

Leuphana Universität Lüneburg
Bachelor of Arts.: Studium Individuale
Major: Studium Individuale

Examiners: Prof. Dr. Dawid Friedrich,
Dr. Johanna Lorraine Breuer

Bachelor Thesis

Political representation in autocratic regimes. How does Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya claim to be a representative of the Belarusian people's will towards the EU? Belarus case study.

Politische Repräsentation in autokratischen Regimen. Wie behauptet Swetlana Tichanowskaja, eine Repräsentantin des belarussischen Volkes gegenüber der EU zu sein?
Fallstudie zu Belarus

Supervised by:

First supervisor: Prof. Dr. Dawid Friedrich
Second supervisor: Dr. Johanna Lorraine Breuer

Submitted by:

Volha Kharevich

Count of words: 10415
Submission date: 08/09/2024

Abstract:

The topic of this research paper is the political representation in autocratic regimes. For this I ask the main research question: How does Svetlana Tikhanouskaya claim to be a representative of Belarusian people's will towards the EU? I answer the research question through examining Belarus as an autocratic state in this case study.

Through the theory of political representation - claim-making by Michael Saward and empirical data of Svetlana Tikhanouskaya speeches, I argue that non-electoral representatives can construct the same level of political validity as conventionally elected officials through representative claims. In this, aesthetic and cultural representation plays a crucial role. This finding can help to examine political representation in autocratic regimes more easily in the future.

At the same time, the finding questions the epistemological boundaries of political representation. Further theory-based research is needed to examine the boundaries of the epistemology of political representation. Claim-making as a non-electoral representation might not meet a traditional definition of political representation.

Key words: political representation; electoral autocracy; European Parliament; Belarus elections; aesthetic and cultural representation; non-elected representatives.

Contents:

1. Introduction.....	1
2.Theoretical section.....	2
2.1. Literature review.....	2
2.2. Conceptual framework of the study.....	9
3. Methodological section.....	14
4.Empirical part.....	16
5. Results	18
5.1. Non-elected representation of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya.....	18
5.2. Presidential campaign of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya.....	22
5.3. Comparative analysis of speeches done in Belarus and in the European Union.....	22
5.4. Unexpected results.....	24
6. Discussion.....	25
6.1. Electoral autocracy.....	26
6.2. Non-electoral representatives.....	27
6.3. Scholarly significance and societal relevance.....	29
7. Conclusion.....	30
7.1. Future research agenda.....	32
References.....	33
Annex 1.....	36
Annex 2.....	72
Declaration of Authorship.....	100

1. Introduction

This paper aims to research political representation in authoritarian contexts. As a case study - Belarus. Belarus has held 6 presidential elections since its independence in 1994, 5 of which were recognised as illegitimate by the international observers versus Alexander Lukashenko being a 'winner'. In 2020, when a fraudulent election took place, Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya became a newly chosen leader and internationally recognised winner of the 2020 Belarus election. At the same time, without holding a traditional electoral power, she can hardly be named as a president of the Republic of Belarus.

Since then, there is unclarity on a normative representation of Belarusian citizens' will and thus a president of the Republic of Belarus after the Belarusian election in 2020; legitimacy of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya without official electoral power over high supranational bodies and institutions, such as the European Parliament; scale and longevity of Ms. Tsikhanouskaya non-electoral representation and its meaning for authoritarian contexts such as Belarus.

The study promises to fill this gap and to understand how political representation functions in autocratic regimes. For this, the thesis focuses on one case study - Belarus. To examine this, I ask the main research question: how does Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya claim to be a representative of the Belarusian people's will towards the EU? The research promises to contribute to the knowledge about electoral autocracies and how political representation functions in such conditions.

Research on political representation is not new: started with Hanna Pitkin's conceptualization of acting for people's interests (1967), it involved. Recent Michael Saward theory argues that political representation is "an activity of making claims to represent others" (Fossheim, K., 2022). It has been researched how political representation functions in democratic regimes, including empirical implications of Saward's theory. I answer the main research question by applying Saward's theory of claim-making to this case study.

In parallel, the research promises to answer such sub-questions as alternative democratic representations of non-elected representatives, its role in democratisation processes in electoral autocracies, examine the normative dimension of a political representation of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya and produced within it discourses.

2. Theoretical section

2.1. Literature review

Due to the multifacetedness of the research question, there are 3 subtopics to identify for the literature review: electoral autocracies, non-elected representatives, and Belarus elections.

- **Electoral autocracy**

The study of political representation in an autocratic set of elections is a new branch of inquiry. Before the case studies of elections in autocratic regimes (Malesky & Schuler, 2008; Magaloni, 2006) were examined to define common patterns. The first comprehensive analysis of the research on elections in authoritarian regimes, where the reasons, dynamics, and goals of those elections are covered, is “Elections under authoritarianism” (Gandhi & Lust-Okar, 2009). Based on the comparative case analyses, the authors conclude that the role of elections in autocracies can be both dangerous and stabilising for the regime. The regime aims to prevent the possibility of a power change and to eliminate electoral uncertainty (Gandhi & Lust-Okar, 2009; Miller, 2014). Structure of elections reveals its purpose: omnipresent violence and repression, ballot-box stuffing, and breaching the rule of law are the nature of autocratic elections. It might be to show - opposition is futile (Gandhi & Lust-Okar, 2009; Magaloni 2006; Malesky & Schuler, 2008). Elections eliminate the elements of choice, where an electoral change most probably is not at stake. Nevertheless, reiterated elections increase vulnerability (Gandhi & Lust-Okar, 2009). The autocratic control over the course of the elections can prove to be insufficient: unexpected results as an electoral change might occur in competitive authoritarian regimes through the protests as a narrative of stolen elections. For example, Slovakia 1998, Ukraine 2004, Serbia 2000 (Bunce & Wolchik 2010; Hyde & Marinov 2012). The only citizens willing to pay high costs of disagreement are those who strongly disagree with the status quo offered by the incumbent (Gandhi & Lust-Okar, 2009). The main research question to examine

elections in autocracies: when they lead to autocratic survival and when to a democratic transition? (Gandhi & Lust-Okar, 2009).

Since the first inquiry, significant progress has been made on political representation in autocratic regimes. A chapter on electoral authoritarianism was written in a Handbook on political representation (“Research Handbook on Political Representation,” 2020c). Before, it was researched a subordinate role of autocratic elections (Gandhi & Lust-Okar, 2009) and top-down exercises with a mix of subtle and brutal pressures aimed at silencing a dissent (Cotta, 2020, p.155). Cotta spotlighted that there are special conditions when elections in autocratic states can play an insubordinate role but pointed to an empirical research gap on those conditions (Cotta, M., 2020, p.155).

Schedler argues that multi-party autocratic elections benefit not only incumbents but also the opposition, even though asymmetrically (2013). Bernhard (2019) argues that the elections are a risky game, which can either stabilise a regime if to institutionalise electoral uncertainty or make a regime vulnerable to an electoral change if not to reduce this uncertainty. For this, incumbents adopt institutional tools: selective exclusion of parties and/ or individual candidates, registration hurdles, control over voters through bribery or intimidation, and so on. However, the main advantage for incumbents in autocratic regimes is that those candidates admitted to the electoral race were admitted from above in comparison with the democratic delegation from below (Cotta, 2020, p.152).

Regularly held elections and an established parliament are the instruments for conveying to diverse public audiences the image of a legitimate regime (Cotta, 2020, p.154). But the incumbents should be careful in the level of repression (Seeberg, 2019). Thus, not only violence is and should be used: Chang (2021) argues that majoritarian electoral systems are incentivised by resource-poor dictators to co-opt ruling elites in the legislature. Also, election monitoring and media manipulations are implemented (Seeberg, 2019).

Case studies of electoral authoritarianism continued to be researched (Swedlung, 2023), specifically in the framework of politics of uncertainty (Shesterinina & Matejova, 2024). Inherent, routine, and extreme types of uncertainty were examined as

conditionality of autocratic regimes. For an electoral change to happen, the citizens should cross the revolutionary threshold, making their personal preferences public. This might inspire others to do the same, generating a revolutionary bandwagon (Shesterinina & Matejova, 2024).

Electoral authoritarianism uses strategies that prevent long-term challenges to authoritarian rule as well as short-term risks arising from regular elections. Thus, elections become a mode of reproduction rather than a mode of transition, but still have a small window of opportunity (Shesterinina & Matejova, 2024). Inherent, extreme, routine types of uncertainty contribute to the understanding of the dynamics in electoral authoritarian regimes, where uncertainty is an inherent part of (Bedford, 2023).

The research reveals the gap in the oppositional candidates' motivation to run a presidential campaign in an electoral autocracy, the gender aspect of it, the role of international recognition or non-recognition of elections for electoral autocracy stability and non-elected representation as a result of electoral authoritarianism has not been researched at all.

- **Non-elected representatives**

The traditional account of representation as “the act of standing for someone’s interests” (Pitkin, 1967) was shifted with Michael Saward’s theory of representative claim-making (2010). “An activity of making claims to represent others” (Saward, 2010) highlights the non-electoral character of a political representation. Democratic representation is ensured by authorisation and accountability. However, without fair and democratic elections, the non-electoral mechanisms of authorisation and accountability are absent.

The legitimacy of non-electoral representatives had attention in research (Maia, 2012; Montaro, 2012). It was argued that non-electoral democratic representation is sought from 3 points of view: constituency, democratic bodies, and non-constituency, mainly through discursive interactions (Maia, 2012). Montaro (2012) claimed that non-electoral representation functioned as a mechanism for constituency formation not visible before. Democratic representation is a relationship between a constituency and a claim-maker when a constituency empowered to authorise and demand accountability is the same constituency whose interests the representative claims affect (Montaro, 2012).

Further research has been done on the democratic representation of non-elected actors. It was admitted that a non-electoral mechanism to secure the democratic representation of a claim-maker constituency has its discursive character (Fossheim, 2022). Mainly the research has been done on the relationships between a constituency and a claim-maker (Fossheim, 2023).

The most recent work on non-elected representatives remains Fossheim (2023). It states that non-elected representatives operate in the spaces of democratic power so that they are subject to democratic standards. Regular interactions between constituencies and non-elected representatives secure the legitimization.

Democratic representation can hold a non-electoral character. At the same time, representatives are accountable towards democratic standards if this political representation is democratically legitimate (Fossheim, 2023). The non-electoral mechanisms of authorisation and accountability are organisational and discursive. Also, Fossheim (2022) argues that non-electoral representatives depend on more than one authorisation source. The notion of the audience's role was admitted. Fossheim (2023) argues that the audience's judgments can supplement deliberative representative-constituent relationships as part of democratic representation.

There is limited research on multiple audiences and/or multiple constituencies involved in political representation, democratic standards of non-elected representatives without electoral authorization and legislative power, and the accountability of non-elected representatives without accountability in a traditional sense.

A research gap is revealed in the process of accountability and in sources of authorisation of non-elected representatives. The gap exists in multiple audiences' involvement in building the legitimacy of non-elected representatives as well as democratic standards of political representation without electoral authorisation.

No research has been done on the political analysis of the political representation of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya as a winner of the Belarus elections 2020 without holding electoral power in a traditional sense. Being a political figure on the highest

supranational levels: specifically in the European Parliament, there is a research gap on the non-electoral character of this representation. My work intends to fill this gap. How does Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya claim to be a legitimate representative of the Belarusian people's will without electoral authorisation, jurisdictional power, and accountability towards the EU? Political representation in Belarus after the 2020 elections will be examined as a case study.

- **Belarus elections**

Significant research has been done on the topic of Belarus' political development since 2020, especially the nature of social protests and societal mobilisation in 2020 (Mateo, 2022; Bedford, 2021): when the 6th presidential elections took place. 5 presidential elections (2001, 2006, 2010, 2015, 2020) have been recognised as illegitimate by the EU member states under international law (Campos, 2003). Throughout 28 years of illegitimate rule since Lukashenka's election in 1994 and the first unlawful change of constitution in 1996 (Vashkevich, 2011), regardless of the opposition in the Supreme Council (Davidonis, 2001), there has been no nationwide fair, accountable, democratic elections.

The 6th presidential election in Belarus took place in the autocratic tradition. Human rights center 'Viasna' documented violations of electoral rights such as unlawfully denied access of candidates to run for an election, threatening and persecution of the dissent, long-term incarceration of the strongest members of the opposition at the pre-election stage of running elections (Viasna, 2021). It led to the irrevocable loss of Lukashenko's legitimacy among the population (Bedford, 2021).

Lukashenko stated that the only left oppositional candidate Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya as "a woman will never be a president in this country", allowing her to run for an election (as cited Jalalzei, 2023). The gender aspect of the elections in Belarus 2020 was researched (Bedford, 2021; Jalalzei, 2023). A prominent feature of the formed opposition and protests was a feminine narrative of it (Bedford, 2022). Tsikhanouskaya was admitted to the election race through an unthreatening image of a woman without any political ambitions. The Belarusian opposition in 2020 was led not by the traditional oppositional parties but by an individual candidate. Ms. Tsikhanouskaya claimed that

the only aim of her is to unify the Belarussians against the dictatorship and organise new fair democratic elections (Jalalzei, 2023).

The 6th Belarusian election caused unprecedented societal mobilisation (Bedford, 2021). On the 9th of August, the most numerous protests in the history of contemporary Belarus took place, aiming at rigged elections (Bedford, 2021). “The results, which were shared by the key state-owned media, alleged that Aliaksandr Lukashenka won the election with 79.7% of the votes” (Viasna, 2021, p.7). The EU parliament stated: “according to independent research, social polls, and real data from a number of polling stations, Ms. Tsikhanouskaya achieved around 60 % of the votes and should be considered the real winner of the election” (Fotyga, 2020). After the fraudulent election, protests were recognised to be formative for a newly politically motivated nation, at the same time being Russian-speaking ones (Kazharski, 2021).

The presidential election of 2020 caused for the first time Belarus to have an internationally recognised new winner of elections. But it also documented the most brutal dissidents’ oppression. EU recognised the cruel repression and torture of peaceful protesters and detainees, 4 deaths following presidential elections in Belarus, calling for a full international investigation (Fotyga, 2020). Human rights center ‘Viasna’ documented massive detentions, beatings, and torture of protesting people, the first time in the history of Belarus, usage of armament against protesters and bystanders, as well as 2 deaths from special police forces (Viasna, 2021).

Svietlana Tsikhanouskaya is recognized by Western audiences as a legitimate national leader despite lacking a formal role in Belarus (Jalalzei, 2022; Kazharski, 2024). United Transitional Cabinet - Tsikhanouskaya representative body for post-Lukashenko peaceful transition of democratic power, located in Lithuania, Vilnius. From 2020, the Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya’s campaign and the office were holding the aim “to organise a new presidential election” (Kazharski, 2024); the office now is aimed at a broader set of tasks. For example, the initiative was formed to issue new Belarusian passports, which would be legitimised by the EU countries and would be moved towards independence from the Lukashenko regime (Kazharski, 2024). Also, Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya’s office promises to shape relationships with Western countries independently from the

Lukashenko regime. A voluntary transition of power in Belarus remains rather wishful thinking (Kazharski, 2024).

Further research has been done on EU-Belarus relations since 2020, where the EU responses to the Belarusian crisis were criticised (Nizhnikau, 2022). The EU reduces its responsibility to symbolic acts of solidarity and support, maintaining normative power as an identity-building project (Loucas, 2023).

Belarus elections 2020 became a prominent case in the literature on the politics of uncertainty (Shesterinina & Matejova, 2024). Inherent, routine, and extreme types¹ of uncertainty contributed to the remarkable character of elections in Belarus – the largest political event since 1991 (Shesterinina & Matejova, 2024). There was no reliable information on the Belarusian autocratic system's support level among the population during the 2020 elections, creating opacity of real citizen preferences. Reducing informational uncertainty, Lukashenko was depicted as Sasha 3% by protesters and in the media in 2020. (Shesterinina & Matejova, 2024, p.54). Bedford (2023) argues that mobilisation happened due to extreme uncertainty brought about by COVID-19.

The fact of Lukashenko not being re-elected for the 5th time, as was expected, contributes to the study of global uncertainty in electoral authoritarianism. The Tsikhanouskaya's campaign created revolutionary bandwagoning (in collaboration with Maryia Kalesnikava (Babaryka²'s campaign manager) and Veranika Tsapkala (Tsapkala³'s wife). Belarusian women were ready to take the lead in the transformation of society (Shesterinina & Matejova, 2024). Belarusian citizens became active voters in 2020 in conditions of uncertainty. It was admitted that stability versus electoral change can play a role as a constraint for mobilisation as it was in Belarus' elections before (Korosteleva, 2009). The 2020 developments have been described as Belarusians “breaking with the very foundations of their cherished stability for the sake of dignity” (as cited in Bedford, 2023, p. 55).

