on-your-borders-can-belarus-china-ties-pose-threat-to-baltics</a>	

Articles used to answer sub-questions 3 and 4:

No.	Date	Title	URL	Categories
20	27/5/2021	Lithuania is beefing up security on border with Belarus – minister	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1419277/lithuania-is-beefing-up-security-on-border-with-belarus-minister">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1419277/lithuania-is-beefing-up-security-on-border-with-belarus-minister</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Installing surveillance systems
21	2/6/2021	As Minsk shuts borders, Lithuanian FM says Belarus becoming 'one big prison'	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1423308/as-minsk-shuts-borders-lithuanian-fm-says-belarus-becoming-one-big-prison">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1423308/as-minsk-shuts-borders-lithuanian-fm-says-belarus-becoming-one-big-prison</a>	Restricting citizen travel rights; Sanctions
22	3/6/2021	Lithuanian PM in Brussels calls for more support in guarding borders	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1424574/lithuanian-pm-in-brussels-calls-for-more-support-in-guarding-borders">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1424574/lithuanian-pm-in-brussels-calls-for-more-support-in-guarding-borders</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Strengthening border patrols; Calls for international action
23	4/6/2021	Lithuania detains 52 migrants on border with Belarus in one day	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1425170/lithuania-detains-52-migrants-on-border-with-belarus-in-one-day">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1425170/lithuania-detains-52-migrants-on-border-with-belarus-in-one-day</a>	Irregular border crossings; Detaining migrants
24	4/6/2021	EU's border guard service Frontex to deploy to Lithuania	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1425309/eu-s-border-guard-service-frontex-to-deploy-to-lithuania">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1425309/eu-s-border-guard-service-frontex-to-deploy-to-lithuania</a>	Deploying Frontex officers; Strengthening border patrols
25	6/6/2021	Belarusians hold border protests in Lithuania and Poland – photos	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1426074/belarusians-hold-border-protests-in-lithuania-and-poland-photos">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1426074/belarusians-hold-border-protests-in-lithuania-and-poland-photos</a>	Restricting citizen travel rights; Sanctions; Protests by Belarusians in Lithuania; Calls for action
26	8/6/2021	Belarusians in Lithuania move to block border traffic to put pressure on regime	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1427376/belarusians-in-lithuania-move-to-block-border-traffic-to-put-pressure-on-regime">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1427376/belarusians-in-lithuania-move-to-block-border-traffic-to-put-pressure-on-regime</a>	Restricting citizen travel rights; Sanctions; Protests by Belarusians in Lithuania; Calls for action
27	11/6/2021	LRT English Newsletter: Border troubles	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1429367/lrt-english-newsletter-border-troubles">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1429367/lrt-english-newsletter-border-troubles</a>	Facilitating migration; Calls for international action; Protests by Belarusians in Lithuania

28	11/6/2021	Lithuanian ministry asks for €11.5m for protection of Belarusian border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1430070/lithuanian-ministry-asks-for-eur11-5m-for-protection-of-belarusian-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1430070/lithuanian-ministry-asks-for-eur11-5m-for-protection-of-belarusian-border</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Strengthening border patrols; Detaining migrants
29	16/6/2021	Minsk is sending irregular migrants across EU border, says Lithuania's border guard chief	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1433040/minsk-is-sending-irregular-migrants-across-eu-border-says-lithuania-s-border-guard-chief">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1433040/minsk-is-sending-irregular-migrants-across-eu-border-says-lithuania-s-border-guard-chief</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Deploying Frontex officers; Bilateral cooperation; Strengthening border patrols; Installing surveillance systems; Detaining migrants
30	17/6/2021	Lithuania asks Iraq, Turkey to step up border checks	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1434351/lithuania-asks-iraq-turkey-to-step-up-border-checks">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1434351/lithuania-asks-iraq-turkey-to-step-up-border-checks</a>	Bilateral cooperation; Detaining migrants;
31	18/6/2021	EU's border guards to help patrol Belarusian border in Lithuania	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1434981/eu-s-border-guards-to-help-patrol-belarusian-border-in-lithuania">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1434981/eu-s-border-guards-to-help-patrol-belarusian-border-in-lithuania</a>	Facilitating migration; Deploying Frontex officers; Detaining migrants
32	22/6/2021	Estonia to send guards to Lithuania's border with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1437523/estonia-to-send-guards-to-lithuania-s-border-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1437523/estonia-to-send-guards-to-lithuania-s-border-with-belarus</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Deploying Frontex officers
33	25/6/2021	Belarusian border protest camp in Lithuania: 'We have been heard'	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1439694/belarusian-border-protest-camp-in-lithuania-we-have-been-heard">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1439694/belarusian-border-protest-camp-in-lithuania-we-have-been-heard</a>	Sanctions; Protests by Belarusians in Lithuania; Calls for action
34	30/6/2021	Reports suggest Belarus moving missile systems close to Lithuanian border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1442514/reports-suggest-belarus-moving-missile-systems-close-to-lithuanian-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1442514/reports-suggest-belarus-moving-missile-systems-close-to-lithuanian-border</a>	Military build-up near the border
35	2/7/2021	Frontex officers start patrolling Lithuania's border with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1443763/frontex-officers-start-patrolling-lithuania-s-border-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1443763/frontex-officers-start-patrolling-lithuania-s-border-with-belarus</a>	Irregular border crossings; Deploying Frontex officers; Detaining migrants
36	2/7/2021	Lithuanian border guards call for national emergency after stopping record number of migrants	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1444008/lithuanian-border-guards-call-for-national-emergency-after-stopping-record-number-of-migrants">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1444008/lithuanian-border-guards-call-for-national-emergency-after-stopping-record-number-of-migrants</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Deploying Frontex officers; State of emergency; Strengthening border patrols; Detaining migrants; Calls for action
