



**Vincent Kanstancin Kalinoŭski** (Belarusian: Ві́нцэ́нт Канстанці́н Каліно́ўскі), also known as Wincenty Konstanty Kalinowski (Polish) and Konstantinas Kalinauskas (Lithuanian) was a 19th-century writer, journalist, lawyer and revolutionary of the occupied Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He was one of the leaders of the Lithuanian, Polish and Belarusian national revival and the leader of the January Uprising in the lands of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He was imprisoned in Vilnius, where he wrote one of his most notable works – the “Letter from Beneath the Gallows” (“*Pismo z-pod szybienicy*”), a passionate credo for his compatriots that inspires the whole region today<sup>1</sup>. He was then tried by a court martial for leading the revolt against Russia and sentenced to death. He was publicly executed in Lukiškės Square in Vilnius on 22 March 1864, at the age of 26. The remains of the executed insurgent, along with others, were clandestinely buried by the Tsarist authorities on the site of the military fortress on top of the Gediminas Hill in Vilnius. The remains were excavated in 2017, and positively identified in 2019, and subsequently solemnly re-interred in Rasos Cemetery on 22<sup>nd</sup> of November, 2019.

**The Kalinowski Forum** is an annual round-table of the well-known world leaders and experts on the future of Belarus as a part of the European family, established in Vilnius on 24 August 2020. The first Forum event was attended by many high-level political representatives, including U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Stephen Biegun, as well as leading academics on Belarus and Eastern Europe. The participants expressed their great support for the Belarusian opposition and freedom fighters, and encouraged firm resistance to the repression of the illegitimate Belarusian regime and anti-democratic support of the Russian Federation.

The second Kalinowski Forum took place on 22 of March 2021 adopting three main goals: a) to achieve an inclusive national dialogue; b) to hold free and fair elections under the auspices of the OECD, and c) to support independent media, human rights defenders, civil society organizations and seek for an unconditional release of all political prisoners. The Forum was attended by many prominent political leaders from the European Union and the United States, such as EU's High Representative, Josep Borrell Fontelles, Chairman of Foreign Relations Committee Bob Menendez, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, George P. Kent and other political representatives.

The third Kalinowski Forum annual conference is to be held **on 21 March 2022** to honor the cause of this Belarusian revival hero and continue his mission in the current context. It will focus on three main aspects: a) support for the independence of Belarussians; b) how the parliamentary diplomacy can contribute to the future of democratic Belarus; c) Lukashenko's tactics and strategies, that are now being implemented by Russia's dictator. These issues will be discussed in the context of Putin's current aggression in Ukraine. It is expected that the Conference will bring together representatives not only from national governments but also from parliaments whose role in fighting for democracy becomes even more crucial these days. The Forum is organized by the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania (Lithuanian Parliament) in cooperation with US Embassy to Belarus, Embassy of Poland in Lithuania, Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya's Office in Vilnius, George W. Bush Institute, National Endowment for Democracy (NED), International Republican Institute (IRI), Freedom House, Lithuanian-German Forum, Swedish International Liberal Centre (SILC), Educatio: Institute for Development and Education.

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<sup>1</sup> “Friends, my brothers! From under the Russian gallows, I am writing to you for the last time. It is sad to leave my native land and you, my dear people. My breast sighs and my heart is sore, but it is not a sad lot to perish for your truth. Hear my last words in sincerity, my people, for it is as if they were written from this world only for your good ... as day and night do not reign together, so also true learning does not go together with Russian slavery. As long as this lies over us, we shall have nothing. There will be no truth, no riches, no learning. They will only drive us like cattle not to our well-being, but to our perdition... go and fight with the whole people for your human and national rights, for your faith, for your native land. For I say to you from beneath the gallows, my people, you will only then live happily, when no Russian remains over you!”

*Kastuś Kalinoŭski, commentaries by Jan Zaprudnik and Thomas E. Bird: The 1863 Uprising in Byelorussia: "Peasants' Truth" and "Letters from Beneath the Gallows". Byelorussian Institute of Arts and Sciences, the Krecheuski Foundation, New York, 1980.*

20 March 2022, Sunday

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17:00 MARCH TO THE RASŲ CEMETERY TO COMMEMORATE THE DEATH OF KONSTANTY KALINOWSKY

Monday, 21 March 2022

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**09:00 OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE** (Venue: Constitution Hall, Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, Gedimino pr. 53)

WELCOME: COOPERATION IN SUPPORT OF A DEMOCRATIC BELARUS

**H.E. Ms Viktorija Čmilytė-Nielsen**

Speaker of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania (in-person)

**H.E. Ms Ingrida Šimonytė**

Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania (in-person)

**Sen. Robert Menendez**

Chairman of U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (video address)

**Ms Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya**

Leader of democratic Belarus (in-person)

**H.E. Mr Ruslan Stefanchuk**

Speaker of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (video-address/online)