¹ Routine uncertainty - uncertainty of everyday politics; extreme uncertainty - sudden, transformative events.

² Oppositional candidate, persecuted and detained before the day of the election

³ Oppositional candidate, fled from Belarus before the day of the election

The research gives a comprehensive analysis of the role of elections in Belarus 2020 on pro-democratic transition but is limited to the short notice of the European Union's role in it as a current residence point of Ms. Tsikhanouskaya.

The research reveals the gap in the EU's role in a pro-democratic transition of Belarus after the 2020 election, as well as Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya's office accountability without electoral authorisation. The gap exists in the motivation of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya to run for office when 4 elections before were considered illegitimate. The role of gender in forming a successful opposition candidate hasn't been researched. All these gaps are promised to be answered throughout the research further.

2.2. Conceptual framework of the study

The below suggests the conceptual framework of the following study. Through Saward's conceptual frame of a representative claim, which functions through the social constructivist ⁴lens, it becomes possible in a non-normative but analytical manner to examine political representation in the authoritarian context. Due to the non-electoral character of a representational claim, those claims can be brought as an instrument to advance our understanding of political representation and examine it in authoritarian systems. It gives an open space and an opportunity to examine a political representation where traditional, non-constructivist theorists would not have noticed it.

Michael Saward developed his theory of representative claims at the beginning of the 21st century, opening a new way for political theorists to examine representation. From the traditional view, where the representation is primarily seen as a relationship between the elected subject and a constituency (Pitkin, 1967), Saward (2010) highlights the constructivist, non-electoral nature of a political representation. He argues that political representation primarily occurs through representative claims, where different actors give and create those claims (Saward, 2004).

The Saward concept is widely used to examine political representation in liberal democracies. But it is problematic to conceptualise a political representation in the authoritarian contest, where it is a priori, in a traditional view is absent. The conceptual

⁴ "the core idea of social constructionism, it is that some object or objects are grounded in, or caused, constituted, or controlled by, social or cultural factors rather than natural factors" (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy).

framework by Saward gives an open space to examine non-elected actors within an authoritarian, non-electoral political system as well and to look at the dynamics of claims produced.

A representative claim exists in the framework (Figure 1): a maker of a claim, subject addressed, object - interest/matter, which is represented, referent, which is related, and an audience - those to whom this claim is addressed. Through this framework

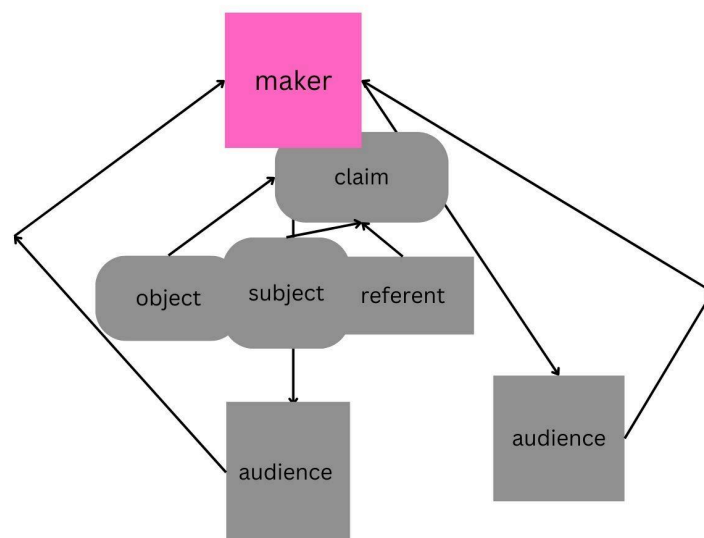


Figure 1. Conceptual framework scheme

a claim can be either rejected or accepted by an audience. In a way, it resembles a pentagon shaped framework: “A maker of representations (M) puts forward a subject (S) which stands for an object (O) which is related to a referent (R) and is offered to an audience (A)” (Saward, 2006, p.302).

To analyse the effectiveness of representative claims, how the claims are accepted and legitimised or rejected, “we need to look closely at how, and by whom, they are made, received, and judged” (Saward, 2010, p.1), the structure of it must be clear. Due to non-elected character and impossibility of a legislative power, a claim is impossible to examine through the implemented policies and/or juridical power of a constituency. The acceptance is examined through the dynamic relationship between a *maker*, a *subject* addressed, an *object* of a matter, a *referent* and an *audience* to whom a maker addresses a claim. A referent - a group or an audience to whom the claim is directed, a subject that

a representative claims to speak for or act on behalf of, “flesh and blood people of the constituency” (Saward, 2010, p.37). A subject - the entity that is purported to be the representative in the claim. An object - constituency interests, “the embodiment of constituency interests” (Saward, 2010, p.37).

To examine the effectiveness of a representative claim by Saward, the understanding of the audiences and its multiplicity is crucial for understanding. “Makers of representative claims could be makers of bad, or unacceptable, or unaccepted claims; they could also be makers of compelling, resonant claims about themselves and would-be constituents” (Saward, 2010, p.303). Claims themselves cannot be contested completely new in their character but are built upon existing ones, adding new shades and colouring. “Claims must repeat the familiar as well as (indeed, in order to) create something new; must iterate features of political culture to cross a threshold of potential acceptability” (Saward, 2010, p.303).

Representative claims exist if ‘audiences’ acknowledge them and engage with them (Saward, 2010). Thus, the audience becomes a substance of a claim to exist and be secured. “Representation is produced by processes of claim-making and consequent acceptance or rejection by audiences or parts of audiences” (Saward, 2010, p.303).

Audience-creation, reading-back, and silencing are three characteristics and potential effects of a representative claim (Saward, 2010). “Makers of representative claims attempt to evoke an audience that will receive the claim and (hopefully, from the maker’s point of view) receive it in a certain, desired way. Makers of representative claims suggest to the potential audience: (1) you are/are part of this audience, (2) you should accept this view, this construction — this representation — of yourself, and (3) you should accept me as speaking and acting for you” (Saward, 2010, p.303). The performativity of a claim-maker becomes more evident than in a purely electoral form of a political representation. Legitimization of a claim-maker and a speaker occurs in a performative way. It is the process where a claim-maker legitimises the experience of a represented subject to be represented (Saward, 2010).

It is preferable if a claim is simply accepted without contestation. If an audience or multiplicity of audiences does not accept a claim, the legitimacy of a claim-maker is questioned. If a claim is accepted, the audience is constructed. At the same time, a claim

is not simply received: “In the same way that postmodern literary theorists posited the ‘death of the author’ — readers become authors in that they actively recreate the story through reading” (Saward, 2010, p.304). Reading back becomes a new creation and reinterpretation of a claim rather than a reciprocal act of accepting. Those who receive a claim create their own understanding of this claim and the story behind it.

The power dynamics of claim-making presuppose a silencing effect. A silencing effect becomes a legitimising force for a claim-maker: “absence of the represented from the political arena” (Saward, 2010, p.304) is a weapon to create a constituency: a subject addressed.

Michale Saward steps far away from the traditional understanding of political representation, arguing that a representative claim has the same validity as an electoral representational form. “As such, ‘representation’ can be said from this perspective not to exist; what exists are claims and their receptions” (Saward, 2010, p.306). The traditional political arena becomes a stage for different representative claims and those who will make claims. According to Saward’s theory to examine the representational dynamics, non-elected representatives have the same weight as those who were ‘traditionally’ elected.

“We might elect a politician or party into office, but the simple fact of their election, important though that is, does not mean they can or will speak for the range of interests and identities that make us up” (Saward, 2010, p.84). Democratic voting is not available for half of the population (Saward, 2010), but it should not stop political theorists from examining non-elected forms of political representation in authoritarian contexts. Further it will become more prominent how representative claims can exist and have its political legitimacy in an authoritarian voting system.

Saward divided a representative claim into 4 typologies, giving it a firm epistemology: singular-multiple, particular-general, implicit-explicit, and internal-external. Singular-multiple claims, where a maker can address a multiple claim, for example, addressing a party. At the same time, a singular claim often constitutes multiple ones (Saward, 2010).

There are particular-general and strategic claims. “A claim at a high level of generality, then ... enables more specific claims” (Saward, 2010, p.308). Within a

particular-general line of claim-making, a strategic representative claim emerges. Internal claim is where a maker and a subject are the same person (Saward, 2010). External - where a maker and a subject are different people (Saward, 2010).

Developing further the conceptual and epistemological understanding of a representational claim, Saward unites electoral, aesthetic, and cultural political representation. “Conventional views of political representation are concerned with how electoral mechanisms do or do not induce responsive behaviour in elected representatives; whether accountability works prospectively or retrospectively; and what is the appropriate role for the representative to play” (Saward, 2010, p.309). A claim-maker has to be creative. Political representation is not conventional acting on behalf of someone but creating what and who will be represented and to whom. “If an electoral district or constituency interests were transparent, patently evident, singular and obvious, to most people, then a representative could simply ‘read off’ those interests and act on them.” Instead, an object “is a picture, a portrait, an image of that electorate, not the thing itself” (Saward, 2010, p.310). Political representation becomes cultural and aesthetic to portray constituencies, subjects represented, objects, and/or audiences.

“It may seem odd to include formal institutions, including electoral institutions in this ‘cultural’ frame. However, those institutions are themselves ‘per- formed’ or enacted. Their pieces of crucial institutional and constitutional culture” (Saward, 2010, p.311). “I would resist confronting the ‘institutional’ with the ‘performative’”, which is credibly hard to frame only as performative. It cannot be stated that politics is simply performing a certain cultural domain of life. Politics has a juridical power; at the same time, not every even democratically legitimate political representation does.

One more cultural dimension of a political representation is that “a representation, a political claim, is nothing if it is not heard, seen, or read by its intended audience, those whom it is meant to attract and convince. In politics, portrayals of constituencies or the nation or voters’ interests are just that: portrayals” (Saward, 2010, p.312). A claim-maker, through the subject and an object, portrays those who will be represented to a portrayed audience. “Representing the other needs, goals, situations and, in fact, who they are. Representing them as such and such” (Saward, 2010, p.312). “Whether the represented, the imagined, and constructed see themselves as they are seen or

portrayed is, of course, another matter” (Saward, 2010, p.312). It would refer to the legitimisation of a claim-maker to speak or act on behalf of a subject.

Hypothesis: the theory of Saward is applicable in regard to the case study, when a non-elected actor, through claim-making, officially claims legitimacy. Non-elected actors can construct and create the same level of political validity as conventionally elected officials. “Political representation is not a given outcome of elections but a constructed interplay of different representative claims” (Saward, 2010, p.3). We can examine political representation through representational claims on an equal basis as electoral forms of political representation.

3. Methodological section

Political representation can be theorised through claim-making by Saward. To turn the abstract concept into measurable variables, political discourse analysis as a method is used. “The term political discourse could be referring to any talk or textual output that is either about a political subject or which is politically motivated” (Tannen et al., 2015, p.775). Analysis of political discourse” (APD) is socially-oriented studies of politics, located at the intersection of political/public discourse and political/social institutions (Dunmire, 2012). To understand the political representation of this case study, the variables of this discourse analysis will be the public speeches of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya.

Discourse analysis is just one among several social constructionist approaches” (Philips & Jorgensen, 2002, p.4), as well as claim-making theory by Saward. “Reality is not simply given to us through language, rather it is mediated through different forms of language representation” (Wilson, 2015, p.776). Accordingly, through the discourse analysis, it is possible to analyse how the non-electoral character of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya’s representation is constructed through the speech (discourse). Those speeches will be operationalized further on a certain number of representative claims and analysed within the above conceptual framework: claim-making by Saward.

Political discourse is the “interplay between language and politics”, where language should be understood as a strategic resource whereby politicians gain and hold power (Dunmire, 2012, p. 736). The key terms of politics – power, influence, and authority – refer to linguistic modes in pursuit of political goals (Dunmire, 2012). Political

“statements” do not represent “cool,” “objective,” and “comprehensible” utterances but rather function as a “screen, a false scent, a safety net” designed to achieve political goals, create alliances and oppositions. “Language is not a reflection of a pre-existing reality” (Philips & Jorgensen, 2002, p.12). Language becomes the “perceptual lens” for examining political phenomena (Dunmire, 2012).

To examine the political discourse of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya, her speeches as variables are operated. Document analysis, interviews, panel discussions, case studies, and the data, drawn from a variety of different types of "talk" and "text" are operationalised as data analysis from the time span of the 2020 electoral campaign till now. As the methodology for the discourse analysis, first, specific claims within the chosen speeches (discourses) will be distinguished, further coded as products of speech acts manually, then categorising the data (axes) into emerging patterns. “Discourse analysis is the analysis of those patterns” (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002) as a linguistically grounded analysis of political language. Analysing the categories and meanings within discourse, interpreting these results, and documenting these findings, newly emerged patterns will emerge. New patterns and changes in those patterns will become a key to a newly emerging theory and picture of non-electoral political representation in autocratic regimes. Accordingly, inductive reasoning as a method is used and Belarus as a single case study to examine those patterns.

Analysts often explain politics as a relationship between language and power, specifically that political control is a form of language control” (Wilson, 2015, p.777). Discourse is not produced without context into consideration... Discourses are always connected to other discourses that were produced earlier, as well as those that already exist (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). One of the central concerns of political discourse is the question of how the world is presented to the public through forms of linguistic representation (Wilson, 2015). The discourse analysis suits to analyse the representative power of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya through the speeches and/or claim-making by Saward.

Much research on political discourse focuses on political actors in a variety of contexts, with the politician as the producer of discourse, as opposed to the politician as a product of such discourse (Wilson, 2015). Politicians discursively construct what it is what they

do, why they do it, and how out of all this they produce their own individual and political group identities” (Wilson, 2015, p.785)

4. Empirical part

The empirical part consists of 10 speeches by Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya (see Annex 1_speeches). The speeches from 10 to 24 minutes long were selected as the most prominent public speeches of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya. 5 of them were made in Belarus as part of a presidential campaign rally or on a TV broadcasting program presidential campaign with the Belarusian audience involved. The 1st speech in Belarus was on the 19th of July 2020, during the start of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya’s presidential campaign in Minsk. The Tsikhanouskaya part lasted 10 minutes and was done with Tsepkalo and Babariko headquarters representatives involved. The 2d speech, 16 minutes long, was on the TV national broadcasting channel when all registered candidates for president of the Republic of Belarus gave their speeches. The 3d speech was on the TV national broadcasting channel one more time as a final speech for a candidacy for president of the Republic of Belarus, 23 minutes long. The 4th speech is in Minsk on the 30th of July, 2020, as a part of a pre-electoral, registered rally and a presidential campaign with Tsepkalo and Babariko headquarters representatives. Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya’s part lasted 24 minutes. The 5th, last speech was done on the YouTube channel of a non-registered candidate, Viktor Babariko, on the 7th of August, 2 days before the official day of elections. It was named a “message to the Belarusian people from a presidential candidate Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya”. After this speech, in 4 days, Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya would flee Belarus into Lithuania.

The selected speeches performed in the European Union were 12-16 minutes long. The first speech in the European parliament was an award of the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought, which Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya received on the 16th of December 2020. The second speech was on the 24th of November 2021, in the European Parliament again for the European Parliament Members as a targeted audience. The 3d speech was the interview in November 2022 to the newspaper POLITICO, where Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya first time claimed herself publicly a “president-elect”. The 4th speech refers to the quotation of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya by the president of the European Parliament Roberta Metsola. The 5th speech, 16 minutes

long, is the second speech of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya in the European Parliament, 2 years after the 1st one, on the 13th of September 2023. It was performed after the Russian War of Aggression had already started. 4 out of 5 selected speeches inside the European Union were done for the European Parliament Members as an audience. The speeches were taken from the YouTube open access and transcribed, further manually coded.

The coding was done based on Saward's claim-making theory, and every claim was coded based on its content. It further led to the identification of 14 frames, seen below. After that, all claims were assigned, grouped, and distributed thematically on these 14 main topics (see Annex 2_ coding):

In Belarus speeches: 1. - political narratives; autocratic regime; political repressions; political injustice. 2. - moral obligations; claim/framing - I'm a wife; family narrative. 3. - mobilising messages; mobilisation. 4. - claim - elections 2020 would be different from all (4) before; claim on the emergence of a concept "New Belarus". 5. - Political demands to the pre-electoral Belarusian regime; presidential campaign of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya.