37	3/7/2021	River and fog instead of fence and radars: guarding Lithuania's easternmost border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1444138/river-and-fog-instead-of-fence-and-radars-guarding-lithuania-s-easternmost-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1444138/river-and-fog-instead-of-fence-and-radars-guarding-lithuania-s-easternmost-border</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Deploying Frontex officers; Strengthening border patrols; Detaining migrants
38	8/7/2021	More EU's Frontex border guards to deploy to Lithuania	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1447044/more-eu-s-frontex-border-guards-to-deploy-to-lithuania">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1447044/more-eu-s-frontex-border-guards-to-deploy-to-lithuania</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Deploying Frontex officers; Bilateral cooperation; State of emergency; Detaining migrants; Calls for international action
39	8/7/2021	Lithuania to start building barrier on border with Belarus this week, says minister	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1447425/lithuania-to-start-building-barrier-on-border-with-belarus-this-week-says-minister">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1447425/lithuania-to-start-building-barrier-on-border-with-belarus-this-week-says-minister</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Constructing border barriers; Detaining migrants
40	9/7/2021	Lithuania starts building wire fence on border with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1447801/lithuania-starts-building-wire-fence-on-border-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1447801/lithuania-starts-building-wire-fence-on-border-with-belarus</a>	Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Constructing border barriers; Detaining migrants
41	9/7/2021	Lithuania to spend €41m on border fence with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1448062/lithuania-to-spend-eur41m-on-border-fence-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1448062/lithuania-to-spend-eur41m-on-border-fence-with-belarus</a>	Constructing border barriers

42	12/7/2021	EU border agency Frontex vows additional support for Lithuania amid migration influx	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1449011/eu-border-agency-frontex-vows-additional-support-for-lithuania-amid-migration-influx">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1449011/eu-border-agency-frontex-vows-additional-support-for-lithuania-amid-migration-influx</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Deploying Frontex officers; Sanctions; State of emergency; Constructing border barriers; Detaining migrants
43	12/7/2021	'Family defence' activists stage anti-migrant rally near Lithuanian-Belarusian border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1449083/family-defence-activists-stage-anti-migrant-rally-near-lithuanian-belarusian-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1449083/family-defence-activists-stage-anti-migrant-rally-near-lithuanian-belarusian-border</a>	Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Constructing border barriers; Detaining migrants
44	12/7/2021	Lithuania to deploy more troops to Belarus border amid migration spike	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1449400/lithuania-to-deploy-more-troops-to-belarus-border-amid-migration-spike">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1449400/lithuania-to-deploy-more-troops-to-belarus-border-amid-migration-spike</a>	Facilitating migration; Sanctions; State of emergency; Constructing border barriers; Strengthening border patrols; Detaining migrants; Calls for international action
45	14/7/2021	Border wall in Lithuania will help Lukashenko regime 'kill people', say Belarusian dissidents	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1450992/border-wall-in-lithuania-will-help-lukashenko-regime-kill-people-say-belarusian-dissidents">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1450992/border-wall-in-lithuania-will-help-lukashenko-regime-kill-people-say-belarusian-dissidents</a>	Irregular border crossings; Constructing border barriers; Detaining migrants; Calls for international action
46	19/7/2021	Lithuania, Frontex agree on more patrols on Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1453439/lithuania-frontex-agree-on-more-patrols-on-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1453439/lithuania-frontex-agree-on-more-patrols-on-belarus-border</a>	Deploying Frontex officers; EASO assistance; Detaining migrants
47	23/7/2021	Lithuania runs out of materials to build barbed-wire fence on Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1456206/lithuania-runs-out-of-materials-to-build-barbed-wire-fence-on-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1456206/lithuania-runs-out-of-materials-to-build-barbed-wire-fence-on-belarus-border</a>	Irregular border crossings; Constructing border barriers; Calls for international action
48	26/7/2021	Lithuanian FM, NATO chief discuss situation on border with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1457091/lithuanian-fm-nato-chief-discuss-situation-on-border-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1457091/lithuanian-fm-nato-chief-discuss-situation-on-border-with-belarus</a>	Facilitating migration; Detaining migrants;
49	27/7/2021	Brussels will not fund Lithuania's border fence with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1458242/brussels-will-not-fund-lithuania-s-border-fence-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1458242/brussels-will-not-fund-lithuania-s-border-fence-with-belarus</a>	Deploying Frontex officers; EASO assistance; Bilateral cooperation; Constructing border barriers; Calls for international action
50	31/7/2021	Lithuania marks 30th anniversary of Medininkai border post massacre	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1460370/lithuania-marks-30th-anniversary-of-medininkai-border-post-massacre">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1460370/lithuania-marks-30th-anniversary-of-medininkai-border-post-massacre</a>	
51	2/8/2021	Lithuania needs €500m to secure border with Belarus- interior minister	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1461052/lithuania-needs-eur500m-to-secure-border-with-belarus-interior-minister">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1461052/lithuania-needs-eur500m-to-secure-border-with-belarus-interior-minister</a>	Constructing border barriers; Calls for international action
52	2/8/2021	Lithuania needs a border fence, EU commissioner says	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1461374/lithuania-needs-a-border-fence-eu-commissioner-says">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1461374/lithuania-needs-a-border-fence-eu-commissioner-says</a>	Facilitating migration; Constructing border barriers; Detaining migrants; Calls for international action