**09:30 SUPPORTING INDEPENDENT BELARUSIAN VOICES IN THE FACE OF THE KREMLIN'S WAR OF CONQUEST**

KEY NOTES

**Dr Michael Carpenter**

U.S. Ambassador to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (in-person)

SPEAKERS

**Ms Laima Liucija Andrikienė**

Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Lithuanian Seimas (in-person)

**Ms Emine Dzhaparova**

First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (online)

**Mr David McAllister**

Chairman of the European Parliament Foreign Affairs Committee (online)

**Mr Pavel Fischer**

Chairman of the International Relations, Defence and Security Committee, Czech Republic Senate (in-person)

**Rep. Victoria Spartz**

U.S. Congresswoman (in-person)

**Ms Rasa Juknevičienė**

Member of European Parliament, European People's Party (EPP) Vice-Chair (in-person)

**Ms Anna Fotyga**

Member of the European Parliament (online)

**Amb. Asta Skaisgirytė**

Chief Advisor on Foreign Policy to the President of Lithuania (in-person)

**Mr Nils Schmid**

Member of the German Bundestag (in-person)

**Mr Marcin Przydacz**

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland (online)

**Mr Stephen Nix**

Eurasia Director, International Republican Institute (online)

**Amb. Rasa Ostrauskaite**

Ambassador – EU Permanent Representative to the OSCE (in-person)

**Mr Vytis Jurkonis**

Project Director of Freedom House, Vilnius office (in-person)

**11:00 DISCUSSION**

Moderador

**Mr Franak Viačorka**

Senior Advisor to Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya,  
Head of the Foreign Policy Department

**12:00 PRESS CONFERENCE** (Venue: Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania, Gedimino pr. 53)**13:30 PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY: CONTRIBUTING TO THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRATIC BELARUS****KEYNOTE****Ms Markéta Pekarová Adamová**

President of the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic (video address)

**Rep. Mario Díaz-Balart**

U.S. Congressman (video address)

**COMMENTS****Mr Michał Kamiński**

Deputy Marshal of the Senate of the Republic of Poland (in-person)

**Ms Doina Gherman**

Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Moldova (in-person)

**Mr Frédéric Petit**

Member of the French National Assembly (in-person)

**Mr Petras Auštrevičius**

Member of European Parliament (in-person)

**Ms Maria Nilsson**

Member of the Swedish Parliament (online)

**Mr Oleksii Goncharenko**

Member of the Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada (online)

**Ms Dovilė Šakalienė**

Member of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania (in-person)

**Ms Inese Voika**

Member of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia (in-person)

**Mr Mihhail Lotman**

Member of the Riigikogu of the Republic of Estonia (in-person)

**Mr Emanuelis Zingeris**

Member of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, Head of Lithuania Delegation to the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly (in-person)

**Mr Anatol Liabedzka**

Signatory of Belarussian independence, Representative of Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya on Constitutional Reform and Parliamentary Cooperation (in-person)

**Mr Vaidas Augūnas**

CEO of the EDUCATIO, Institute for Development and Education (in-person)

14:30 DISCUSSION

Moderator

**Amb. Žygimantas Pavilionis**

Head of the Provisional Group "For Democratic Belarus" of the Lithuanian Parliament

15:30 COFFEE BREAK

16:00 AUTHORITARIANISM BEYOND STATE BORDERS: THE BELARUSIAN DICTATOR'S PLAYBOOK

KEYNOTES AND DISCUSSION

**Dr Karen Donfried**

Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs (online)

**Mr Damon Wilson**

President of the National Endowment for Democracy (online)

Moderator

**Amb. Julie D. Fisher**

U.S. Ambassador to Belarus (in-person)

SPEAKERS

**Mr David J. Kramer**

Managing Director for Global Policy, George W. Bush Institute (online)

**Mr Marko Mihkelson**

Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Estonian Riigikogu (online)

**Mr Arkadiusz Mularczyk**

Vice-chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Polish Sejm (in-person)

**Amb. Matthias Lüttenberg**

Director for Eastern Europe, Caucasus and Central Asia at the Federal Foreign Office in Germany (online)

**Mr Vladimir Kara-Murza**

Russian Opposition Politician, Author and Historian (in-person)

**Mr Jamie Fly**

President of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (online)

**Ms Nino Evgenidze**

Executive Director at the Economic Policy Research Center (in-person)

**Amb. Nicolas de Lacoste**

France's Ambassador to Belarus and Special Envoy for Belarus (in-person)

**Amb. Artur Michalski**

Poland's Ambassador to Belarus (in-person)

17:00 DISCUSSION

Moderator

**Amb. Julie D. Fisher**

U.S. Ambassador to Belarus (in-person)

17:30 CONCLUDING REMARKS

**Amb. Žygimantas Pavilionis**

Head of the Provisional Group "For Democratic Belarus" of the Lithuanian Parliament