In the EU speeches: 6. - Belarusian citizens will construct. 7. - European narrative. 8. - claim - Belarusians are Europeans (historically, culturally). 9. - Portraying Belarusians as heroes. 10. - human rights in Belarus. 11.- claim -I'm a president of the Republic of Belarus. 12. Political demands towards the EU; guidelines for MEPs to act alike. 13. Belarusian autocratic regime as a threat to the EU. 14. Lukashenko's illegality and state of criminality.

Further, all distributed claims were operationalised based on Saward's concept of claim-making (see Annex 2_ coding). As an example, one of a representative claim by Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya:

"Authorities decided to use their own methods - detentions. At the time of registration, Sergei was sitting in a temporary detention center, for far-fetched reasons he was not registered" (Speech I, 2020), was operationalised as:

(M) Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) electoral authoritarianism, autocratic elections, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) participants of the rally in Minsk. All other claims were coded respectively.

The analysis of claims promised to answer the main research question. Both speeches within Belarus and within the European Union led to emerging results. They could not be separated as it is a continuing narrative of Belarusian people's will representation and political representation in autocratic regimes. At the same time, the speeches within the European Union specifically answered the question of how political representation is performed and legitimised towards the European Union. The measurement of variables was 14 emerged themes/frames accordingly. Every frame was analysed individually and in comparison with each other. After all analytical steps were completed, the following results emerged:

5. Results

Due to the multifacetedness of the research agenda, the section <results> is divided on four subtopics:

5.1. Non-elected representation of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya

Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya, from framing herself as a representative and leader of a pro-democratic movement in 2020 and a person to organise free and fair elections inside Belarus and step away: "*within six months I will create conditions and hold fair and independent elections for a new president, and this president will be chosen by YOU!*" (Speech II, 2020), became a representative of Belarusian citizens without the traditional electoral power at the EU level.

Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya claims to be a representative of the Belarusian people's will towards the EU through strong claim-making about Belarusians being inherently Europeans, which lies as a red thread through all claims and is a core idea of all analysed public speeches.

Svietlana Tsikhanouskaya starts from claims about Belarusians' democratic, peaceful but brutally oppressed post-electoral mobilisation in 2020, connects it to the democratic values of Belarusian society and its belief in a democratic future: "*We stood for our freedom, dignity, national identity, but we faced the brutal nature of the regime*" (Speech VI, 2020). Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya uses aesthetic representation to "create that which is to be represented" (Saward, 2010, p.310): "*on your way to the European Parliament, you could see a shocking photo on the facade of the building. A woman in white, falling down to her knees before the riot police*" (Speech VI, 2020), "*Two realities confronted: peaceful bright people with flags and flowers against armed men in black hiding their faces behind balaclavas (a photo showed)*" (Speech VI, 2020).

Ms. Tsikhanouskaya highlights the connectedness and possibility of the Belarusian democratic future with the future of the European Union, framing Belarus's democratic movement as being directed towards the European Union membership:

"Our strategic objective -Belarus membership in the European Union" (Speech X, 2023), "*European Union is our ultimate destination - period*" (Speech X, 2023).

She claims that European political rights include the rights of the Belarusian citizens and, thus, those unjustly imprisoned:

"882 of my fellow citizens have been recognized to be in prison for exercising basic political rights people in the rest of Europe take for granted" (Speech VII, 2020), giving an emphasis on the political prisoners in Belarus.

Svietlana Tsikhanouskaya legitimises these claims as the geographical connection Belarus has to Europe and European Union, Belarus' European (cultural and historical) past, and Belarus' inherent Europeanness:

"Belarusians are fundamentally European" (Speech VIII, 2022),

"Belarusians were always a part of Europe and will always be" (Speech IX, 2023),

"Europe is where we come from and where we are heading" (Speech X, 2023).

Ms. Tsikhanouskaya claims Belarus is already a part of a European nation: "*... these are only some of the courageous people our European nation is extremely proud of*" (Speech VI, 2020), stating "*European aspirations of Belarusians*" (Speech X, 2023). Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya emphasises the (inter)dependence of the European Union on

the democratic development and freedom of Belarus, as the EU security politics: *“Without free Belarus, Europe is not fully free either”* (Speech VI, 2020).

Svietlana Tsikhanouskaya uses a frame of Europe’s moral obligation to support the democratic path in Belarus as a geographical neighbour, “forgotten Europeans”, possible future member, and securitization strategy for the European Union, Russian war of aggression as a threat to the European project:

“Our fight for freedom is your fight for freedom too” (Speech VII, 2021).

Ms. Tsikhanouskaya claims that New (democratic) Belarus must be a part of the European Union and appeals to a democratic partnership now. She creates a new image of the European project:

“Without Belarus and Ukraine, the European project will not be completed. A European project from Lisbon to Minsk is a nightmare for Putin, but for us, it's a reality we strive to live in” (Speech X, 2023).

Svietlana Tsikhanouskaya not only speaks about the Belarusian constituency towards the European Parliament Members but also shows, using symbolic representation. Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya’s hands hold Belarusian citizens’ lives: in her hands are a Belarusian red-white-red national flag, which symbolises a democratic movement but forbidden in Belarus, photographs of the bitten people, peaceful but violently met protesting people, portraits of Belarusian opposition figures, who are detained.

Svietlana Tsikhanouskaya continues with the appeal to the European Parliament members about the unfair elections of 2020, the unpopularity and criminality of Lukashenko among the Belarusian population, and thus a complete loss of any legitimacy of Lukashenko’s regime. She calls the European Parliament Members to help to criminally prosecute Lukashenko for Lukashenko’s contribution to the loss of sovereignty and independence of Belarus in regard to the Russian war of aggression and crimes against humanity:

“Finally, help us to bring Lukashenko to a count, murderers, and opening of death squads, the torture of peaceful protesters, the abduction of Ukrainian kids, launching a quiet war against Belarusians and collaboration in a war against Ukraine” (Speech X, 2023).

“I am the Belarusian president-elect,...” (Speech VIII, 2022). *“The West must stop pretending Lukashenko is president”* (Speech VIII, 2022) - Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya declares to be and calls on the West to stop calling Lukashenko a president. At the same time, at the first rally towards the Belarusian audience, Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya stated: *“I’m not a politician”* (Speech I, 2020), denying her political background and political ambitions, but saying:

“I am here for love. My husband, Sergei Tikhanousky” (Speech I, 2020).

Ms. Tsikhanouskaya appeals to common universal values such as family values and family anguish due to an autocratic regime:

“When all is left of your child is a framed photograph with a black ribbon. Because they beat him to death” (Speech VII, 2021)

Human rights frame, and its extreme violations are used extensively:

“Alexandr Raikovski, he was protesting against the falsified elections. ... and he was shot dead” (Speech VI, 2020). *“People in prisons were poisoned with chlorine”* (Speech VII, 2021). *“Activist Vitold Ashurak died in prison for unknown reasons. 17-year old Dzmitry Stakhouski couldn't bear the endless interrogations by the police... He killed himself”* (Speech VII, 2021). *“In June, political prisoner Stsiapan Latypau attempted suicide in court because the regime threatened to torture his father if he didn't plead guilty”* (Speech VII, 2021). Belarusian citizens commit suicide due to the tortures within the juridical system of the incumbent Belarusian regime.

Beyond aesthetic, cultural, and electoral representation, Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya claims the absence of Belarus' agenda representation in the world media. Thus, she mentions a new dimension - media representation as part of a political representation:

“Meanwhile, in Europe, many said that the situation must have “stabilized” since there were no new pictures of mass protests”. *“In Europe, the media interest in Belarus was rapidly vanishing”* (Speech VII, 2021)

Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya not only speaks about the Belarusian constituency towards the European Parliament Members but also shows, using symbolic representation. Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya's hands hold Belarusian citizens' lives: in her hands are a Belarusian red-white-red national flag (during speech X), which symbolises a

democratic movement in Belarus, photographs of the bitten citizens, peaceful but violently met protesters (during speech VI), portraits of Belarusian opposition figures, who are detained (during speech VI).

5.2. Presidential campaign of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya

Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya was running a pro-democratic presidential campaign in a stable since 1996 electoral autocracy. The campaign was “unusual”, as Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya stated:

“New, honest, fair elections, with the participation of all alternative candidates and transparent vote counting. By voting for me, you are voting for new, honest, and fair elections”

(Speech III, 2020),

and regarded the democratic principles.

Claims done as part of a presidential campaign in Belarus held mobilising meaning and created a strong mobilisation message to the civic population of Belarus:

“The authorities thought that this was the end of it. But no, that's where it all started”

(Speech I, 2020).

There were a lot of very strong mobilising messages: with an emphasis to defend the votes “no matter what happens next” (Speech I, 2020):

“We have two ways: to continue living in poverty and unfulfilled promises or to build the Belarus we deserve” (Speech II, 2020). Another claim is

“One last thing is to protect your voice. ... The authorities should realise that we are the absolute majority and we will never stand aside” (Speech III, 2020),

“The incumbent president has been in power for 26 years not because the people want him, but because he doesn't want to leave” (Speech III, 2020).

Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya as an alternative candidate, was threatened through the threats to her children. Ultimately, it led Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya to flee to the European Union on the 11th of August, 2020: 2 days after the official day of elections.

5.3. Comparative analysis of the speeches done in Belarus and in the European Union

When comparing claims and speeches done in Belarus and in the European Union, the following pattern is seen: Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya was consistent in her claims throughout the considered period 2020-2024. The democratic narrative of claims done in Belarus didn't change and continued in the European Union. Change from the Belarusian audience to the European one created completely new discourses and claims but didn't change the semantic component as such.

For example, Ms. Tsikhanouskaya addressed electoral authoritarianism to Belarusian audiences: *“Authorities decided to use their own methods - detentions. At the time of registration, Sergei was sitting in a temporary detention center, for far-fetched reasons he was not registered”* (Speech I, 2020), *“We can't have fair elections”* (Speech I, 2020) and openly talked about political injustice. Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya continued to address political injustice and the autocratic system of elections to the European Parliament Members: *“If we invited all of the Belarusians unjustly imprisoned for the wrong colour of their dress or socks, even four halls like this one would not be enough room”* (Speech VII, 2021), at the same time using more strong expressions: *“Unlike the war in Ukraine, ours is a quiet war”* (Speech X, 2023).

Another example of consistency, Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya claimed to the Belarusian audience: *“When this government leaves, we will not lose our independence, we will gain our freedom”* (Speech III, 2020) and continued to the European Parliament audience the narrative of independence: *“Our fight for freedom is your fight for freedom too”* (Speech VII, 2021), *“Lukashenka is gambling with Belarus' sovereignty. We must stay firm in non-recognition policy and be clear that independence and sovereignty cannot be traded or undermined”* (Speech VII, 2021). The narrative of freedom and independence was present for both Belarusian and European audiences, but for the European audience, Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya added a strong European narrative, which was absent for a Belarusian audience.

Claims made in Belarus hold the same as for the European audience condemning character of the incumbent autocratic regime. *“I despise the government for the nefarious methods it has used to get rid of its competitors”* (Speech I, 2020), *“Peaceful people were beaten, peaceful people were taken away in autozaks, peaceful people were*

taken away to an unknown direction, I looked at the police and OMON and thought - what are you doing?” (Speech IV, 2020). Ms. Tsikhanouskaya continued the condemnation of violence and a narrative about the detention of peaceful protesters to the European Parliament audience: *“Belarus actively resisting a regime that has only grown more abusive”* (Speech VII, 2021), *“Detainees marked with different colours to determine how severely they should be beaten by the police officers. It’s a peaceful Belarus”* (Speech VI, 2020).

With that, very new claims emerged when the European Parliament members got involved as an audience for claim-making. Predominantly portraying Belarusians as Europeans was done in the claims for the European Parliament members and was absent for the Belarusian audience. There were narratives completely absent in Belarus: they emerged only with the European Parliament audience involved. One of them is the membership of Belarus in the European Union. Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya several times claimed through different statements that *“our strategic objective - Belarus membership in the European Union”* (Speech X, 2023), *“We chose Europe centuries ago. We reconfirmed that choice in 2020. You know, sometimes people say: how did it come that there were no European flags in protests in 2020? Of course, they were there. Our national white-red-white flag (showing it to the public) is a European flag. These colours symbolise freedom, our European past and our European future. Europe is where we come from and where we are heading”* (Speech X, 2023). At the same time, in the period of Belarusian protests in 2020, no claim was made about mobilisation to have a pro-European character.

All those frames and themes, which emerged during the speeches in Belarus, were used after in the European Union. Nevertheless, none of the European Union themes/frames was used before, in Belarus.

5.4. Unexpected results

The thematic pattern has tremendously changed since the EU audience involvement. The EU audience created EU-dominant discourse in regard to the Belarusian citizens’ voiced ‘preferences’. While Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya does not have traditional electoral power, she is recognised as a representative through the construction of a

Belarusian constituency and its will towards the EU. “Belarusians want”, “Belarusians asked me to say...” expressions to construct the represented constituency. Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya started to construct the preferences of Belarusian citizens as the European Union membership dominant, when the European Parliament members as an audience got involved. European preferences of Belarusians were absent during the analysed speeches done in Belarus.

“Constituencies, like communities, have to be “imagined”... . The equivalent of Klee’s painting is required in order to make it imaginable, to make it visible, normally both to the would-be members of that constituency and to a wider potential audience” (Saward, 2010, p.51). Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya constructs the constituency of Belarusian citizens and portrays it as “humble”, “furious”, “grateful”, and as “heroes”, as “Europeans” towards the EU. Thus, the aesthetic depiction is linked to the political representation in this case study, even though it’s only Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya’s depiction of a constituency. Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya depicted potential constituencies of Belarusian citizens towards the Belarusian audience as “peaceful people who want a peaceful change”, “courageous, talented, creative people”, “worthy specialists”. The image of a Belarusian constituency for a Belarusian audience was different than for the European Union.

The results shown above display that different audiences created different discourses. From the messages aiming at mobilising the Belarusian population and the presidential campaign on new free and fair elections, the discourse has been changed to Belarus' EU membership. From claiming to be a wife without political ambitions to the Belarusian audience, the discourse has been changed to claiming to be a president-elect and Lukashenko being criminally prosecuted to the European and Western audiences.

The results show the newly emerged theory: claims will differ based on the audiences involved, and audiences construct the agenda (object) of those claims. Thus, constituency interests are constructed based on the audience directed.

6. Discussion

The findings of this study confirm the findings of previous studies on political representation in autocratic regimes (electoral autocracy), non-electoral representatives and Belarus elections but add new, more precise findings:

6.1. Electoral autocracy

The literature review highlighted that there are special conditions when elections in autocratic states can play an insubordinate role, but pointing to an empirical research gap on those conditions (Cotta, M., 2020, p.155). Belarus case study showed that one of those special conditions might be when an oppositional candidate mobilises the civic population through the presidential campaign. Other conditions can contribute to the insubordinate role of elections in autocratic regimes, but this study does not reveal other possible conditions.

At the same time, it might seem paradoxical that Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya was allowed to run her pro-democratic presidential campaign in the autocratic system. She openly talked about corruption, political injustice, and an unfair electoral system during her presidential campaign: *“We don't need million-dollar private jets. We don't need expensive events for the president and his family at the expense of the people. We will not spend your children's and grandchildren's tax dollars on their entertainment like the current government does. We will spend them on pensions because that is our sacred responsibility”* (Speech III, 2020). It could be to show the legitimacy of the incumbent system: regularly held elections are the instruments of conveying the image of a legitimate regime (Cotta, 2020, p.154). Nevertheless, the speeches precisely opposed this legitimacy. Speeches of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya played a considerable role in the biggest mobilisation of the Belarusian civic population. Shesterinina & Matejova (2024) stated that for an electoral change to happen, the citizens should cross the revolutionary threshold, making their personal preferences public. Citizens of Belarus made their preferences public through the mass protests, but it didn't cause an electoral change. Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya left Belarus 2 days after the elections, independently or was brought out by force. There is no research done yet on the possible scenario if Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya stayed in Belarus. Hypothetically, it can be argued that the outcome of the protests could be different.