53	3/8/2021	Lithuania to push undocumented migrants back to Belarus, divert to border checkpoints	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1461707/lithuania-to-push-undocumented-migrants-back-to-belarus-divert-to-border-checkpoints">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1461707/lithuania-to-push-undocumented-migrants-back-to-belarus-divert-to-border-checkpoints</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Migrant pushbacks
54	3/8/2021	Belarus 'taking down barbed wire' on Lithuanian border, says defence ministry	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1461742/belarus-taking-down-barbed-wire-on-lithuanian-border-says-defence-ministry">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1461742/belarus-taking-down-barbed-wire-on-lithuanian-border-says-defence-ministry</a>	Taking down border barriers
55	3/8/2021	Lithuania mulls €150m border fence, offering migrants money to leave	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1461803/lithuania-mulls-eur150m-border-fence-offering-migrants-money-to-leave">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1461803/lithuania-mulls-eur150m-border-fence-offering-migrants-money-to-leave</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Constructing border barriers
56	3/8/2021	Lithuanian border guards given right to use 'mental and physical' force against migrants	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1461984/lithuanian-border-guards-given-right">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1461984/lithuanian-border-guards-given-right</a>	Strengthening border patrols; Migrant pushbacks

			to-use-mental-and-physical-force-against-migrants	
57	5/8/2021	Lithuanian border guards push back over 300 migrants, deny using excessive force	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1463333/lithuanian-border-guards-push-back-over-300-migrants-deny-using-excessive-force">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1463333/lithuanian-border-guards-push-back-over-300-migrants-deny-using-excessive-force</a>	Migrant pushbacks; Detaining migrants
58	5/8/2021	Lithuania resumes laying razor wire along Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1463750/lithuania-resumes-laying-razor-wire-along-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1463750/lithuania-resumes-laying-razor-wire-along-belarus-border</a>	Bilateral cooperation; Constructing border barriers
59	6/8/2021	Belarus uses gunshots to force migrants over the border, says human rights monitor	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1464103/belarus-uses-gunshots-to-force-migrants-over-the-border-says-human-rights-monitor">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1464103/belarus-uses-gunshots-to-force-migrants-over-the-border-says-human-rights-monitor</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Migrant pushbacks
60	6/8/2021	Lithuania may seek EU 'contribution' to fence construction on Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1464219/lithuania-may-seek-eu-contribution-to-fence-construction-on-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1464219/lithuania-may-seek-eu-contribution-to-fence-construction-on-belarus-border</a>	Constructing border barriers; Calls for international action
61	6/8/2021	Video shows migrants stuck on Belarusian-Lithuanian border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1464149/video-shows-migrants-stuck-on-belarusian-lithuanian-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1464149/video-shows-migrants-stuck-on-belarusian-lithuanian-border</a>	Facilitating migration; Migrant pushbacks
62	9/8/2021	EU calls meeting on border crisis in Lithuania	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1465441/eu-calls-meeting-on-border-crisis-in-lithuania">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1465441/eu-calls-meeting-on-border-crisis-in-lithuania</a>	Sanctions; Bilateral cooperation; Migrant pushbacks
63	10/8/2021	Lithuanian parliament considers laws to stem migration: border fence and more power to military	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1465976/lithuanian-parliament-considers-laws-to-stem-migration-border-fence-and-more-power-to-military">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1465976/lithuanian-parliament-considers-laws-to-stem-migration-border-fence-and-more-power-to-military</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Constructing border barriers; Strengthening border patrols; Migrant pushbacks; Restricting migrant rights
64	12/8/2021	Lithuanian government tries to secure more powers for military in border areas	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1467734/lithuanian-government-tries-to-secure-more-powers-for-military-in-border-areas">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1467734/lithuanian-government-tries-to-secure-more-powers-for-military-in-border-areas</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Strengthening border patrols; Migrant pushbacks
65	13/8/2021	Belarusian border guard briefly enters Lithuanian territory	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1468418/belarusian-border-guard-briefly-enters-lithuanian-territory">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1468418/belarusian-border-guard-briefly-enters-lithuanian-territory</a>	
66	13/8/2021	Situation on Belarusian border has stabilised – Lithuanian minister	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1468593/situation-on-belarusian-border-has-stabilised-lithuanian-minister">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1468593/situation-on-belarusian-border-has-stabilised-lithuanian-minister</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Migrant pushbacks; Restricting migrant rights
67	13/8/2021	Lithuanian president grants extra powers to military in border areas	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1468645/lithuanian-president-grants-extra-powers-to-military-in-border-areas">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1468645/lithuanian-president-grants-extra-powers-to-military-in-border-areas</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Strengthening border patrols; Migrant pushbacks
68	18/8/2021	Belarusian officers enter Lithuanian territory, push migrants over the border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1471030/belarusian-officers-enter-lithuanian-territory-push-migrants-over-the-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1471030/belarusian-officers-enter-lithuanian-territory-push-migrants-over-the-border</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Diplomatic protest
69	23/8/2021	Lithuania green lights €152m border fence with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1474070/lithuania-green-lights-eur152m-border-fence-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1474070/lithuania-green-lights-eur152m-border-fence-with-belarus</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Constructing border barriers
70	24/8/2021	Austrian ministers visiting Lithuania to discuss migration, border fence	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1474562/austrian-ministers-visiting-lithuania-to-discuss-migration-border-fence">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1474562/austrian-ministers-visiting-lithuania-to-discuss-migration-border-fence</a>	Irregular border crossings; Bilateral cooperation; Migrant pushbacks

