

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Andrzej Sulima-Kamiński</i> – <b>Introduction</b> .....                                                                                                                                                                      | 7   |
| <b>I. Belarus as a Geopolitical Pariah</b>                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |
| <i>Ethan S. Burger</i> – The Divergence between Declaratory and Action Policy: U.S. Non-Recognition of the Results of the Belarusian March 2006 Presidential Election .....                                                     | 21  |
| <i>Mykoła Ryabchuk</i> – Is the West Serious about the ‘Last European Dictatorship’? .....                                                                                                                                      | 43  |
| <i>Vital Silicki</i> – Belarus: Anatomy of Preemptive Authoritarianism. ....                                                                                                                                                    | 59  |
| <i>Andrew Wilson</i> – Belarus Between ‘Colored Revolution’ and ‘Counter-Revolutionary Technology’ .....                                                                                                                        | 91  |
| <i>Vital Silicki, Ethan S. Burger, Alaksandr Lahviniec, Mykoła Ryabchuk, Stephen L. White, Andrew Wilson, Rafał Sadowski, Karen Akopaŭ, Alastair Rabagliaati, Pavel Usaŭ, Grigory Ioffe and Andrej Dyńko</i> – Statements ..... | 97  |
| <b>II. Political Discourse: Belarusian Style</b>                                                                                                                                                                                |     |
| <i>Imke Hansen</i> – The Belarusian Political Landscape of Discourse and its Iconographic and Performative Elements .....                                                                                                       | 113 |
| <i>Andrej Kazakievič</i> – Regional Peculiarities in the Context of the Presidential Elections of 1994, 2001 and 2006.....                                                                                                      | 127 |
| <i>Andrej Kazakievič, Jury Čavusaŭ, Imke Hansen, Andrej Lachovič, Andrej Jahoraŭ, Siarhieŭ Lubimaŭ, Aliaksiei Pikulik, Aleś Lahviniec, Mikola Kacuk, Andrej Dyńko, Valer Bulhakau, Piotar Rudkoŭski</i> – Statements .....      | 139 |
| <b>III. Are There Belarusians in Belarus? (the Question of Belarusian Identity)</b>                                                                                                                                             |     |
| <i>Grigory Ioffe</i> – Belarus: A State, Not Yet a Nation.....                                                                                                                                                                  | 151 |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Oleg Łatyszonek – My Ranking of European Nations in the Early 21st Century</i> .....                                                                                                                                           | 167 |
| <i>David R. Marples – Are There Belarusians in Belarus?</i> .....                                                                                                                                                                 | 175 |
| <i>Piotar Rudkoŭski – Between Łukašenka’s Ideology and Nationalism</i> .....                                                                                                                                                      | 181 |
| <i>Theodore R. Weeks, Grigory Ioffe, Mikola Kacuk, Oleg Łatyszonek, David R. Marples, Piotar Rudkoŭski, Gleb Gobzem, Aliaksiei Pikulik, Andrej Kazakievič, Vital Silicki, Andrej Dyńko and Andrej Lachovič – Statements</i> ..... | 189 |
| <br><b>IV. Giedroyc and the Tradition of Civic Society in Belarus</b>                                                                                                                                                             |     |
| <i>Andrej Chadanovič – Giedroyc Thinking about Belarus, or Smuggler’s Notes</i> .....                                                                                                                                             | 199 |
| <i>Barbara Skinner – Eighteenth-Century Social Values of the Uniate Church</i> .....                                                                                                                                              | 205 |
| <i>Petruška Šustrova – Corrupted Belarus</i> .....                                                                                                                                                                                | 215 |
| <i>Aleś Ancipienka, Andrej Chadanovič, Andrej Dyńko, Barbara Skinner, Petruška Šustrova, Paweł Kazanecki, Jerzy Targalski, Paweł Danejka, Valer Bulhakau –</i> .....                                                              | 219 |
| <br><i>Valer Bulhakau – Afterword</i> .....                                                                                                                                                                                       | 229 |
| <br><b>About the Authors</b> .....                                                                                                                                                                                                | 237 |