Cotta (2020) revealed that the main advantage for incumbents in autocratic regimes is that those candidates admitted to the electoral race were admitted from above in comparison with the democratic delegation from below (Cotta, 2020, p.152). It was true in the Belarus case study: Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya was admitted from above. Lukashenko stated that the only left oppositional candidate Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya as “a woman will never be a president in this country” (as cited Jalalzei, 2023). Four years later, Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya does not have parliamentary power to be named the president of the Republic of Belarus.

6.2. Non-electoral representatives

Due to the autocratic set of Belarus elections 2020, Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya became a non-elected representative of a Belarusian pro-democratic movement, when she left Belarus on the 11th of August, 2020. It was argued that non-electoral democratic representation is sought from 3 points of view: constituency, democratic bodies and non-constituency, mainly through discursive interactions (Maia, 2012).

Non-electoral democratic representation of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya is secured through the constituency - Belarusian citizens' communicative channels and legitimisation by Belarusian citizens, democratic bodies acceptance - European Parliament and discursive interactions, such as with the media. Thus, accountability comes mainly from the constituency. Such democratic bodies as the European Parliament play a role in the legitimisation of the non-electoral character of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya. Non-elected representatives operate in the spaces of democratic power, so that they are subjects to democratic standards (Fossheim, 2023). Meanwhile, the European Parliament does not hold Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya accountable, but Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya asks the European Parliament to hold accountability in regard to the democratic standards and crimes against humanity in Belarus.

As a non-elected representative in a traditional political theory understanding, Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya legitimises herself through claim-making. A cultural and aesthetic domain of political representation emerges. By convincing the audience (European Parliament Members) through cultural and aesthetic representation that Belarusians have the same cultural code and cultural belonging, portraying Belarusians culturally,

historically, and geographically as Europeans, the legitimation by the EU audience occurs. It is unclear whether the legitimation would occur without this construct and what else it can be used for, except the legitimation effect. “In politics, portrayals of constituencies or the nation or voters’ interests are just that: portrayals” (Saward, 2010, p.312).

To portray, Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya uses not only figures of speech such as “*Belarusians furious about the Russian invasion*”, “*grateful towards the EU*”, “representing them as such and such” (Saward, 2010, p.312), but also images of a constituency, performative means and national symbols: “*our national white red white flag (showing it to the public) is a European flag*” (Speech X, 2023). Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya states the Belarusian citizens' needs: “*Belarusians want to hear from you that the EU is waiting for us. Belarusians want to hear that our country will not be given to Putin*” (Speech X, 2023). “Representing the other needs, goals, situations and in fact, who they are” (Saward, 2010, p.312), Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya becomes a representative of the Belarusian people’s will towards the EU. New images of a represented constituency occur during the process of representation through claim-making.

Political representation has become an aesthetic and cultural performing of it in this case study. The cultural belonging of Belarusians towards the European Union is the core idea of the done in the European Union speeches. Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya claims the legitimisation of her political representation of Belarusians to the EU audiences primarily through cultural and aesthetic means, not through human rights violations, an autocratic regime and its sufferings. She mentions it, but they are not emphasised as strongly in the speeches as an inherited Europeanness and European cultural code of Belarusians. In Saward’s representational claim, an object “is a picture, a portrait, an image of that electorate, not the thing itself” (Saward, 2010, p.310). “A representation, a political claim, is nothing if it is not heard, seen, or read by its intended audience” (Saward, 2010, p.312).

Symbolic objects such as flags, images, and photographs of a constituency make it an aesthetic, symbolic, and cultural representation in a political representation. As a painter, Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya depicts a constituency - nation and becomes a

representative of it. “A representative — or someone making a representative claim — has necessarily to be creative. ... She has to be an artist — though, as I have commented above, not necessarily a good one — to operate aesthetically, to evoke the represented” (Saward, 2010, p. 310).

Saward’s theory describes how constituency interests are socially constructed (2010). In Belarus’ case study, it is impossible to know whether Belarusians want to join the EU: electoral authoritarianism hides the real preferences of Belarusian citizens. At the same time, Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya constructed this interest and pro-European ‘aspirations’ of Belarusians. In the end, the wish to have new free and fair elections was voiced by Belarusian citizens in 2020 during mass protests and mobilisation. After that, Sviatlana Tikhanouskaya constructs the interests of Belarusians through claim-making in the international arena to represent the constituency.

Another finding is the influence of different audiences on the object (O) of a claim. The study showed that audiences changed the agenda of the claims - different audiences construct a different object (O) of a representative claim. “By accepting, contesting or rejecting a representative claim, the audience is decisive for a claim-maker’s success or failure” (Volk, 2020, p. 602). Thus, a claim-maker must produce the claims, which would have a certain threshold of acceptability.

6.3. Scholarly significance and societal relevance

Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya became the first case of non-electoral character to represent the Belarusian people’s will internationally as a pro-democratic representative. Before electoral authoritarianism was studied, habitual patterns were determined, but there was no study before which would examine a non-electoral, pro-democratic representative at the international level as a consequence of electoral autocracy and how she legitimises her representation.

The study contributes to the research on political representation in autocratic regimes with a democratic body as the European Parliament involved. It shows how political representation embodies a cultural and aesthetic practice and a performative aspect. A

claim-making by Saward embodies a discursive-performative approach to political representation as this case study showed.

Currently, half of the world has electoral autocracy as a political system (Saward, 2010). Political representation in such systems is impossible. The real preferences of citizens can only be guessed. Claim-making as a theory of political representation can show an open window to examine political representation in electoral autocracy differently. Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya claims political representation at the same level as a would-be electoral representative with legislative and juridical power. The hypothesis that through claim-making, a non-elected representative can claim the same level of validity and legitimacy is true in this single case study. “As such, ‘representation’ can be said from this perspective not to exist; what exists are claims and their receptions” (Saward, 2010, p.306).

Without Saward’s theory of claim-making (2010), it would be impossible to explain the case of the political representation of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya.

7. Conclusion

The study was aimed to examine political representation in autocratic regimes. Specifically: how does Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya claim to be a representative of the Belarusian people’s will towards the EU?

10 speeches were used as primary data sources to draw conclusions and test the theory. It is a limitation of this study. Due to the time frame and limited capacity of the researcher involved, it is impossible to code all speeches of Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya. Meanwhile, the limitation is not significant: the most remarkable and long in a time speeches were considered. Thus, the limitation should not have impacted the research results significantly.

Belarus, as a case study, proves the result of previous studies: political representation in autocratic regimes is characterised by the extensive human rights violations, violation of electoral rights and persecution of incumbents, terrorisation of a civic population in case of mobilisation. Belarus’ election in 2020 was unprecedented on the level of political

repression and civil mobilisation, the study shows that Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya's strong mobilising messages could have played a major role in last. Meanwhile, extreme human rights violations have continued after the electoral period till current times, and are characterised by its prolonged character.

Belarus case study adds new dimensionality on a political representation of non-electoral character: it functions through the cultural, aesthetic, and symbolic operationalisation and representation. A non-electoral actor does not only give speeches but performs through cultural and discursive means. Another finding that wasn't researched in previous studies is the influence of different audiences on claim-making. Belarus case study adds that different audiences produce different discourses and different content of claims.

Ms. Tsikhanouskaya claims to be a representative of the Belarusian people's will towards the EU through a construct of a common (European) identity, highlighting a cultural, discursive, and performing dimension of political representation. Other dimensions, such as a long-term dictatorial regime and an autocratic tradition of unfair, fraudulent elections in Belarus, were not as significant as the constructed European identity to add legitimacy to a representational power. The human rights frame, even used extensively, wasn't mentioned as often as the constructed European belonging, thus playing not a major role.

Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya's hands hold Belarusians' lives. The Belarus case study proves the main hypothesis: non-elected actors represent the constituency to an audience involved and can construct and create the same level of political validity as conventionally elected officials through claim-making by Saward.

7.1. Future research agenda

In the end, the research gives an open space for an epistemological discussion about political representation of non-elected representatives. If political representation is 'acting for someone' (Pitkin, 1967), then claim-making by Saward cannot fully be used to examine political representation. Without a juridical and legislative power, it can hardly be called acting for a constituency. A claim-maker rather performs the political

representation rather than actually acting for the constituency - it is impossible without a traditional electoral power. Nevertheless, there is a left hypothesis whether the audiences can become successful actors in acting upon the represented constituencies when a claim-maker cannot. Theoretically, Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya represents Belarusian citizens in the best of their interests, but she cannot act in the best interest of Belarusian citizens. As an actor, Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya cannot produce a result in the interests of Belarusian citizens without judicial and legislative power, but hypothetically European Parliament Members can.

Thus, further theory-based research is needed to examine the boundaries of the epistemology of political representation. The findings of this case study question the epistemological boundaries of political representation. Claim-making by Saward as a non-electoral representation might not meet a traditional definition of political representation. In addition to that, the influence of different audiences on the object (O) of a representative claim and the finding that audiences changed the agenda of the claims can be researched further.

References:

- Bedford, S. (2021). The 2020 Presidential Election in Belarus: Erosion of Authoritarian Stability and Re-politicization of Society. *Nationalities Papers*, 49(5), 808–819. <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2021.33>
- Bedford, S. (2023). “Politics of uncertainty” in practice. The Belarusian 2020 presidential election. *Uncertainty in Global Politics* (pp. 44–62). In Routledge eBooks. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003426080-4>
- Belarusian Helsinki Committee & Human Rights Center “Viasna”. (2020). Republic of Belarus. Presidential election. August 9, 2020. Final Report on Election Observation. https://spring96.org/files/misc/2020_election_final_report_dec_09_en.pdf
- Bernhard, M., Edgell, A. B., & Lindberg, S. I. (2019). Institutionalising electoral uncertainty and authoritarian regime survival. *European Journal of Political Research*, 59(2), 465–487. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12355>
- Bosse, G. (2021). Authoritarian consolidation in Belarus: What role for the EU? *European View*, 20(2), 201–210. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17816858211061839>
- Bunce, V. J., & Wolchik, S. L. (2009). Defeating Dictators: electoral change and stability in competitive authoritarian regimes. *World Politics*, 62(1), 43–86. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0043887109990207>
- Campos, P. M. (2003.). Report on relations between the European Union and Belarus: towards a future partnership - Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy. European Parliament. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-5-2003-0024_EN.html
- Cotta, M., & Russo, F. (Eds.) (2020). Representation in authoritarian regimes. *Research Handbook on Political Representation* (pp.148-157). In Edward Elgar Publishing eBooks. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788977098>
- Cox, G., & Katz J. (2002). *Elbridge Gerry's Salamander: The Electoral Consequences of the Reapportionment Revolution* New York: Cambridge University Press
- Davidonis, R. (2001). *The challenge of Belarus, and European responses*. Paris. Institute for Security Studies.
- Donno, D. (2013). Elections and democratization in authoritarian regimes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(3), 703–716. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12013>
- Dunmire, P. L. (2012). Political Discourse Analysis: Exploring the language of politics and the politics of language. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 6(11), 735–751. <https://doi.org/10.1002/lnc3.365>
- European Council. (2020). Belarus: Declaration by the High Representative on behalf of the European Union on the so-called ‘inauguration’ of Aleksandr Lukashenko. Press release. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2020/09/24/belarus-declaration-by-the-high-representative-on-behalf-of-the-european-union-on-the-so-called-inauguration-of-aleksandr-lukashenko/>
- Fossheim, K. (2022). How can non-elected representatives secure democratic representation? *Policy and Politics*, 50(2), 243–260. <https://doi.org/10.1332/030557321x16371011677734>
- Fossheim, K. (2023). Democratic representation without elections? Understanding non-elected representatives in governance networks. <https://www.duo.uio.no/handle/10852/106581>

Fotyga, A., Waszczykowski, W.J., Czarnecki, R., Wiśniewska, J., Vondra, A., Rzonca, B., Kanko, A., & Kopcinska, J.

(2020). Motion for a resolution on the situation in Belarus following the presidential elections of 9 August 2020 - B9-0275/2020. European Parliament. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/B-9-2020-0275_EN.html

Gandhi, J., & Lust-Okar, E. (2009). Elections under authoritarianism. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12(1), 403–422. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.060106.095434>

Hyde, S. D., & Marinov, N. (2012). Which elections can be lost? *Political Analysis*, 20(2), 191–210. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pan/mpr040>

Jalalzei, F. (2023). The “Accidental Candidate” Versus Europe’s Longest Dictator: Belarus’s Unfinished Revolution for Women. *Politics and Governance*, 11(1), 119–129. <https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v11i1.6167>

Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. SAGE Publications. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208871>

Kazharski, A. & Latvian Transatlantic Organisation. (2021). Belarus and the EU after the 2020 awakening: limited room for maneuver? Policy brief. https://archive2.rigaconference.lv/2021/wp-content/uploads/WEB_2.Brief-.pdf

Kazharski, A. (2024). “The Lithuanians Have Our Back”: Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya’s Office and the United Transitional Cabinet in the Face of Fragmented Western Support. Springer. https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/978-3-031-05750-2_45-1.pdf

Korosteleva, E. (2009). Was there a quiet revolution? Belarus after the 2006 Presidential Election’. *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 25(2–3), 324–346.

Lindstaedt, N., & Bosch, J. J. (Eds.). (2024). *Research Handbook on Authoritarianism*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Loucas, E. (2023). Depoliticising the people: post-normative power Europe in the women-led protests in Belarus. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 31(4), 1489–1504. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2023.2177840>

Maia, R. C. M. (2012). Non-electoral political representation: expanding discursive domains. *Representation*, 48(4), 429–443. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344893.2012.712547>

Magaloni, B. (2006). *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511510274>

Malesky, E., & Schuler P. (2008). Why do single-party regimes hold elections? An analysis of candidate-level data in Vietnam’s 2007 National Assembly contest. (n.p.)

Mateo, E. (2022). “All of Belarus has come out onto the streets”: exploring nationwide protest and the role of pre-existing social networks. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 38(1–2), 26–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586x.2022.2026127>

- Miller, M. K. (2014). Andreas Schedler: The Politics of Uncertainty: Sustaining and Subverting Electoral Authoritarianism. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. xiv, 478.). *The Review of Politics*, 76(4), 708–710. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s003467051400076x>
- Montanaro, L. (2012). The democratic legitimacy of Self-Appointed Representatives. *The Journal of Politics/the Journal of Politics*, 74(4), 1094–1107. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022381612000515>
- Nizhnikau, R. (2022). Catch 2020: explaining the performance of the EU policy towards Belarus. *International Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-022-00406-8>
- Pepinsky, T. (2013). The institutional turn in comparative authoritarianism. *British Journal of Political Science*, 44(3), 631–653. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123413000021>
- Pitkin, H.F. (1967). *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Saward, M. (2006). The representative claim. *Contemporary Political Theory*, 5(3), 297–318. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cpt.9300234>
- Saward, M. (2010). *The Representative Claim*. Oxford University Press.
- Seeberg, M. B. (2019). How State Capacity Helps Autocrats win Elections. *British Journal of Political Science*, 51(2), 541–558. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123419000450>
- Schedler, A. (2013). The power of elections. *The politics of uncertainty: Sustaining and Subverting Electoral Authoritarianism* (pp.141–176). In Oxford University Press eBooks. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199680320.003.0006>
- Suzdaltsev, A. (2023). The Presidentialization of Belarusian Political Parties. In: Glaser, M., Krivushin, I., Morini, M. (eds). *The Presidentialization of Political Parties in Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus* (pp. 117-168). Palgrave Studies in Presidential Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-25977-7_4
- Shesterinina, A., & Matejova, M. (2023). Uncertainty in global politics. In Routledge eBooks. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003426080>
- Vashkevich, A. (2011). *From Vague Ideas to Unclear Reality-the Evolution of Constitutional Control in Belarus in the Context of Its Influence on the Human Rights Situation* [Master Thesis, Lund University]. <https://lup.lub.lu.se/luur/download?func=downloadFile&recordOid=2295041&fileOid=2342998>
- Volk, S. (2020). ‘Wir sind das Volk!’ Representative Claim-Making and Populist Style in the PEGIDA Movement’s Discourse. *German Politics*, 29(4), 599–616. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644008.2020.1742325>
- Wilson, J. (2015). Political discourse. In Schiffrin, D, Tannen, D & Hamilton, H.E. (eds.). *The handbook of discourse analysis* (2d edition, pp.775-795). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse analysis*. SAGE Publications.