71	24/8/2021	Austria vows to help Lithuania in EU talks on Belarus border fence funding	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1474880/austria-vows-to-help-lithuania-in-eu-talks-on-belarus-border-fence-funding">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1474880/austria-vows-to-help-lithuania-in-eu-talks-on-belarus-border-fence-funding</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Bilateral cooperation; State of emergency; Constructing border barriers; Migrant pushbacks; Calls for international action
72	26/8/2021	Slovenia sends 10km of concertina wire to Lithuania for border barrier	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1476719/slovenia-sends-10km-of-concertina-wire-to-lithuania-for-border-barrier">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1476719/slovenia-sends-10km-of-concertina-wire-to-lithuania-for-border-barrier</a>	Bilateral cooperation
73	30/8/2021	Poll shows a third of Lithuanians support border fence to stop irregular migration	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1480271/poll-shows-a-third-of-lithuanians-support-border-fence-to-stop-irregular-migration">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1480271/poll-shows-a-third-of-lithuanians-support-border-fence-to-stop-irregular-migration</a>	Constructing border barriers
74	31/8/2021	Firefighter fatally injured while installing barbed wire fence on Lithuania's border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1482049/firefighter-fatally-injured-while-installing-barbed-wire-fence-on-lithuania-s-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1482049/firefighter-fatally-injured-while-installing-barbed-wire-fence-on-lithuania-s-border</a>	Facilitating migration; Constructing border barriers
75	2/9/2021	Two migrant groups stranded on Lithuanian border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1484503/two-migrant-groups-stranded-on-lithuanian-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1484503/two-migrant-groups-stranded-on-lithuanian-border</a>	Facilitating migration
76	3/9/2021	Vilnius dismisses as fake news claims that NATO preparing for border conflict with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1485453/vilnius-dismisses-as-fake-news-claims-that-nato-preparing-for-border-conflict-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1485453/vilnius-dismisses-as-fake-news-claims-that-nato-preparing-for-border-conflict-with-belarus</a>	Military build-up near the border
77	6/9/2021	Lithuanian media outlets call on authorities to allow border access, say current restrictions 'unacceptable'	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1489132/lithuanian-media-outlets-call-on-authorities-to-allow-border-access-say-current-restrictions-unacceptable">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1489132/lithuanian-media-outlets-call-on-authorities-to-allow-border-access-say-current-restrictions-unacceptable</a>	Restricting border area access; Protests against limited border access
78	7/9/2021	Would gunshots lead to war? Tensions grow at Lithuania's border with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1488517/would-gunshots-lead-to-war-tensions-grow-at-lithuania-s-border-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1488517/would-gunshots-lead-to-war-tensions-grow-at-lithuania-s-border-with-belarus</a>	Facilitating migration; Strengthening border patrols; Calls for international action; Diplomatic protest
79	7/9/2021	Belarus sends special forces to 'border area'	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1490264/belarus-sends-special-forces-to-border-area">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1490264/belarus-sends-special-forces-to-border-area</a>	Irregular border crossings; Military build-up near the border; Facilitating migration
80	8/9/2021	The price of leadership? Weaponised migration on the Lithuanian-Belarusian Border – opinion	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1489803/the-price-of-leadership-weaponised-migration-on-the-lithuanian-belarusian-border-opinion">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1489803/the-price-of-leadership-weaponised-migration-on-the-lithuanian-belarusian-border-opinion</a>	Irregular border crossings; Military build-up near the border; Sanctions
81	8/9/2021	One group of migrants stuck on Lithuanian border with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1491950/one-group-of-migrants-stuck-on-lithuanian-border-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1491950/one-group-of-migrants-stuck-on-lithuanian-border-with-belarus</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Migrant pushbacks; Restricting migrant rights
82	9/9/2021	Large-scale military drills on Baltic borders stoke anxieties in Vilnius and Warsaw	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1491780/large-scale-military-drills-on-baltic-borders-stoke-anxieties-in-vilnius-and-warsaw">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1491780/large-scale-military-drills-on-baltic-borders-stoke-anxieties-in-vilnius-and-warsaw</a>	Irregular border crossings; Military build-up near the border; Facilitating migration; Calls for international action
83	9/9/2021	European court tells Lithuania not to push back 5 Afghan migrants stranded on Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1492435/european-court-tells-lithuania-not-to-push-back-5-afghan-migrants-stranded-on-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1492435/european-court-tells-lithuania-not-to-push-back-5-afghan-migrants-stranded-on-belarus-border</a>	Irregular border crossings
84	10/9/2021	Lithuanian parliament okays decision to grant extra powers to military in border areas	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1493705/lithua">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1493705/lithua</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Strengthening border patrols; Migrant pushbacks

			nian-parliament-okays-decision-to-grant-extra-powers-to-military-in-border-areas	
85	14/9/2021	Despite European court ruling, five Afghans remain stuck on border with Lithuania	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1496383/despite-european-court-ruling-five-afghans-remain-stuck-on-border-with-lithuania">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1496383/despite-european-court-ruling-five-afghans-remain-stuck-on-border-with-lithuania</a>	Migrant pushbacks
86	17/9/2021	Lithuanian MP's driver suspected of inadvertently crossing Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1498650/lithuanian-mp-s-driver-suspected-of-inadvertently-crossing-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1498650/lithuanian-mp-s-driver-suspected-of-inadvertently-crossing-belarus-border</a>	Facilitating migration; Diplomatic protest
87	21/9/2021	Lithuania sentences two migrants for illegal border crossing	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1500621/lithuania-sentences-two-migrants-for-illegal-border-crossing">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1500621/lithuania-sentences-two-migrants-for-illegal-border-crossing</a>	
