
SUMMARY, No. 1—2 (76—77), 2009

Political scientist, director of the Belarusian Institute for Strategic Studies (BISS)

Vital Silicki maps, in his «A Draft of the Regime Saving Plan,» some new trends in politics and policymaking of the Belarusian authorities and opposition. The global financial crisis and neo-imperial political Kremlin challenges the previous state of affairs in Belarus forcing the domestic autocrat to seek the rapprochement with the Western political and economic powers. Furthermore the surviving of the regime in short-term prospect is depending either on the Russian or on the Western assistance. It creates a window of opportunity for the deep transformation within the nation, and the opposition forces should use it.

Julija Narkeviciute and **Vytis Jurkonis**, the political commentators from Vilnius based Eastern Europe Studies Centre, discuss in their «Belarus and the EU: New Opportunities or Manifestations of Cynicism?» an unprecedented visit of the EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana to Minsk. In their opinion it can be explained only in the context Realpolitik, because throughout his stay Mr. Solana didn't mention democratic values any time.

PhD Candidate of McGill University **Rashed Chowdhury** (Montreal, Quebec) in his «New Era of the American Society» discovers the social and religious preconditions of the Barack Hussein Obama victory in the recent American presidential election. Although the newly elected American president didn't manage to collect the majority of the white Americans voices he did win the entire campaign attracting the majority of minorities, i.e. Afro-Americans, Latinos etc.

Historian **Anatol Sidarevič** in his «Towards the History of Belarusian Socialist Hramada: the New Documents» reviews the recently discovered papers on the Belarusian political movement in the eve of 20th century. His counterpart **Nina Stužynskaja** in her «Non-Spectacular Hero of the Belarusian Guerilla» reconstructs the activity of a leader the Belarusian anti-soviet guerilla in early 1920-ies Uładzimir Ksianievič alias *Ataman Hrač*. Her narration based on the materials of two shooting cases regarding *Ataman Hrač* from KGB archives.

The issue presents the translation into Belarusian of the top Belarusian émigré historian **Jan Zaprudník** «Political struggle for Belarus in Tsarist State Duma. 1906—1917,» defended in New York University in 1969.

Archivist **Vasil Matoch** in his «BSSR in 1920s: the Establishing of a Total Censorship and Ideological Control» traces how the intellectual life in Soviet Belarus became a hostage of the totalitarian regime formation.

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Historian **Andrej Vaškiewič** sketches in his «The Soviet Union Enemies Never Became my Friends» the last years of a Roman-Catholic priest, Belarusian religious and national leader Adam Stankievič, using his autobiography written on demand of Lithuanian branch of KGB in the mid of 1940s, when the author was jailed in a Soviet prison.

Political scientist **Jury Čavusaŭ** in his «How Belarusian Parties Work. The Generalization After Some Interviews» reports that the ideological divisions between the Belarusian parties are becoming less evident.

Essayist **Mikołaj Busieł** in his «Soviet Army – Get Out from Belarus» focuses of the grassroots activism in Homiel region in the late 1980s.

The Lithuanian photographer **Ramunas Katilius** presents photo-report on the first congress of the Belarusian Popular Front, which took place 24-25 June 1989 in Vilnius because of the ban to stage it in Minsk.

The sociologist **Alaksiej Łastoŭski** reviews «Homo Historicus,» a newly established yearbook published by the European Humanities University.

A rare translation of V. Niemirovič-Dančenko, published in Vilnius in interwar period, and criticism by **Vital Kuplevič** of two books of a geography professor from Belarusian State University I. Pirožnik found themselves in the issue too.

The final piece entitled «Declare ... to be liable to destruction» tells on the KGB Brest Regional Department suit against ARCHE.

The whole story started on October 24, last year, when a Brest customs officer Renata Niadbajeva decided that information in the issue #7-8 of 2008 «could damage national interests of the Republic of Belarus.» 10 copies of it found in the baggage of historian Aleś Paškiewič were seized for expert examination.

According to the KGB suit, ARCHE issue #7—8 of 2008 ‘contains elements of extremist ideology’, namely: «According to the analysis we have conducted, the magazine contains materials discrediting the activities of the Belarusian governmental authorities, strengthening the social and political tensions and confrontation in the society, stirring up the unlawful deeds, mass disorder and thus endangering the security of Belarus in the political sphere. In particular:

- The article «Parliamentary Election: Belarusian Tranquility, European Intrigue?» (author Vitali Silitski, pp. 11—16) states that «the practical absence of intrigue and serious expectations as it comes to the feeble executive and passive approach of the opposition to the electoral campaign leaves the society no choice but to accept the authorities’ offers. In particular, there is practically no resistance to the early vote campaigns...»

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- The article «The Round Table. The Echo of Explosions: Why the Authorities Suspected the Opposition?» (pp.17—27) contains an opinion about the incumbent government that «behind its facade, it is stricken with the moral corruption (which since recently is overtly showcased) and moral depravity, which goes hand in hand with the general corruption.
- The article «The Minsk Maneuver. Lukashenko Uses the Election to Gain Leverage in Negotiations with the EU» (authors Balasz Jarabik and Alastair Rabagliati, pp. 28-32) states that «the authorities used the explosion to justify their usual tactics of pressurizing the opposition, intimidating the potential rivals and hampering any opposition activity.
- The article «The Remembrance of Victims and the Remembrance of Executioners» (author Andrej Rasinski, pp. 33-50) the KGB operatives and Nazis are proclaimed to be allies: «Allies, a Nazi and a chekist, leaned over the map.»

The KGB demands that the confiscated editions be declared extremist and liable to destruction.

The court hearing was held behind the closed doors. A KGB representative and ARCHE lawyer were allowed in, nobody else was. According to the lawyer, the judge asked no questions, just heard the sides.

25 February Maskouski District Court of Brest ruled that the issue contained extremist materials and thus was subject to confiscation and destruction.