Annex 1_speeches:

Speech I. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RZHCCCKMSX_0 - 19 июля (минск), 2020. “Я Светлана Тихановская и так вышло, что я кандидат в президенты Республики Беларусь (аплодисменты). Я не политик. На этом месте люди привыкли видеть политиков, которые борются за власть. Но как вы знаете я здесь ради любви. Мой муж, Сергей Тихановский организовал этот проект - страна для жизни, в рамках которого он встречался с разными людьми: с дерутатами, с предпринимателями. С людьми простыми, рабочими. Ради этого проекта он поехал по всей Беларуси, чтобы встречаться с простыми рабочими, с простыми людьми и узнавать как им живется в нашей стране. И он увидел много боли, он рассказывал о коррупции, о бесхозяйственности, к сожалению о прогнившей судебной системе. И когда народ, люди попросили идти Сергея в президенты, в принципе он согласился, он решил пойти в президенты. Наши власти решили действовать своими методами - задержаниями. На момент регистрации, Сергей сидел в изоляторе временного задержания, по надуманным причинам его не зарегистрировали. И власти думали, что на этом все закончиться. Но нет с этого все только началось. Так как в нашей семье всегда было один за всех и все за одного. Я решила встать на место мужа и продолжить дело, которое для него было так важно. И меня зарегистрировали. И с того момента ребята мы увидели на пикетах по сбору подписей все эти очереди. Те кто там был вы могли почувствовать энергетику друг друга. Как это классно когда вы чувствуете рядом с вами не просто каких-то людей. Вы чувствуете что вы вместе. Вы пришли на пикеты с единой целью. Вы объединились в тот момент, понимаете, ваши сердца стали единым целым. Вы поняли что вы единый народ. (аплодисменты). Вы знаете мой супруг Сергей Тихановский, из-за гнусной провокации в конце мая, опять находится в СИЗО и он не может меня поддержать. Но ребята, я не сдаюсь только по тому, что все это время я чувствовала вашу поддержку. Мне говорили, Света, нельзя сдаваться. И знаете я презираю власть за то, какими гнусными методами она стала избавляться от своих конкурентов. Честная борьба - нет, не слышали такого. Самых сильных кандидатов - Виктора Бабарика, Сергея Тихановского, Валерия Цепкало не зарегистрировали. Так как увидели в них угрозу. Но вы же понимаете, что сила и угроза для власти - это не кандидаты, это люди Беларуси, которые не хотят больше жить в унижении, которые хотят жить в свободной стране (аплодисменты). Где людей не будут хватать и бросать в автозаки на улицах и кидать в тюрьму по надуманным причинам. Ребята, мне было очень тяжело и поэтому я приняла помощь от штабов Виктора Бабарико и Виктора Цепкало. Мы объединили наши усилия только для того, чтобы объединить. Но чтобы победить нам нужны вы все, абсолютно все люди нашей любимой страны. И я хочу рассказать принципы, на основании которых мы

объединились. Во первых мы призываем голосовать только 9 ого августа - нет досрочному голосованию. Второй принцип на котором сошлись все штабы это что необходимо освободить всех политзаключенных. Это первостепенная задача - а также экономических заключенных. Третий пункт - это после того как Светлана Тихановская выиграет выборы 9 ого августа, мы проведем новые честные абсолютно прозрачные выборы - с теми кандидатами, которых на этом этапе не допустили. В честных выборах смогут участвовать все альтернативные кандидаты - кто видих силы в них участвовать. Мы верим в то, что в этом году мы сможем защитить наши голоса. Поэтому мы призываем всех наблюдателей участвовать в наблюдении, чтобы мы покрыли все участки, чтобы уменьшить риск фальсификации. А также что бы не случилось потом , мы обязана защищать свои голоса. Мой супруг знаете призывал раньше игнорировать выборы. Я не хочу называть фамилии, но пока один известный участвует и одна известная считает - у нас честных выборов быть не может (аплодисменты). Это не занчит что в этом году мы поверили в честные выборы - нет. Выборы будут сфальсифицированы и мы все об этом знаем. Но именно в этом году мы уверены что мы сможем проконтролировать голоса, каким образом они распределялись. И мы бы не пошли на этот шаг если бы не были уверены в своей победе. Но даже когда выборы будут сфальсифицированы, мы знаем что народ поднимет себя с диванов и защитит свои голоса. Я Светлана Тихановская хочу стать президентом в Республики Беларусь ради перемен, ради новых честных открытых выборов после 9ого августа этого года. Всем большое спасибо.” (11 минут речь).

Speech I. July 19 (Minsk), 2020. (10 minutes) "I am Svetlana Tikhonovskaya and **it so happens** that I am a candidate for President of the Republic of Belarus (applause). **I am not a politician.** In this place people are used to seeing politicians who fight for power. But as you know **I am here for love.** **My husband, Sergei Tikhonovsky, organized this project - a country for life,** within the framework of which he met with different people: with deputats, with entrepreneurs, simple, working people. For the sake of this project he travelled all over Belarus to meet ordinary workers, ordinary people and find out how they live in our country. And he saw **a lot of pain, he talked about corruption, about mismanagement,** unfortunately about the **rotten judicial system.** And when the people, people asked Sergei to go to the presidency, in principle he agreed, he decided to go to the presidency. Our **authorities decided to use their own methods - detentions. At the time of registration, Sergei was sitting in a temporary detention centre, for far-fetched reasons he was not registered. And the authorities thought that this was the end of it. But no, that's where it all started. Since in our family it's always been one for all and all for one. I decided to step into my husband's shoes and continue the work that was so important to him.** And I got registered. And from that moment on, guys, **we saw all these lines at the signature pickets. Those of you who were there, you could feel each other's energy. It's so cool when you feel like you're with more than just some people. You feel like you're together. You came to the pickets with a common goal. You united at that moment, you know, your hearts became one.**

You realized that you are one people. (applause). You know my husband Sergey Tikhanovsky, because of the heinous provocation at the end of May, is in jail again and he can't support me. But guys, I did not give up only because all this time I felt your support. They told me, Sveta, you can't give up. And you know, I despise the government for the nefarious methods it has used to get rid of its competitors. A fair competition - no, you don't hear that. The strongest candidates - Viktor Babariko, Siarhei Tihanouski, Valery Tsepkalo - were not registered. Because they saw them as a threat. But you understand that the force and threat to the authorities are not candidates, they are people of Belarus who don't want to live in humiliation anymore, who want to live in a free country (applause). Where people won't be grabbed and thrown into autozaks on the streets and thrown into prison for far-fetched reasons. Guys, it was very hard for me and that's why I accepted help from the headquarters of Viktor Babariko and Viktor Tsepkalo. We united our efforts just to unite. But to win we need all of you, absolutely all people of our beloved country. And I want to tell you the principles on the basis of which we have united.

First of all, we urge you to vote only on the 9th of August. The second principle on which all headquarters agreed was that all political prisoners should be released. This is the first priority, as well as economic prisoners. The third point is that after Svetlana Tihanovska wins the elections on August 9, we will hold new honest and absolutely transparent elections - with those candidates who were not allowed at this stage. All alternative candidates - who see the strength to participate - will be able to take part in fair elections. We believe that this year we will be able to protect our votes. Therefore, we call on all observers to participate in the observation so that we cover all polling stations to reduce the risk of fraud. And also no matter what happens next, we have an obligation to protect our votes. My spouse, you know, has called before to ignore the election. I don't want to name the names, but as long as one famous person participates and one famous person calculates the votes - we can't have fair elections (applause). This does not mean that this year we believe in fair elections - no. The elections will be rigged and we all know it. But this is the year we believe that we will be able to control the votes, how they were distributed. And we wouldn't have taken this step if we weren't sure of our victory. But even when the elections will be rigged, we know that the people will get up from their couches and protect their votes. I Svetlana Tikhanovskaya want to become president in the Republic of Belarus for the sake of change, for the sake of new fair open elections after August 9th of this year. Thank you all very much." (11 minute speech).

Speech II. July 22, 2020. (Minsk) Biggest national channel broadcasting. Candidates into the presidency of the Republic of Belarus. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GQNNzvKSROU> (16 минут)

Я Светлана Тихановская, кандидат в президенты Республики Беларусь. Я не политик. Это мой муж, Сергей Тихановский хотел баллотироваться в президенты Беларусь, и за это он сейчас в тюрьме. Я приняла решение продолжить дело

своего мужа и зарегистрироваться в кандидаты вместо него. Власти не зарегистрировали его и других сильных кандидатов, Виктора Бабарико и Валерия Цепкало, но зарегистрировали меня. Почему? Потому что они видят в этих мужчинах угрозу. Только они не поняли, что угроза для власти - это не кандидаты. Это народ, которому надоело сидеть в унижении и несвободе. Мой муж Сергей Тихановский вместе с другими кандидатами разбудил белорусов, которые уже не вернуться в удобное для правительства спящее состояние. Я ничего не буду вам обещать, для этого у нас есть другие люди. 26 лет они раздают пустые обещания, они говорят про хорошую пенсию, зарплату по 500, достойное здравоохранение, но они не сдерживают своих обещаний. Я же расскажу вам о том, что на самом деле происходит в стране. То, что вы не увидите по телевизору. Я расскажу вам правду. По телевизору вам не покажут, что у действующего президента очень низкий рейтинг, что его поддерживает совсем мало людей, но это правда. По телевизору вам не покажут, что уже несколько месяцев по всей стране выстраиваются километровые очереди из белорусов, которые требуют чтобы Сергея Тихановского, Виктора Бабарико и других политзаключенных выпустили из тюрем, но это правда. По телевизору вам не покажут, что люди которые просто мирно гуляли по улице и не делали ничего плохо, задерживают и хватают, но это правда.

По телевизору вам не покажут, что абсолютное большинство против сегодняшней власти и хочет нового президента, но это правда. По телевизору вам не покажут, что белорусы умоляют учителей и всех, кого заставляют подделывать подсчет голосов, не соглашаться на это преступление. И это правда. По телевизору вам не покажут в какой нищете живет большая часть населения, и как богато живут чиновники, но это правда. По телевизору вам не покажут, что от коронавируса умерло намного больше человек, чем говорит минздрав. По телевизору вам не покажут, что ваших любимых ведущих уволили за то, что они посмели высказаться против нынешнего президента, но это правда. Мелита Станюта, Дмитрий Врангель, Антон Мартыненко, дядя Ваня, Маргарита Левчук, и другие были уволены потому что не согласны с нынешней властью. Но это правда. Телевизор сейчас принадлежит сейчас только одному человеку. Поэтому все, кто смотрит телевизор никогда не узнают правду. Я пришла в политику не ради власти, а ради справедливости. Моя главная цель - организовать честные выборы, с участием всех альтернативных кандидатов. Голосуя за меня, вы голосуете за честные, новые и справедливые выборы. Только так страна сможет развиваться дальше.

По телевизору вам не покажут, что правительство хамит вам и обзывает вас, но это правда. По телевизору вам не покажут, что полит заключенные сидят за решеткой за их убеждения, а не за то что совершили преступления, но это правда.

Я приняла поддержку команд Виктора Бабарико и Валерия Цепкало, с нами сотрудничают лучшие эксперты, общественные организации, партии. Мы создали

сильную команду для того, чтобы привести Беларусь в свободной и счастливой жизни. Я уверена, что этого хочет большинство наших граждан, и поэтому рассчитываю на вашу поддержку и ваше участие. Моя программа - это непривычная программы для кандидата в президенты. Главный пункт моей программы - это честные и справедливые выборы. А для того чтобы эти выборы состоялись - нам необходимо объединиться. Что я призываю сделать вам сейчас? Первое - стать независимыми наблюдателями. Второе - прийти на выборы именно 9 ого августа, никакого досрочного голосования. Третье - проголосовать за меня - Светлану Тихановскую. И последнее - защищать свой голос. Для чего это нужно? Власть должна понять, что нас абсолютное большинство и мы никогда не останемся в стороне. Необходимо создать рекордное количество независимых наблюдателей, самое большое количество в истории независимой Беларуси и зафиксировать реальный результат голосования. Для этого создано много инициатив, в которой мы должны вступать. Честные люди, право на голос, рух правда, зубры и другие. Чем больше явка, тем тяжелее украсть наш голоса. Чем больше явка, тем более очевидной будет фальсификации. Я призываю вас не оставаться дома 9ого числа, иначе вы проголосуете за нынешнюю власть. Если мы останемся дома и не придем на участок, это будет победа действующей власти. После того, как мы получим очевидные для всей страны реальные результаты. Выбор народа должны будут уважать все. Иначе нам придется защищать свои голоса.

Выборы которые состояться 9ого августа не будут свободными и честными. Ни одного из сильных лидеров не зарегистрировали в качестве кандидатов в президенты. Возбуждены уголовные дела, в мусорку выброшены сотни тысячи собранных подписей. Нам нужны новые свободные честные выборы с прозрачным подсчетов голосов. Также нужно изменить систему, чтобы вся власть в стране не была в руках одного человека. После вступления в должность президента я приму меры для сохранения стабильности в стране и для проведения честных выборов. Все необходимые действия будут приняты в течение полугода.

Мне не нравится как государство относится к белорусам. Мне не нравится, что молодежи сейчас приходится уезжать из маленьких городов и деревень, потому что им там нечего делать. Негде работать и не за что жить. Мне не нравится, что белорусам приходится уезжать из своей страны на заработки. Потому что им здесь им нечего делать. Негде работать и не на что жить. Мне не нравится что умирают деревни, которые могут жить богато и достойно. Мне не нравится что в маленьких городах остаются лишь пенсионеры, которые едва сводят концы с концами. Мне не нравится, что люди умирают от коронавируса, пока власть скрывает от них реальные цифры по заболевшим, не обеспечивают их медицинской помощью. Не платят врачам достойные зарплаты. Мне не нравятся, что чиновники строят большие дома и ездят на курорты, пока мы едва доживаем до зарплаты. Мне не нравится, что самые богатые люди - это люди в правительстве. У нас есть два пути: продолжать жить в бедности и несбывшихся

обещаниях или построить Беларусь, которую мы заслуживаем. Мы сами способны на многое, мы создаем рабочие места, пока государство вставляет палки нам в колеса. Мы растим наших детей и вкладываем правильные ценности, вместе мы сможем создать богатую, безопасную, развитую страну. Помните, мы строим страну не только для себя, но и для наших детей. И я хочу чтобы правительство заботилось о здоровье и благосостоянии своих граждан, относилось к нам с уважением. Не нарушала нашу свободу и права. Я хочу чтобы наши дети получали хорошее образование, чтобы повзрослев они могли найти хорошую работу, создать семью и иметь свое жилье, чтобы они остались жить здесь, на своей земле. Чтобы они не хотели уезжать в поисках более свободной и справедливой жизни. Я хочу чтобы мы чувствовали любовь и уважение к себе, имели право выбора и гордились своей страной для жизни.

Я хочу чтобы Беларусь уважали в мире, чтобы мы искали друзей, а не врагов. Я хочу чтобы ушла в прошлое подлая традиция преследовать людей за правду. Я люблю своего мужа, поэтому я продолжила его дело. Я люблю своих детей. Поэтому я хочу чтобы они росли в стране, где людям не затыкают рты. Я люблю белорусов, поэтому я хочу дать им возможность выбирать. Да, сначала мне было страшно. Я знаю до какого дна может пойти власть., пытаюсь сохранить свое кресло. Но теперь я не боюсь. Я чувствую вашу поддержку и вашу силу. Это мой долг быть сейчас на этом месте, мой долг - помочь сделать нас и наших детей свободными. Если вы как и я устали от пустых обещаний и проблем, если вы хотите себе и вашим детям хорошую жизнь, в безопасности, ни в коем случае не голосуйте досрочно. Приходите 9ого августа и голосуйте за меня, Светлану Тихановскую. Я простой человек, простая белоруска, женщина, мать, которая хочет и может сделать нашу жизнь такой, как мы этого заслуживаем. Так давайте вместе построим страну для жизни.