88	22/9/2021	Lithuania to launch tender to build 400km fence on Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1501053/lithuania-to-launch-tender-to-build-400km-fence-on-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1501053/lithuania-to-launch-tender-to-build-400km-fence-on-belarus-border</a>	Constructing border barriers
89	23/9/2021	'We cannot let people die by our border.' Lithuania struggles to balance security and human rights	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1502019/we-cannot-let-people-die-by-our-border-lithuania-struggles-to-balance-security-and-human-rights">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1502019/we-cannot-let-people-die-by-our-border-lithuania-struggles-to-balance-security-and-human-rights</a>	Facilitating migration; Migrant pushbacks; Calls for international action
90	29/9/2021	Lithuania starts building fence on border with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1507422/lithuania-starts-building-fence-on-border-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1507422/lithuania-starts-building-fence-on-border-with-belarus</a>	Constructing border barriers
91	29/9/2021	Brussels recognises migrant crisis on Belarus border as hybrid attack	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1507595/brussels-recognises-migrant-crisis-on-belarus-border-as-hybrid-attack">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1507595/brussels-recognises-migrant-crisis-on-belarus-border-as-hybrid-attack</a>	
92	6/10/2021	Migrants allegedly starving in Belarus next to Lithuanian border, NGO says	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1514398/migrants-allegedly-starving-in-belarus-next-to-lithuanian-border-ngo-says">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1514398/migrants-allegedly-starving-in-belarus-next-to-lithuanian-border-ngo-says</a>	Migrant pushbacks; Restricting migrant rights
93	8/10/2021	EU's border agency records 'collective expulsions' in Lithuania	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1516196/eu-s-border-agency-records-collective-expulsions-in-lithuania">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1516196/eu-s-border-agency-records-collective-expulsions-in-lithuania</a>	Facilitating migration; Deploying Frontex officers; EASO assistance; Migrant pushbacks; Detaining migrants; Restricting migrant rights
94	8/10/2021	Sudden drop in migrant numbers 'worrying', says Lithuanian border chief	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1516546/sudden-drop-in-migrant-numbers-worrying-says-lithuanian-border-chief">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1516546/sudden-drop-in-migrant-numbers-worrying-says-lithuanian-border-chief</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Migrant pushbacks
95	13/10/2021	EU border chief: More 'violations' in Lithuania than reported	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1519194/eu-border-chief-more-violations-in-lithuania-than-reported">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1519194/eu-border-chief-more-violations-in-lithuania-than-reported</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Migrant pushbacks
96	13/10/2021	Frontex 'sees no need' to terminate operation in Lithuania, says border guard chief	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1519715/frontex-sees-no-need-to-terminate-operation-in-lithuania-says-border-guard-chief">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1519715/frontex-sees-no-need-to-terminate-operation-in-lithuania-says-border-guard-chief</a>	Irregular border crossings; Migrant pushbacks
97	18/10/2021	Lithuania to send more troops to protect border with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1522618/lithuania-to-send-more-troops-to-protect-border-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1522618/lithuania-to-send-more-troops-to-protect-border-with-belarus</a>	Strengthening border patrols
98	20/10/2021	Belarus moving migrants stuck at Polish border to Lithuania, officials say	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1524808/belarus-moving-migrants-stuck-at-polish-border-to-lithuania-officials-say">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1524808/belarus-moving-migrants-stuck-at-polish-border-to-lithuania-officials-say</a>	Facilitating migration; Diplomatic protest

99	21/10/2021	Scanner breaks down at Lithuania's border crossing notorious for cigarette smuggling	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1525294/scanner-breaks-down-at-lithuania-s-border-crossing-notorious-for-cigarette-smuggling">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1525294/scanner-breaks-down-at-lithuania-s-border-crossing-notorious-for-cigarette-smuggling</a>	Calls for international action
100	22/10/2021	Dispatch from the border: Witnessing Lithuania's migrant pushbacks	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1526443/dispatch-from-the-border-witnessing-lithuania-s-migrant-pushbacks">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1526443/dispatch-from-the-border-witnessing-lithuania-s-migrant-pushbacks</a>	Migrant pushbacks; Restricting migrant rights
101	22/10/2021	Austria floats idea of 'border wall' in Lithuania – Politico	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1526544/austria-floats-idea-of-border-wall-in-lithuania-politico">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1526544/austria-floats-idea-of-border-wall-in-lithuania-politico</a>	Irregular border crossings; Migrant pushbacks; Calls for international action
102	22/10/2021	European Council condemns Belarus' 'hybrid attacks' on EU borders, calls for migration reform	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1526609/european-council-condemns-belarus-hybrid-attacks-on-eu-borders-calls-for-migration-reform">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1526609/european-council-condemns-belarus-hybrid-attacks-on-eu-borders-calls-for-migration-reform</a>	Facilitating migration; Sanctions; Calls for international action
103	25/10/2021	Lithuania will still seek EU funding for border wall – minister	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1528214/lithuania-will-still-seek-eu-funding-for-border-wall-minister">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1528214/lithuania-will-still-seek-eu-funding-for-border-wall-minister</a>	Irregular border crossings; Constructing border barriers; Migrant pushbacks; Calls for international action
104	25/10/2021	Iran 'pursuing situation' of 13 nationals stranded on Lithuanian border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1528257/iran-pursuing-situation-of-13-nationals-stranded-on-lithuanian-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1528257/iran-pursuing-situation-of-13-nationals-stranded-on-lithuanian-border</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Migrant pushbacks
105	26/10/2021	Lithuanian soldiers will use weapons on Belarus border if 'their lives in danger', says minister	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1528956/lithuanian-soldiers-will-use-weapons-on-belarus-border-if-their-lives-in-danger-says-minister">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1528956/lithuanian-soldiers-will-use-weapons-on-belarus-border-if-their-lives-in-danger-says-minister</a>	Strengthening border patrols