Speech II. Biggest national TV channel broadcasting. Candidates into the presidency of the Republic of Belarus.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GQNNzvKSROU> (16 minutes)

I am Svetlana Tikhonovskaya, a candidate for the presidency of the Republic of Belarus. **I am not a politician.** It was my husband, Sergei Tikhanovski, who wanted to run for president of Belarus, and for this he is now in prison. I decided to continue my husband's cause and register as a candidate instead of him. The authorities did not register him and other strong candidates, Viktor Babarika and Valery Tsepkalo, but they registered me. Why? Because they see these men as a threat. **Only they didn't realize that it's not the candidates who are a threat to the authorities. It's the people who are tired of sitting in humiliation and unfreedom.** My husband Siarhei Tikhanouski, together with other candidates, woke up the Belarusians, who will not return to the comfortable sleeping state for the government. **I won't promise you anything, we have other people for that. For 26 years they have been giving out empty promises, they talk about a good pension, 500 salaries, decent health care, but they don't keep**

their promises. I'll tell you what's really happening in the country. Things you won't see on TV. I'm gonna tell you the truth. They won't show you on TV that **the absolute majority is against the current government and wants a new president**, but **it's true.** They won't show you on TV that Belarusians beg teachers and **all those who are forced to falsify the vote count** not to agree to this crime. But it's true. They won't show you on TV **how poor the majority of the population lives and how rich the officials live**, but it's true. They won't show you on TV that **many more people have died from the coronavirus** than the Ministry of Health says. But it's true. They won't show you on TV that **the government bullies you and humiliates your names**, but it's true. They won't show you on TV that **political prisoners are behind bars for their beliefs and not for committing crimes**, but **it's true.** You **won't see on TV that the incumbent president has a very low rating, that very few people support him**, but it's true. **They won't show you on TV that for several months there are kilometer-long queues of Belarusians all over the country who demand that Siarhei Tikhonouski, Viktor Babarika and other political prisoners be released from prisons**, but it's true. **They won't show you on TV that people who were just peacefully walking down the street and not doing anything wrong are being detained and grabbed**, but it's true.

They won't show you on TV how poor the majority of the population lives and how rich the officials live, but it's true. They won't show you on TV that **your favourite anchors were fired for daring to speak out against the current president**, but it's true. **Melita Stanyuta, Dmytro Wrangel, Anton Martynenko, Uncle Vanya, Margarita Levchuk, and others were fired because they disagree with the current government.** But it's true. TV now belongs to only one person. Therefore, everyone who watches TV will never know the truth. **I came to politics not for the sake of power, but for the sake of justice.** My main goal is to organise fair elections, with the participation of all alternative candidates. **By voting for me, you are voting for honest, new and fair elections. This is the only way for the country to develop further.**

I have accepted the support of the teams of Viktor Babariko and Valeriy Tsepka, the best experts, public organizations and parties cooperate with us. **We have created a strong team to lead Belarus to a free and happy life.** I am sure that this is what the majority of our citizens want, and therefore I count on your support and your participation. **My program is an unusual program for a presidential candidate.** **The main point of my program is fair and honest elections.** And **for these elections to take place, we need to unite.** What do I urge you to do now? **The first thing is to become independent observers. Second - come to the elections on August 9, but no early voting. Third, vote for me - Svetlana Tikhonovskaya.** One last thing is to protect your voice. What is the purpose of this? **The authorities should realize that we are the absolute majority and we will never stand aside.** It is necessary to create a record number of independent observers, the largest number in the history of independent Belarus, and to fix the real result of voting. Many initiatives have been created for this purpose, which we should join. Honest People, Right to Vote, Rukh Pravda, Bison and others. **The**

bigger the turnout, the harder it is to steal our vote. The bigger the turnout, the more obvious the fraud will be.

The elections to be held on August 9 will not be free and fair. None of the strong leaders have been registered as presidential candidates. Criminal cases have been opened, hundreds of thousands of collected signatures have been thrown in the trash. We need new free and fair elections with transparent vote counting. We also need to change the system so that all power in the country is not in the hands of one person. After assuming the office of the President, I will take measures to maintain stability in the country and to hold fair elections. All necessary actions will be taken within six months.

I don't like the way the state treats Belarusians. I don't like the fact that young people have to leave small towns and villages because they have nothing to do there. There is nowhere to work and nothing to live for. I don't like that Belarusians have to leave their country to earn money. Because they have nothing to do here. There's nowhere to work and nothing to live on. I don't like that villages that could live richly and with dignity are dying. I don't like that small towns are left with only pensioners who can barely make ends meet. I don't like the fact that people are dying of coronavirus while the authorities hide the real numbers of those who are sick and don't provide them with medical care. They don't pay doctors decent salaries. **I don't like that officials are building big houses and going to resorts while we are barely living paycheck to paycheck. I don't like that the richest people are the people in government. We have two ways: to continue living in poverty and unfulfilled promises or to build the Belarus we deserve.** We ourselves are capable of doing a lot, we create jobs while the state is putting sticks in our wheels. We raise our children and invest the right values, together we can create a rich, safe, developed country. Remember, we are building a country not only for ourselves, but also for our children. **And I want the government to take care of the health and welfare of its citizens, to treat us with respect. Not to violate our freedom and rights. I want our children to get a good education, so that when they grow up they can find a good job, start a family and have their own place to live, so that they stay here, on their own land. I want them not to want to leave in search of a freer and fairer life. I want us to feel love and respect for ourselves, to have the right to choose and be proud of our country to live in.**

I want Belarus to be respected in the world, I want us to look for friends, not enemies. I want the despicable tradition of persecuting people for the truth to be a thing of the past. I love my husband, so I continued his work. I love my children. That's why I want them to grow up in a country where people are not shut up. I love Belarusians, so I want to give them the opportunity to choose. Yes, I was scared at first. I know to what bottom the authorities can go, trying to keep their chair. But now I'm not afraid. I feel your support and your strength. It is my duty to be in this place now, my duty to help make us and our children free. **If you, like me, are tired of empty promises and problems, if you want a good life, a safe life for yourself and your children, do not vote early. Come on August 9th and vote for me, Svetlana Tikhanovskaya. I am a simple**

person, a simple Belarusian, a woman, a mother, who wants and can make our life the way we deserve it. So let us together build a country for life.

Speech III. July 28,2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0rjwO1W2_ss
(национальное телевидение, главный канал национальный).

По телевизору вы видите меня второй раз, наверное ныннешняя власть слишком боится, что я вам понравлюсь. Мне 37 лет, я педагог и филолог по образованию. Работала секретарем и переводчиком. Свободно владею русским, белорусским и английскими языками. Я не политик, это мой муж Сергей Тихановский хотел баллотироваться в президенты Республики Беларусь и з-за это он сейчас в тюрьме. А я хочу стать президентом, чтобы восстановить справедливость в этой стране. Сидя в карцере, мой муж похудел в 2 раза, в целях безопасности, мне пришлось вывести своих детей за границу. Моей соратнице Веронике Цепкало тоже пришлось срочно отправлять детей из страны потому что возникла угроза и ее детям. Валерий Цепкало уехал из Беларуси, так как появилась информация о готовящимся на него аресте. Виктору Бабарико обвинили в еще одном надуманном, сфабрикованном деле. Вот это новости последний дней. Но есть и хорошие новости: вместе с моими соратниками, Марией Колесниковой и Вероникой Цепкало, я объездила 10 городов Беларуси с пикетами. Это было что-то невероятное. В каждый город приходили тысячи, десятки тысяч людей с горящими глазами. Пенсионеры, студенты, рабочие, преподаватели, люди разных возрастов и профессий. Все они хотят поменять нынешнюю власть. Все они хотят перемен. Спасибо им за это, спасибо вам за это. На этой неделе мы продолжим ездить по городам и общаться с вами. Год назад мой муж, Сергей Тихановский создал проект “Страна для жизни”, проект который напугал власть. Он рассказывал о бардаке и хаосе, коррупции и бесхозяйственности, встречался с людьми разных профессий, ездил по Беларуси и слушал простых людей из деревень и маленьких городов. В их рассказах было много боли, много разочарования, много непонимания почему они так плохо живут. Это были откровенные истории о том, в каких условиях живет большая часть белорусов, пока из власть ездит на роскошных автомобилях, летает на баснословно дорогих самолетах, живет в золотых дворцах. Теперь Сергей в тюрьме за свои мнения, а я на его месте: езжу по тюрьме и общаюсь с белорусами, которые хотят новой жизни. Я приняла решение продолжить дело своего мужа и зарегистрироваться в кандидаты в президенты вместо него. Власти не зарегистрировали Сергея Тихановского и других сильных кандидатов, Виктора Бабарико и Валерия Цепкало. Но зарегистрировали меня, теперь это моя миссия - воплотить мечты белорусов в реальность. Помогите мне в жтом, помогите нам всем. 26 лет действующий президент у власти не потому, что этого хочет народ, а потому что он не хочет уходить. Вас пугают, рисуют страшные картины будущего Беларуси с новым президентом, вами манипулируют выдумывают несуществующие опасности, обманывают. Вас пугают, что если вы не выберете нынешнюю власть, то здесь будет Майдан. На самом деле, все не так. По образованию я учитель, мои

соратницы из штабов Бабарико и Цепкало, музыкант и менеджер. Их сторонники, мои сторонники, сторонники моего мужа Сергея Тихановского, обычные белорусы разных профессий. Среди них врачи, пенсионеры, рабочие и студенты, преподаватели, продавцы, библиотекари, инженеры. Против всех этих мирных людей, главнокомандующий, у которого есть сила и оружие, Так кто здесь хочет устроить майдан, он или мы? Мы идем на выборы, а власть зовет на майдан.

Мы говорим, что мы хотим нового президента, а власть отвечает нам что тогда будет Майдан. Мы говорим, что большинство белорусов хочет жить в свободной богатой стране, а власть угрожает нам Майданом. Представьте что вы хотите чтобы из вашего дома ушел чужой человек. Он грубит вам, ходит в обуви, кладет ноги на стол, он дает подзатыльник вашим детям, топчет ваш огород, орет, пугает вас. Вы просите его уйти, а он говорит вам, что если вы будете выгонять его, он применит силу. “Вы что хотите здесь Майдан?” - спрашивает власть. Нет мы не хотим. И ей не дадим это сделать. Когда эта власть уйдет, здесь не будет Майдана, здесь будет праздник. Вас пугают, что без нынешней власти, Беларусь отдадут России и НАТО, начнется война. На самом деле все не так. Независимость Беларуси наше главная ценность. Суверенность Беларуси - наша самая главная ценность. Мы не торгуем и не шантажируем год за годом, как это действует действующая власть. Представьте, что человек говорит вам, что лишит вашего ребенка свободы, отдаст другим людям, отдаст в детский дом если вы не будете слушаться. Вы что хотите потерять независимость, нет, не хотим. И ей не дадим это сделать с нами. Когда эта власть уйдет, мы не потеряем независимость, мы оюретем свободу. Вас пугают, что без нынешней власти вам перестанут платить пенсии, на самом деле это не так. Вас шантажируют пенсией большей похожей на милостыню. Пенсии платит не власть, пенсии платят ваши дети и внуки из своих налогов, а потом отделяют из своей зарплаты. На эти пенсии жить нельзя. Если внуки уедут, то пенсии будет платить некому. А они уедут, если они перешагнут 26 летний рубеж. И останемся с этой властью. Люди которые работали всю жизнь должны покупать рыбу и мясо, а не самый дешевый хлеб. Они должны играть с внуками, а не торговать на трассе, чтобы купить самые дешевые лекарства. Мы знаем как сделать эти пенсии больше в несколько раз. Нам не нужны 17 резиденций как у нынешней власти. Нам не нужны частные самолеты за миллион долларов. Нам не нужны дорогостоящие мероприятия для президента и его семьи за счет народа. Мы не будем тратить налоги ваших детей и внуков на свои развлечения, как это делает действующая власть. Мы потратим их на пенсии, потому что это наша священная обязанность. Представьте, что начальник забрал часть вашей зарплаты и потратил ее на ужин в ресторане, пока вы ехали в троллейбусе после тяжелого рабочего дня, и говорит, что вы хотите быть за это благодарны. Вы что хотите чтобы вам понизили пенсию, спрашивает будущая власть, не хотим и ей не дадим это сделать. Когда эта власть уйдет, пенсии не станут меньше. За пенсии наконец можно будет покупать подарки внукам. Вас пугают, что экономика развалиться. Фабрики продадут и закроют, а рабочий уволят. На самом деле, все это уже случилось. Экономика уже разваливается,

заводы и фабрики в убытках, а рабочий сокращают. Те рабочие, которых еще не сократили получаю мизерную зарплату. Выслушивают хамские нотации от руководства, белорусские предприятия, которые были гигантами и гордостью нашей промышленности, превратились в объекты недвижимости и превратились в аренду. Люди работают за копейки и из угрожают лишить даже этих копеек если они не проголосуют за действующую власть. Мы знаем что наше производство может быть эффективным, если пустить в управление профессионалам. Сейчас им не дают работать, сажают в тюрьмы, многие из них уехали за границу. Среди белорусов много хороших управленцев, достойных специалистов, которые знают как достойно поднять зарплату, сделать предприятие прибыльными, а профессию рабочего ценной и уважаемой. Когда эта власть уйдет, предприятия не закроются, они наконец перестанут тянуть нашу экономику на дно. Нас пушабт, что кроме действующей власти, никто не умеет управлять государством, на самом деле это действующая власть не умеет управлять государством так, чтобы люди жили а не доживали до зарплаты. Чтобы молодежь хотела остаться в стране. Вас пугают оппозицией, но в Беларуси нет оппозиции. Есть очень много смелых, талантливых, творческих людей, которых не пускают в управление. Власть косит сено, собирает арбузы, перебирает картошку, и занимается своим обогащением, пока половина бюджета содержится за счет частных компаний.

Представьте себе что у вашего ребенка в школе необразованный директор. Он не знает предметов, пишет с ошибками, приходит на работу пьяным, бьет школьников линейкой по пальцам, при этом получаем баснословные деньги, не слушает жалобы родителей, и вызывает милицию каждый раз, когда вы заводите разговор о новом директоре.

Когда эта власть уйдет, Беларусь не станет бедной, она наконец перестанет быть такой.

26 лет действующий президент у власти не потому, что этого хочет народ, а потому что он не хочет уходить. Выборы которые состояться 9 ого августа, не будут свободными и честными. Но одного из сильных лидеров не зарегистрировали в качестве кандидатов в президенты; Сергей Тихановский, Виктор Бабарико сидят за решеткой, Валерий Цепкало был вынужден уехать из страны, чтобы избежать ареста. Поэтому главный пункт моей программы - это новые, честные, справедливые выборы, с участием всех альтернативных кандидатов и прозрачным подсчетом голосов. Голосуя за меня, вы голосуете за новые, честные и справедливые выборы с участием всех альтернативных кандидатов и прозрачным подсчетом голосов. Голосуя за меня, вы голосуете за честные, свободные , справедливые выборы.

Я приняла поддержку команд Викторы Бабарико и Валерия Цепкало, с ними сотрубячабт лучшие эксперты и общественные организации и партии, мы создали команду для того, чтобы привести Беларусь к свободной и счастливой жизни. Я

уверена, что этого хочет большинство наших граждан. И поэтому рассчитываю на вашу поддержку, и ваше участие. А для того. Чтобы эти выборы состоялись, нам необходимо объединиться, я призываю вас не голосовать досрочно. Если вы проголосуете досрочно, ваш голос отдадут действующей власти. Руководители, которые принуждают голосовать досрочно, должны знать что это незаконно и карается штрафом в 15 базовых величин. Я прошу вас прийти на выборы именно 9 ого августа, лучше во второй половине дня. Голосовать за меня, Светлану Тихановскую.и защищать свой голос. Я Светлана Тиханоская, кандидат в президенты Республики Беларусь, хочу попросить вас дорогие беларусы. Я призываю вас не оставаться дома 9ого числа, иначе вы проголосуете за текущую власть. Если мы останемся дома, и не пойдём на участок, это будет победа действующей власти. Власть должна понять, что нас абсолютное большинство. И что мы никогда не будем молчать. Чем выше явка, тем тяжелее украсть наш голос, чем выше явка, тем очевиднее будут фальсификации. Члена комиссий несут уголовную ответственность на подделывание голосов. Я прошу не забывать их об этом. После того , как мы получи очевидные для всей страны результаты выборов, 9ого августа, 2020 ого выбор народа должны будут уважать все. Иначе нам придется защищать наши голоса. После вступления в роль президента Республики Беларусь, я приму меры для сохранения стабильности в стране.

Все необходимые действия я приму в течение полугода. В этот переходный период, в стране будет порядок, покой и интенсивная работа над новыми выборами. Второе, посмотрите на эту белую ленту, запомните ее. Сделайте такую ленту из любого подручного материала, сделайте несколько лент, раздайте окружающим. Носите уже сейчас и обязательно в день выборов. Белая лента на запястье - символ людей не согласных с властью. Это способ увидеть своих, понять сколько нас, объединиться. Третье, не оставайтесь в стороне, приходите на наши санкционированные митинги. Разговаривайте с родственниками, приводите на участок друзей, боритесь с властью, высказывайте ваше мнение. Четвертое, мы создали платформу голос в интернете, она зафиксирует наши голоса в день выборов, найтите ее, зарегистрируйтесь, и выполняйте рекомендации, так мы можем считать реальные цифры голосования,

Я расскажу вам в какой стране мы можем жить. В этой стране я иду по улице своего маленького родного города, он ухоженный и симпатичный, жители этого города сами выбирают себе управленцев, сами решают что нужно построить, высказывают мнение которое обязательно учитывается, люди которые ездят на работу в соседний город покрупнее, не стремятся в его переезжать, в этом нет никакой необходимости. Жить на своей малой родине приятно и уютно. Зачем ехать в шумный город? Здесь тихо, свежо, улыбчивые соседи, которых знаешь с детства. Чистые больницы, своевременная скорая помощь. Хорошие магазины, работы, достойные зарплаты. На территории города, есть фабрики и завод, в из работает большая часть горожан. Завод - гордость нашего города и промышленности Беларуси. Инженеры и рабочие имеют хороший достаток. Они

приходят на работу в приподнятом настроении, Им приятно общаться с начальством, они не боятся приезда чиновника из столицы, и не отчитывают как нашкодивших подростков. Молодежь, которая поступила в Минск и другие города не боится распределения. Из не распределяют в 200 километров от дома, потому что принудительного распределения нет. Выпускникам факультета журналистики не приходится заниматься пропагандой и писать лживые статьи в сельской государственной газете. А новоиспеченные врачи и учителя сами выбирают себя практику. Безработные в этой стране не облагаются налогом, а получают достойные месячные пособия, на которые можно жить месяц, а не день и искать новую работу. В нашем городе много пенсионеров, но и молодежи тоже не мало. Она не стремится всеми силами уехать из страны. В этой стране, у нее все есть: перспективы, процветания, уважение. Молодежь навещает своих бабушек и дедушек, они пьют чай с пирожками, болтают о разном. Молодежи не нужно умолять своих стариков не голосовать за действующую власть. Этой власти больше нет. Молодежь может спокойно жить, спокойно учиться и работать. В школах и университетах учителя работают за высокую зарплату. Они не красят стены в кабинете, не ходят по квартирам учеников, принуждая учеников выйти на праздник БРСМ (Белорусский Республиканский Союз Молодежи). Кстати БРСМ больше нет. Есть много других молодежных организаций. Разных; Каждый будет сам выбирать где классно и интересно. Где много единомышленников, где не заставляют копать картошку. Телевизор в этой стране не символ лжи и пропаганды. Смотреть его интересно, а работать на нем не стыдно. Бюджетные деньги в этой стране тратятся на его жителей, а не на власть. Президент ездит на обычной машине, летает на обычном самолете, его санузел не обшит золотом. Поэтому пенсии в этой стране высокие. Бабушки и дедушки балуют своих внуков игрушками, а не включают свет попозже, чтобы сэкономить электричество. Их дети занимаются бизнесом, заниматься бизнесом в этой стране безопасно. Государство создает для бизнесменов все условия, понимая, что бизнесмены это рабочие места. Это налоги. Это благосостояние состояние страны. За экономические преступления не сидят в тюрьмах. Этой стране вообще не нужно много тюрем, а людей в них не сажают по надуманным поводам. За вольномыслие, за мнение, за хождение на улице, за желание быть президентом. Амнистия в этой стране происходит часто, а не когда власти нужно задобрить народ. Милицию и армия в этой стране уважают, еще бы - это наши защитники. Мы счастливы что наши налоги уходят на зарплаты людям, которые нас берегут. Даже во сне здесь не может присниться, что власть принудит силовые структуры выйти против своего народа, и со щитами идти на своих белорусов. Вчетвером набрасываться на одного за флаг, выдергивать мирного жителя из очереди и тащить его в автозак, оставляю синяки на запястьях. И даже бы если власть отдала преступный приказ, власть и милиция в этой стране никогда, никогда не исполнила бы его. Мы приезжаем в деревни где нет запустения, а сельское хозяйство это наша гордость, процветающая отрасль, в которой заняты много фермеров. Если в эту страну приходит беда, пандемия или кризис, люди знают о том, что происходит. Им не врут, от них не скрывают реальные цифры умерших и

заболевших. Их здоровьем не торгуют. Не обменивают на возможность задержаться в президентском кресле подольше. А вметсе делают все, чтобы спасти своих родных и близких. Выборы в этой стране праздник, а не подделка. Президент здесь сменяются, а не правят всю жизнь богатея, а народ живет в бедности. В этой стране мы никогда не жили, такую страну мы можем потерять навсегда. Давайте все вместе не допустим этого, нас большинство. Приходите 9 ого августа на выборы и голосуйте за меня, Светлану Тизановскую. Я простой человек, простая белоруска, женщина, мать, которая хочет и может сделать нашу жизнь такой, как мы этого заслуживаем. Только вместе мы сможем построить страну для жизни. Спасибо.

Speech III. 28 July, 2020. Final tv broadcast. Appearance of candidates into the presidency of the Republic of Belarus. (23 minutes)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0rjwO1W2_ssБ

It is the second time you see me on TV, probably the current authorities are too afraid that you will like me. I'm 37 years old, a teacher and a philologist by training. I worked as a secretary and a translator. I am fluent in Russian, Belarusian and English. I am not a politician, my husband Sergei Tikhanovsky wanted to run for president of the Republic of Belarus and he is in prison for that. And I want to become president to restore justice in this country. While sitting in the punishment cell, my husband lost 2 times his weight, and for security reasons I had to take my children abroad. My colleague Veronika Tsepka also had to urgently send her children out of the country because there was a threat to her children. Valery Tsepka left Belarus because there was information about his arrest. Viktor Babarika was accused of another far-fetched, fabricated case. This is the news of the last few days. But there is good news: together with my associates, Maria Kolesnikova and Veronika Tsepka, I travelled to 10 cities of Belarus with pickets. It was something incredible. Thousands, tens of thousands of people with burning eyes came to each city. Pensioners, students, workers, former entrepreneurs, people of different ages and professions. All of them want to change the current government. They all want change. Thank them for that, thank you for that. This week we will continue to travel around the cities and talk to you. A year ago, my husband, Sergei Tikhanovsky, created a project called "Country for Life," a project that scared the authorities. He talked about mess and chaos, corruption and mismanagement, met with people from different professions, travelled around Belarus and listened to ordinary people from villages and small towns. In their stories there was a lot of pain, a lot of disappointment, a lot of misunderstanding why they live so badly. They were frank stories about the conditions in which the majority of Belarusians live, while the authorities drive luxury cars, fly on fabulously expensive airplanes, live in golden palaces. Now Siarhei is in prison for his opinions, and I am in his place: I travel around Belarus and communicate with Belarusians who want a new life. I decided to continue my husband's work and to register as a presidential candidate instead of him. The authorities did not register Siarhei Tikhanouski and other strong candidates, Viktor Babarika and Valery Tsepka. But they registered me, and now it's my mission to

make the dreams of Belarusians come true. Help me in this, help us all. You are frightened, they paint terrible pictures of the future of Belarus with a new president, you are manipulated, invented non-existent dangers, deceived. You are scared that if you don't choose the current government, there will be Maidan here. In fact, it's not like that. I am a teacher by education, my associates from the headquarters of Babariko and Tsepkalov, a musician and a manager. Their supporters, my supporters, supporters of my husband Siarhei Tikhanouski, are ordinary Belarusians of different professions.

Among them are doctors, pensioners, workers and students, teachers, salesmen, librarians, engineers. Against all these peaceful people, the commander-in-chief, who has power and weapons, So who here wants to organise a Maidan, him or us? We go to the polls and the government calls for a Maidan.

We say that we want a new president, but the authorities tell us that then there will be Maidan. We say that the majority of Belarusians want to live in a free rich country, and the authorities threaten us with Maidan. Imagine that you want a stranger to leave your house. He is rude to you, he walks with his shoes on, puts his feet on the table, he gives your children a smack, he tramples your vegetable garden, yells, scares you. You ask him to leave, and he tells you that if you kick him out, he will use force. "Do you want a Maidan here?" - asks the authorities. No, we don't. And we won't let them do it. Imagine your child's school has an uneducated principal. He does not know the subjects, writes with mistakes, comes to work drunk, beats schoolchildren on the fingers with a ruler, while receiving fabulous money, does not listen to the complaints of parents, and calls the police every time you start talking about a new principal.

Independence of Belarus is our most important value. The sovereignty of Belarus is our most important value. We do not trade and blackmail year after year, as the current government does. Imagine that a person tells you that he will deprive your child of freedom, give him to other people, put him in an orphanage if you don't obey. Do you want to lose your independence, no, we don't. And we won't let her do that to us. When this government leaves, we will not lose our independence, we will gain our freedom. They scare you that without the current government you will stop paying pensions, in fact it is not true. You are blackmailed with a pension more like alms. Pensions are not paid by the government, pensions are paid by your children and grandchildren from their taxes and then separated from their salaries. You can't live on these pensions. If the grandchildren leave, there will be no one to pay the pensions. And they will leave if they pass the 26 year mark. And we'll be left with this government. People who have worked all their lives should buy fish and meat, not the cheapest bread. They should be playing with their grandchildren, not peddling on the highway to buy the cheapest medicine. We know how to make those pensions bigger several times over. We don't need 17 residences like the current government has. We don't need million dollar private jets. We don't need expensive events for the president and his family at the expense of the people. We will not spend your children's and grandchildren's tax dollars on their entertainment like the current government does. We will spend them on pensions

because that is our sacred responsibility. Imagine that your boss took a portion of your paycheck and spent it on dinner at a restaurant while you rode the trolley bus after a hard day's work, and says you want to be grateful for it. Do you want your pension lowered, asks the future government, we don't and we won't let them do it. When this government is gone, pensions won't get smaller. You'll finally be able to buy presents for your grandchildren with your pensions. You are scared that the economy will collapse. Factories will be sold and closed, and workers will be laid off. In fact, all this has already happened. The economy is already collapsing, factories and plants are in losses, and the worker is being laid off. Those workers who have not yet been laid off receive meagre wages. They listen to boorish lectures from the management, Belarusian enterprises, which were giants and the pride of our industry, have turned into real estate and turned into rent. People work for pennies and are threatened to be deprived even of these pennies if they do not vote for the current government. We know that our production can be efficient if it is managed by professionals. Now they are not allowed to work, they are imprisoned, many of them have gone abroad. There are a lot of good managers, worthy specialists among Belarusians, who know how to raise wages, make enterprises profitable, and make the profession of a worker valuable and respected. When this government leaves, enterprises will not close, they will finally stop dragging our economy to the bottom. We are told that no one knows how to manage our economy except for the current government. But in fact, it is the current government that does not know how to run the state in such a way that people live and not live to paycheck. So that young people want to stay in the country. You are scared of the opposition, but there is no opposition in Belarus. There are a lot of courageous, talented, creative people, who are not allowed to govern. The authorities mow hay, pick watermelons, pick potatoes, and are busy enriching themselves, while half of the budget is maintained at the expense of private companies.

Imagine your child's school has an uneducated principal. He does not know the subjects, writes with mistakes, comes to work drunk, beats schoolchildren on the fingers with a ruler, while receiving fabulous money, does not listen to parents' complaints, and calls the police every time you talk about a new director.

When this power is gone, Belarus will not become poor, it will finally stop being so.

The incumbent president has been in power for 26 years not because the people want him to, but because he doesn't want to leave. The elections that will be held on August 9 will not be free and fair. The strongest leaders were not registered as a presidential candidate; Serhiy Tihanovsky, Viktor Babariko are behind bars, Valery Tsepkalo had to leave the country to avoid arrest. Therefore, the main point of my program is new, honest, fair elections, with the participation of all alternative candidates and transparent vote counting. By voting for me, you are voting for new, honest and fair elections.

I have accepted the support of the teams of Viktor Babarika and Valery Tsepkalo, the best experts and public organisations and parties are working with them. We have created a team to lead Belarus to a free and happy life. I am sure that this is what the majority of our citizens want. That is why I count on your support and your participation. And in order for these elections to take place, we need to unite, I urge you not to vote early. If you vote early, your vote will go to the current government. The leaders, who force you to vote early, should know that it is illegal and punishable by a fine of 15 basic units. I ask you to come to the elections on August 9, better in the afternoon. To vote for me, Svetlana Tihanovska, and to defend your vote. I am Svetlana Tikhanosvkaya, a candidate for the presidency of the Republic of Belarus, I want to ask you, dear Belarusians. I urge you not to stay at home on the 9th, otherwise you will vote for the current government. If we stay at home and do not go to the polling station, it will be a victory for the current power. The authorities must realize that we are the absolute majority. And that we will never be silent. The higher the turnout, the harder it is to steal our vote, the higher the turnout, the more obvious will be the falsifications. Commissioners are criminally liable for vote fraud. I ask them to remember that.

After we have received the results of the elections on August 9, 2020, which are obvious for the whole country, the people's choice will have to be respected by everyone. Otherwise, we will have to defend our votes. After assuming the role of the President of the Republic of Belarus, I will take measures to preserve stability in the country.

I will take all necessary actions within six months. During this transitional period, there will be order, peace and intensive work on new elections in the country. Second, look at this white ribbon, memorize it. Make such a ribbon from any improvised material, make several ribbons and distribute them to people around you. Wear it now and be sure to wear it on election day. A white ribbon on the wrist is a symbol of people who do not agree with the authorities. It is a way to see your own, to realize how many of us there are, to unite. Third, don't stay on the sidelines, come to our authorized rallies. Talk to your relatives, bring your friends, fight the authorities, express your opinion. Fourth, we have created an online voting platform, it will record our votes on election day, find it, register, and follow the recommendations, so we can read the real voting figures,

I'll tell you what kind of country we can live in. In this country I walk down the street of my small hometown, it is well-maintained and nice, the inhabitants of this city choose their own managers, decide what should be built, express their opinion, which is necessarily taken into account, people who go to work in the neighboring city, do not aspire to go to it. there's no need for that. It is pleasant and cosy to live in your small homeland. Why go to a noisy city? Here it is quiet, fresh, smiling neighbors whom you have known since childhood. Clean hospitals, timely ambulance service. Good stores, jobs, decent wages. On the territory of the city, there are factories and a factory, from which most of the citizens work. The factory is the pride of our city and the industry of Belarus. Engineers and workers have a good income. They come to work in high spirits,

they are pleased to communicate with their superiors, they are not afraid of the arrival of an official from the capital, and they are not told off as naughty teenagers. Young people who have entered Minsk and other cities are not afraid of distribution. They will not be distributed 200 kilometres away from home, because there is no forced distribution. Graduates of the journalism faculty don't have to engage in propaganda and write false articles in the rural state newspaper. And newly minted doctors and teachers choose their own practice. The unemployed in this country are not taxed, but receive decent monthly allowances on which they can live for a month, not a day, and look for a new job. There are a lot of retired people in our town, but not a few younger people either. She does not strive with all her might to leave the country. In this country, she has everything: opportunities, prosperity, respect. Young people visit their grandparents, they drink tea with cakes, talk about different things. Young people do not need to beg their elders not to vote for the current government. That power no longer exists. Young people can live, study and work in peace. In schools and universities teachers work for high wages. They do not paint the walls in the office, do not go to the apartments of students, forcing the students to go to the BRSM (Belarusian Republican Youth Union) holiday. By the way, BRSM is no more. There are many other youth organisations. Different ones; Everyone will choose where it is cool and interesting. Where there are a lot of like-minded people, where they are not forced to dig potatoes. TV in this country is not a symbol of lies and propaganda. It is interesting to watch it, and it is not shameful to work on it. Budget money in this country is spent on its inhabitants, not on authorities. The president drives an ordinary car, flies on an ordinary airplane, his bathroom is not lined with gold. That's why pensions in this country are high. Grandparents spoil their grandchildren with toys, rather than turning on the lights later to save electricity. Their children do business, doing business in this country is safe. The state creates all conditions for businessmen, realising that businessmen are jobs. They are taxes. They are the welfare of the country. There are no prisons for economic crimes. This country does not need many prisons at all, and people are not put in them for far-fetched reasons. For freethinking, for having an opinion, for walking the streets, for wanting to be president. Amnesty in this country happens often, not when the authorities need to placate the people. Militia and army are respected in this country, you bet - they are our defenders. salaries of people who take care of us. Even in a dream here we can't imagine that the authorities would force the power structures to go out against their own people, and with shields to attack their own Belarusians. The four of them would attack one for a flag, pull a civilian out of the queue and drag him to the detention center, leaving blue marks on his wrists. And even if the authorities gave a criminal order, the authorities and the police in this country would never, ever carry it out. We come to villages where there is no desolation, and agriculture is our pride, a thriving industry that employs many farmers. If disaster, pandemic or crisis comes to this country, people know what is happening. They are not lied to, the real numbers of dead and sick are not hidden from them. Their health is not being traded. They are not being traded for a chance to stay in the presidency longer. And they do everything to save their relatives and friends. Elections in this country are celebrated, not faked. The president here is replaced, not ruled by a lifetime of getting rich while the people live in

poverty. We have never lived in this country, we can lose this country forever. Let us all together not allow this to happen, we are the majority. Come to the elections on August 9 and vote for me, Svetlana Tikhonovskaya. I am a simple person, a simple Belarusian, a woman, a mother, who wants and can make our life the way we deserve it. Only together we can build a country to live in. Thank you.