106	27/10/2021	Lithuania starts building its four-metre border wall with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1529844/lithuania-starts-building-its-four-metre-border-wall-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1529844/lithuania-starts-building-its-four-metre-border-wall-with-belarus</a>	Facilitating migration; Constructing border barriers; Calls for international action
107	28/10/2021	Lithuanian president says EU's refusals to fund border wall are just 'statements'	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1530502/lithuanian-president-says-eu-s-refusals-to-fund-border-wall-are-just-statements">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1530502/lithuanian-president-says-eu-s-refusals-to-fund-border-wall-are-just-statements</a>	Irregular border crossings; Calls for international action
108	3/11/2021	Migration across Lithuania-Belarus border is EU's 'common problem', says Czech official	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1533911/migration-across-lithuania-belarus-border-is-eu-s-common-problem-says-czech-official">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1533911/migration-across-lithuania-belarus-border-is-eu-s-common-problem-says-czech-official</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Migrant pushbacks
109	8/11/2021	Frontex to stay in Lithuania, says border guard chief	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1536590/frontex-to-stay-in-lithuania-says-border-guard-chief">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1536590/frontex-to-stay-in-lithuania-says-border-guard-chief</a>	Deploying Frontex officers
110	8/11/2021	Lithuania ups readiness of troops at Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1536683/lithuania-ups-readiness-of-troops-at-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1536683/lithuania-ups-readiness-of-troops-at-belarus-border</a>	Strengthening border patrols
111	8/11/2021	Lithuanian troops must do everything to prevent border incidents, says president	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1536743/lithuanian-troops-must-do-everything-to-prevent-border-incidents-says-president">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1536743/lithuanian-troops-must-do-everything-to-prevent-border-incidents-says-president</a>	Facilitating migration
112	9/11/2021	Lithuania declares state of emergency on border with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1537044/lithuania-declares-state-of-emergency-on-border-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1537044/lithuania-declares-state-of-emergency-on-border-with-belarus</a>	State of emergency; Strengthening border patrols; Restricting border area access; Restricting migrant rights
113	9/11/2021	How likely is an armed conflict on border with Belarus?	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1537550/how-likely-is-an-armed-conflict-on-border-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1537550/how-likely-is-an-armed-conflict-on-border-with-belarus</a>	Facilitating migration

114	10/11/2021	PM visiting Belarusian border as Lithuania introduces state of emergency over migrants	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1537951/pm-visiting-belarusian-border-as-lithuania-introduces-state-of-emergency-over-migrants">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1537951/pm-visiting-belarusian-border-as-lithuania-introduces-state-of-emergency-over-migrants</a>	State of emergency; Strengthening border patrols; Restricting border area access; Migrant pushbacks; Restricting migrant rights
115	10/11/2021	Belarus bringing migrants to Lithuanian border in trucks, border guard chief claims	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1538069/belarus-bringing-migrants-to-lithuanian-border-in-trucks-border-guard-chief-claims">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1538069/belarus-bringing-migrants-to-lithuanian-border-in-trucks-border-guard-chief-claims</a>	Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Restricting migrant rights
116	10/11/2021	Iraq seeks to repatriate migrants stranded on Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1538184/iraq-seeks-to-repatriate-migrants-stranded-on-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1538184/iraq-seeks-to-repatriate-migrants-stranded-on-belarus-border</a>	Facilitating migration; Bilateral cooperation; State of emergency; Migrant pushbacks
117	10/11/2021	Belarus 'trained Afghan and Iraqi veterans' for EU border attacks, says regime insider	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1538374/belarus-trained-afghan-and-iraqi-veterans-for-eu-border-attacks-says-regime-insider">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1538374/belarus-trained-afghan-and-iraqi-veterans-for-eu-border-attacks-says-regime-insider</a>	Military build-up near the border; Sanctions
118	11/11/2021	'There is no military threat'. Will Lithuania see NATO support on Belarus border?	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1538483/there-is-no-military-threat-will-lithuania-see-nato-support-on-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1538483/there-is-no-military-threat-will-lithuania-see-nato-support-on-belarus-border</a>	Calls for action
119	11/11/2021	What life is like in Lithuania's border area under state of emergency	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1539198/what-life-is-like-in-lithuania-s-border-area-under-state-of-emergency">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1539198/what-life-is-like-in-lithuania-s-border-area-under-state-of-emergency</a>	Irregular border crossings; State of emergency; Strengthening border patrols; Restricting border area access
120	12/11/2021	Russia sends paratroopers to Lithuanian border in snap drills with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1540370/russia-sends-paratroopers-to-lithuanian-border-in-snap-drills-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1540370/russia-sends-paratroopers-to-lithuanian-border-in-snap-drills-with-belarus</a>	Military build-up near the border; Facilitating migration
121	12/11/2021	Lithuanian leaders agree on conditions for calling NATO support on Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1540561/lithuanian-leaders-agree-on-conditions-for-calling-nato-support-on-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1540561/lithuanian-leaders-agree-on-conditions-for-calling-nato-support-on-belarus-border</a>	
122	14/11/2021	Vigilantes patrol Lithuania's border with Belarus: alleged links with fringe political actors raise questions	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1540454/vigilantes-patrol-lithuania-s-border-with-belarus-alleged-links-with-fringe-political-actors-raise-questions">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1540454/vigilantes-patrol-lithuania-s-border-with-belarus-alleged-links-with-fringe-political-actors-raise-questions</a>	Restricting border area access; Civilian border patrols
123	15/11/2021	Situation on Lithuania-Belarus border stable, says minister	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1541972/situation-on-lithuania-belarus-border-stable-says-minister">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1541972/situation-on-lithuania-belarus-border-stable-says-minister</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Migrant pushbacks
124	16/11/2021	Lithuanian border guards publish video of migrant pushback, testimony of beatings by Belarusians	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1542820/lithuanian-border-guards-publish-video-of-migrant-pushback-testimony-of-beatings-by-belarusians">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1542820/lithuanian-border-guards-publish-video-of-migrant-pushback-testimony-of-beatings-by-belarusians</a>	Facilitating migration; Migrant pushbacks
125	16/11/2021	NATO to provide support if 'situation changes radically' on Belarus border, says Lithuanian minister	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1542851/nato-to-provide-support-if-situation-changes-radically-on-belarus-border-says-lithuanian-minister">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1542851/nato-to-provide-support-if-situation-changes-radically-on-belarus-border-says-lithuanian-minister</a>	
126	18/11/2021	Lithuanian officer's dog bites migrant amid border tensions	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1545224/lithuanian-officer-s-dog-bites-migrant-amid-border-tensions">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1545224/lithuanian-officer-s-dog-bites-migrant-amid-border-tensions</a>	Migrant pushbacks
127	18/11/2021	Lithuania to allow reporters access to border, reversing earlier policy	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1545517/lithuania-to-allow-reporters-access-to-border-reversing-earlier-policy">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1545517/lithuania-to-allow-reporters-access-to-border-reversing-earlier-policy</a>	State of emergency; Restricting border area access; Migrant pushbacks

128	18/11/2021	More migrants pushed to Lithuania's Dieveniškės loop, says border guard chief	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1545719/more-migrants-pushed-to-lithuania-s-dieveniskes-loop-says-border-guard-chief">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1545719/more-migrants-pushed-to-lithuania-s-dieveniskes-loop-says-border-guard-chief</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Strengthening border patrols; Migrant pushbacks
129	19/11/2021	Lithuania's state of emergency – who can enter the border regions?	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1546095/lithuania-s-state-of-emergency-who-can-enter-the-border-regions">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1546095/lithuania-s-state-of-emergency-who-can-enter-the-border-regions</a>	State of emergency; Restricting border area access
130	19/11/2021	Lithuanian military establishes forward base near Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1546374/lithuanian-military-establishes-forward-base-near-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1546374/lithuanian-military-establishes-forward-base-near-belarus-border</a>	Facilitating migration; Strengthening border patrols
131	24/11/2021	Up to 1,000 troops guard Lithuania's border – defence chief	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1549150/up-to-2-000-troops-guard-lithuania-s-border-defence-chief">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1549150/up-to-2-000-troops-guard-lithuania-s-border-defence-chief</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Strengthening border patrols; Migrant pushbacks
132	25/11/2021	Up to 1500 migrants might be at Lithuania's border, though fewer attempt to cross – official	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1550729/up-to-1-500-migrants-might-be-at-lithuania-s-border-though-fewer-attempt-to-cross-official">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1550729/up-to-1-500-migrants-might-be-at-lithuania-s-border-though-fewer-attempt-to-cross-official</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Migrant pushbacks
133	26/11/2021	Frontex will stay in Lithuania after current mission ends – border chief	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1551130/frontex-will-stay-in-lithuania-after-current-mission-ends-border-chief">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1551130/frontex-will-stay-in-lithuania-after-current-mission-ends-border-chief</a>	Deploying Frontex officers; Bilateral cooperation
134	30/11/2021	Frontex wraps up rapid border intervention mission in Lithuania	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1553415/frontex-wraps-up-rapid-border-intervention-mission-in-lithuania">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1553415/frontex-wraps-up-rapid-border-intervention-mission-in-lithuania</a>	Irregular border crossings; Deploying Frontex officers; Migrant pushbacks
135	30/11/2021	Kurdish migrant group with children found near Lithuanian border, one child seriously ill	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1553845/kurdish-migrant-group-with-children-found-near-lithuanian-border-one-child-seriously-ill">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1553845/kurdish-migrant-group-with-children-found-near-lithuanian-border-one-child-seriously-ill</a>	Facilitating migration; Migrant pushbacks; Detaining migrants
136	1/12/2021	Frontex launches new mission on Lithuania-Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1554269/frontex-launches-new-mission-on-lithuania-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1554269/frontex-launches-new-mission-on-lithuania-belarus-border</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Deploying Frontex officers; Migrant pushbacks
137	1/12/2021	Lithuania moves to extend state of emergency, including on border with Poland	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1554824/lithuania-moves-to-extend-state-of-emergency-including-on-border-with-poland">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1554824/lithuania-moves-to-extend-state-of-emergency-including-on-border-with-poland</a>	Irregular border crossings; Taking down border barriers; State of emergency; Restricting border area access; Migrant pushbacks
138	7/12/2021	Unprepared and panicking: Lithuania's border wall construction strengthens 'Fortress Europe' camp	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1557788/unprepared-and-panicking-lithuania-s-border-wall-construction-strengthens-fortress-europe-camp">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1557788/unprepared-and-panicking-lithuania-s-border-wall-construction-strengthens-fortress-europe-camp</a>	Constructing border barriers; Calls for international action
139	7/12/2021	Norwegian firm bags €5m contract for surveillance system on Lithuania's border with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1558348/norwegian-firm-bags-eur5m-contract-for-surveillance-system-on-lithuania-s-border-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1558348/norwegian-firm-bags-eur5m-contract-for-surveillance-system-on-lithuania-s-border-with-belarus</a>	Installing surveillance systems
140	7/12/2021	Lithuanian parliament renews state of emergency, scraps proposal to extend it on Polish border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1558519/lithuanian-parliament-renews-state-of-emergency-scraps-proposal-to-extend-it-on-polish-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1558519/lithuanian-parliament-renews-state-of-emergency-scraps-proposal-to-extend-it-on-polish-border</a>	Irregular border crossings; State of emergency; Restricting border area access; Migrant pushbacks; Restricting migrant rights
141	7/12/2021	EU receives scolding for allowing to restrict asylum rights at Lithuanian, Polish border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1558483/eu-receives-scolding-for-allowing-to-restrict-asylum-rights-at-lithuanian-polish-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1558483/eu-receives-scolding-for-allowing-to-restrict-asylum-rights-at-lithuanian-polish-border</a>	

142	8/12/2021	Baltic PMs insist that EU should fund Lithuania's border wall	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1559698/baltic-pms-insist-that-eu-should-fund-lithuania-s-border-wall">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1559698/baltic-pms-insist-that-eu-should-fund-lithuania-s-border-wall</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Constructing border barriers; Migrant pushbacks; Calls for international action
143	9/12/2021	Merkel's call helped stabilise situation on Lithuania-Belarus border, president's adviser says	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1560410/merkel-s-call-helped-stabilise-situation-on-lithuania-belarus-border-president-s-adviser-says">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1560410/merkel-s-call-helped-stabilise-situation-on-lithuania-belarus-border-president-s-adviser-says</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Constructing border barriers; Migrant pushbacks; Calls for international action
144	9/12/2021	Frontex officers allowed to use Lithuanian border guards' weapons	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1560650/frontex-officers-allowed-to-use-lithuanian-border-guards-weapons">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1560650/frontex-officers-allowed-to-use-lithuanian-border-guards-weapons</a>	Deploying Frontex officers
145	14/12/2021	Lithuanian volunteers campaign for access to border against opposition from Interior Ministry	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1563731/lithuanian-volunteers-campaign-for-access-to-border-against-opposition-from-interior-ministry">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1563731/lithuanian-volunteers-campaign-for-access-to-border-against-opposition-from-interior-ministry</a>	Restricting border area access; Protests against limited border access
146	17/12/2021	Irregular crossings down on Lithuania-Belarus border, more migrants attempt to enter Latvia	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1566725/irregular-crossings-down-on-lithuania-belarus-border-more-migrants-attempt-to-enter-latvia">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1566725/irregular-crossings-down-on-lithuania-belarus-border-more-migrants-attempt-to-enter-latvia</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; Strengthening border patrols; Migrant pushbacks
147	28/12/2021	Duty, propaganda, and human dilemmas – Lithuania's border station at the forefront of migration crisis	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1571632/duty-propaganda-and-human-dilemmas-lithuania-s-border-station-at-the-forefront-of-migration-crisis">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1571632/duty-propaganda-and-human-dilemmas-lithuania-s-border-station-at-the-forefront-of-migration-crisis</a>	Irregular border crossings; Military build-up near the border; Facilitating migration; Constructing border barriers; Installing surveillance systems; Migrant pushbacks
148	28/12/2021	MSF among volunteers fined for helping migrant on Lithuania-Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1572055/msf-among-volunteers-fined-for-helping-migrant-on-lithuania-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1572055/msf-among-volunteers-fined-for-helping-migrant-on-lithuania-belarus-border</a>	Restricting border area access; Civilian border patrols
149	30/12/2021	'Wolves will not be starving this winter.' Volunteers struggle to help freezing migrants at Lithuanian border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1572264/wolves-will-not-be-starving-this-winter-volunteers-struggle-to-help-freezing-migrants-at-lithuanian-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1572264/wolves-will-not-be-starving-this-winter-volunteers-struggle-to-help-freezing-migrants-at-lithuanian-border</a>	Facilitating migration; Civilian border patrols
150	30/12/2021	Lithuanian NGO working on Belarus border part of 'people smuggling' probe – media	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1575214/lithuanian-ngo-working-on-belarus-border-part-of-people-smuggling-probe-media">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1575214/lithuanian-ngo-working-on-belarus-border-part-of-people-smuggling-probe-media</a>	
151	3/1/2022	Almost all migrants on Lithuania's border are Kurds. Why?	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1571999/almost-all-migrants-on-lithuania-s-border-are-kurds-why">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1571999/almost-all-migrants-on-lithuania-s-border-are-kurds-why</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration
152	4/1/2022	Lithuanian president calls to end state of emergency on border with Belarus	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1579882/lithuanian-president-calls-to-end-state-of-emergency-on-border-with-belarus">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1579882/lithuanian-president-calls-to-end-state-of-emergency-on-border-with-belarus</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; State of emergency
153	5/1/2022	Lithuania not to extend state of emergency at Belarus border	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1581612/lithuania-not-to-extend-state-of-emergency-at-belarus-border">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1581612/lithuania-not-to-extend-state-of-emergency-at-belarus-border</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; State of emergency
154	14/1/2022	State of emergency on Lithuania's border with Belarus set to expire	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1588551/state-of-emergency-on-lithuania-s-border-with-belarus-set-to-expire">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1588551/state-of-emergency-on-lithuania-s-border-with-belarus-set-to-expire</a>	Irregular border crossings; Facilitating migration; State of emergency; Strengthening border patrols; Restricting border area access; Restricting migrant rights
155	20/1/2022	Lithuania extends military patrols on Belarus border until mid-May	<a href="https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1593372/lithuania-extends-military-patrols-on-belarus-border-until-mid-may">https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1593372/lithuania-extends-military-patrols-on-belarus-border-until-mid-may</a>	Irregular border crossings; Strengthening border patrols; Migrant pushbacks

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