Speech IV. 30 июля, 2020. (24 minutes). Minsk. Presidential campaign rally.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QND3M9t6LWs&t=1893s>

Меня зовут Светлана Тизановская, я кандидат в президенты Республики Беларусь. Я иду в президенты не ради себя, а ради своего мужа, для своих и ваших детей. Сегодня я расскажу вам три небольших истории. Первая история - моя личная, мы познакомились с моим мужем Сергеем Тихановским, когда я училась на преподавателя. Я была студентка 4ого курса, а он открывал клуб в музыке. Я пришла в тот клуб впервые, и в первый же вечер мы с ним познакомились, и в первый же вечер мы поняли, что это любовь с первого взгляда. Так и было на самом деле, да, это правдивая история. Через год мы поженились, и вот уже 16 лет мы вместе. Я всегда чувствовала себя за ним как за каменной стеной. Мы жили в Гомеле, потом переехали в Минск. У нас двое замечательных деток, я не буду вам рассказывать почему я стою на этом месте. Вы все уже об этом знаете. Но я хочу вам напомнить, что мой муж Сергей Тихановский открыл людям глаза и дал им надежду на перемены, побудил у них смелость и веру в себя. Люди увидели в Сергее Тихановском нового президента, а власть увидела Сергея Тихановского серьезного оппонента. И за свои убеждения и за правду, которую он нес в народ, он сейчас в СИЗО. Уже 2 месяца. Но вместо него я - его жена. Светлана Тихановская.

Спасибо, вы все знаете, что я не политик, и власть мне не нужна. Но мой муж на решёткой. Я вынуждена была спрятать своих детей, ради их безопасности. Я пожертвовала своей спокойной жизнью ради нас всех. Я устала терпеть, я устала молчать. Я устала бояться. А вы устали терпеть? Вы устали молчать, бояться? Вторая моя история, про людей в Мозыре, где работает прекрасный реабилитационный центр для детей, которые власти собирались закрыть. Там быди детки с особенными потребностями и Сергей Тихановский не смог пройти мимо и он поехал туда, чтобы осветить эту проблему. Он очень хотел помочь и благодаря тому, что о проблеме узнали, он осветил эту проблему, она была решена. Реабилитационный центр в мозыре оставили продолжает работать. Почему деньги на Европейские игры и Славянские Базары у нас есть? А на детей больных нет. На пенсионеров нет. Разве это справедливо? Почему в нашем социально-ориентированном государстве деньги есть только на то, что нужно власти, а старики вынуждены продавать ягоды на трассе и стоять в подземных переходах, со связанными носочками, чтобы обеспечить себе существование, они проработав всю жизнь, живут в бедности и неуважении. Разве вы хотите такой старости? (Арлодисменты) Спасибо.

14 ого июля этого года меня зарегистрировали кандидатом в президенты Республики Беларусь. Но в тот вечер, вместо того, чтобы поблагодарить людей за поддержку и доверие, мне пришлось записывать видеообращение к силовым структурам, так как в тот день не зарегистрировали 2х сильных кандидатов - Виктора Бабарико и Валерия Цепкало.

Белорусы вышли на улицу, чтобы выразить свое несогласие с решением ЦИК. И мирных людей били, мирных людей забирали в автозаки, мирных людей увозили в неизвестном направлении, я смотрела на милицию и омон и думала - что вы делаете? (аплодисменты) На улицу выходят ваши дети, ваши матери, братья, сестры. Не нужно их бить. Люди идут с миром, л/жи просто хотят выразить свое мнение.

Третье история про военных и милицию. Дорогие, посмотрите нам в глаза, мы такие же как вы. Бабушка которая продает в переходе укроп не преступник, люди которые хотят достойной жизни, не преступники. Белорусы, которые поддерживают альтернативных кандидатов не преступники. Это наш народ, который хочет мирной смены власти. Пожалуйста не идите против своей совести, не идите против своего народа.

Мой муж Сергей Тихановский не преступник. Вы знаете, когда вчера мы все узнали эту историю о том, что в Минске была задержана группировка боевиков, мы подумали, что в стране объявят чрезвычайное положение и нам запретят проводить пикеты, чтобы мы не могли с вами общаться. Это был первый вариант. Второй вариант, что будет проведена какая-то провокация на одном из наших пикетов. И эту провокацию припишут, нашему объединенному штабу. И вы понимаете, это будет поводом для снятия нашей кандидатуры. Но беда пришла оттуда откуда никто ее не ожидал, хотя это было ожидаемо. Эту группировку привязали к Тихановскому. Вы знаете, сегодня утром была встреча в ЦИК. Я очень это тяжело переживаю, сегодня утром была встреча в ЦИК (Центральная Избирательная Комиссия). Где нам обрисовали ситуацию, сказали, нам сказали, что во время пикета будет налажена дополнительная охрана. Спасибо большое власти, что помогли в организации этого мероприятия. Но сегодня мне, сегодня утром, высокопоставленные чиновники, глядя в глаза говорили, что для них самая главная ценность - это человек, человеческая жизнь и судьба человека. И знаете, на секунду я в это поверила. А в обед узнала, что переквалифицировали статью на статью 293 "подготовка или активное участие в массовых беспорядках" и привязали этих боевиков к его делу. Вы знаете вы говорили о том, что человеческая жизнь для вас важна, судьба человека для вас важна и через пару часов вы ломаете судьбу человека. Ни одну судьбу, а судьбу всех семей политзаключенных. Судьбу всего народа. Вы знаете эта ситуация с боевиками очень и очень страшная. Я наверное только в страшном сне могу представить куда они еще могут привязать вот этих боевиков. Понимаете, так страшно. Нам сейчас поступает информация, что российские боевики из частных военных компаний бывали у нас часто и использовали Беларусь как перевалочную базу. Но с этим же

надо разбираться. Если это правда, то у меня тогда вопрос, куда смотрели спецслужбы и почему они подняли эту тему только прямо перед выборами. Я считаю, что с этими боевиками нужно разбираться отдельно. Пускай проверят по закону. Никто не поверит. Что этих боевиков прислали прямо к выбораам. Они говорят о какой-то революции. Боже мой. Люди, какая революция? Мы хотим честных выборов. При чем здесь революция? Зачем вы провоцируете свой народ? Нам боевики абсолютно ни к чему. Мы мирные люди и мы хотим мирных перемен в нашей стране. Мир, любовь и независимость(аплодисменты, верем. можем, пераможам).

Я оказалась в политике не ради власти , а ради справедливости. Мы объединились со штабами Бабарико и Цепкало и создали сильную команду, ради общей цели - строить новую Беларусь. Но мы не справимся без вас. Приходите на выборы только 9 ого августа и голосуйте за меня - Светлану Тихановскую. Друзья, вы все знаете не нужно приходить голосовать досрочно. Только 9ого августа, и только за Светлану Тихановскую. Когда я стану президентом республики Беларусь - я сделаю 3 вещи, я освобожу полит и экономических заключенных, во вторых я проведу референдум по возвращении конституции 1994, где есть ограничения полномочий президента и сроков его правления. Третье - в течении полугода я создам условия и проведу честные и независимые выборы нового президента, и этого президента выберете ВЫ! (молодец, молодец, молодец, молодец) Я хочу чтобы мои дети росли в свободной и счастливой стране, а не боялись за своих родителей, которые требуют уважения и правды. Разве я много хочу? (тола - нет). Я хочу чтобы людей не бросали в тюрьмы за то, что они гуляют по улицах. А вы этого хотите? Я хочу знать правду, даже если у нас много заболевших, а не слушать минздрав о том. Что у нас все хорошо. А вы этого хотите? - (толпа - да). Я хочу чтобы люди не искали возможность уехать из Беларуси, а получали здесь достойную зарплату, а вы этого хотите? (да). Моя главная цель - провести настоящие, честные выборы, с участием всех альтернативных кандидатов. Я хочу чтобы вы сами рещали свою судьбу. Как жена и мать я всегда понимаю, что в семье один за всех и все за одного. Я хочу так чтобы так было в нашей стране. Вы этого хотите? (да) Приходите 9ого августа на свои избирательные участки и голосуйте за меня - Светлану Тихановскую. Друзья, спасибо. Помните, что только вместе мы можем построить страну для жизни! (24 минуты)

Speech IV _ translated. 30 July, 2020. Minsk. presidential campaign officially permitted rally of Svetlana Tikhanouskaya. (24 minutes)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QND3M9t6LWs&t=1893s>

My name is Svetlana Tikhanovskaya, I am a candidate for the presidency of the Republic of Belarus. **I am going to the presidency not for myself, but for my husband, for my own and your children.** Today I will tell you three small stories. The first story is my personal one. I met my husband Sergei Tikhanovsky when I was studying to be a teacher. I was a 4th year student and he was starting a club in music. I came to that club

for the first time, and the first night we met him, and the first night we realised that it was love at first sight. It really was, yes, it's a true story. A year later we got married and we have been together for 16 years now. I always felt like a stone wall behind him. We lived in Gomel, then moved to Minsk. We have two wonderful children, I will not tell you why I am standing in this place. You all already know about it. But I want to remind you that my husband Sergei Tikhanovsky opened people's eyes and gave them hope for change, gave them courage and faith in themselves. **People saw Sergei Tikhanovsky as a new president, and the authorities saw Sergei Tikhanovsky as a serious opponent. And for his convictions and for the truth, which he carried to the people, he is now in pre-trial detention.** For two months already. But instead of him I am his wife. Svetlana Tikhanovskaya.

Thank you, you all know I'm not a politician, and I don't want power. But my husband is behind bars. I had to hide my children for their safety. I sacrificed my quiet life for all of us. I'm tired of being patient, I'm tired of being silent. I'm tired of being afraid. Are you tired of being patient? Are you tired of being silent, tired of being afraid? My second story is about people in Mozyr, where there is a wonderful rehabilitation center for children, which the authorities were going to close. There were children with special needs and Sergei Tikhanovsky could not pass by and he went there to highlight the problem. He really wanted to help and thanks to the fact that the problem was recognized, he highlighted the problem and it was solved. The rehabilitation center in Mozyr was left to continue to operate. Why do we have money for the European Games and Slavic Bazaars? But we don't have money for sick children. No money for pensioners. Is it fair? Why in our socially-oriented state there is money only for what the authorities need, and old people are forced to sell berries on the highway and stand in underpasses, with tied socks to ensure their existence, they have worked all their lives and live in poverty and disrespect. Is that the kind of old age you want? (Thank you.

On July 14 of this year I was registered as a candidate for the presidency of the Republic of Belarus. But that evening, instead of thanking people for their support and trust, **I had to record a video message to the power structures, because on that day they did not register two strong candidates - Viktor Babariko and Valery Tsepkalo.** Belarusians took to the street to express their disagreement with the CEC (Central Electoral Commission) decision. **And peaceful people were beaten, peaceful people were taken away in autozaks, peaceful people were taken away to an unknown direction, I looked at the police and OMON and thought - what are you doing? (applause) Your children, your mothers, brothers, sisters are out on the street. You don't need to beat them. People are going in peace, I/y just want to express their opinion.**

The third story is about the military and the police. Dear ones, look us in the eye, we are just like you. **A grandmother who sells dill in the crosswalk is not a criminal, people who want a decent life are not criminals. Belarusians who support alternative candidates are not criminals. These are our people who want a peaceful change of power. Please do not go against your conscience, do not go against your people.**

My husband Siarhei Tikhanouski is not a criminal. You know, when yesterday we all learned the story that a group of militants had been detained in Minsk, we thought that a state of emergency would be declared in the country and we would be forbidden to hold pickets so that we could not communicate with you. This was the first option. **The second option was that some provocation would be held at one of our pickets. And this provocation will be attributed to our united headquarters. And you understand, it will be a reason to withdraw our candidacy.** But trouble came from where no one expected it, although it was expected. This group is tied to Tikhanovsky. You know, there was a meeting at the CEC this morning. I'm taking it very hard, this morning there was a meeting at the CEC (Central Election Commission). Where we were outlined the situation, we were told, we were told that during the picket there will be additional security. Thank you very much to the authorities for helping to organize this event. But today, this morning, **high-ranking officials looked me in the eye and said that for them the most important value is a human being, human life and the fate of a human being. And you know, for a second I believed it.** And at lunchtime I found out that they reclassified the article to Article 293 "preparation or active participation in mass riots" and tied these militants to his case. You know, **you said that human life is important to you, the fate of a person is important to you, and in a couple of hours you break the fate of a person. Not just one fate, but the fate of all the families of the political prisoners. The fate of the entire nation.** You know, **this situation with the militants is very, very scary. I can only imagine in my worst dreams where else they can tie these militants to. You know, it's so scary.** We are now receiving information that Russian militants from private military companies have often visited us and used Belarus as a transit base. But we have to deal with it. If this is true, then I have a question, where were the security services looking and why did they raise this issue only right before the elections. I think that these militants should be dealt with separately. Let them be checked according to the law. No one will believe it. That these militants were sent right before the elections. **They're talking about some kind of revolution.** Oh, my God. People, **What revolution? We want fair elections. What's revolution got to do with it? Why are you provoking your own people? We have absolutely no need for militants. We are peaceful people and we want peaceful changes in our country.** Peace, love and independence. (applause, cheers and applause)

I got into politics not for power, but for justice. We united with Babariko's and Tsepikalo's staff and created a strong team for a common goal - to build a new Belarus. But we can't do it without you. Come to the elections only on August 9 and vote for me - Svetlana Tikhanovskaya. Only on August 9th, and only for Svetlana Tikhanovskaya. When I become president of the Republic of Belarus I will do 3 things, I will release political and economic prisoners, secondly I will hold a referendum on the return of the constitution of 1994, where there are limits on the powers of the president and the terms of his rule. Third, within six months I will create conditions and hold fair and independent elections for a new president, and this president will be chosen by YOU! (crowd shouting "well done, well done, well done, well done, well done") **I want my children to grow up in a free and happy country, and not be afraid for their parents, who**

demand respect and truth. Is that too much to ask? (crowd - no). I want people not thrown in jail for walking the streets. Is that what you want? I want to know the truth, even if we have a lot of sick people, not listen to the health department saying that everything's fine. Is that what you want? - (crowd - yes). I want people not to look for an opportunity to leave Belarus, but to get a decent salary here, and you want that? (crowd- yes). My main goal is to hold real, fair elections, with the participation of all alternative candidates. I want you to decide your own fate. As a wife and mother I always understand that in a family one for all and all for one. I want that to be the case in our country. Do you want that? (crowd -yes) Come to your polling stations on August 9th and vote for me - Svetlana Tikhanovskaya. Friends, thank you. Remember that only together we can build a country for life!

Speech V. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Orpom49gT14> **Август 7, 2020 (Minsk).** Белорусы, мы любим вас, любим вас всех без исключения. Мы не делим белорусов на народ и чиновников, на людей в гражданском и черной форме, на избирателей и членов избирательных комиссий. Мы все белорусы, мы все семья. Если кто-то из нас отступился - мы протянем руку. Если кто-то поступил нечестно - мы поможем это исправить. Если кто-то поступил правильно - мы будем вами гордиться. Мы никогда не будем угрожать, запугивать, шантажировать. А главное - мы никогда не будем присваивать страну себе. Потому что Беларусь не принадлежит политикам, презиндам, партиям или группам. Беларусь принадлежит только себе и своему народу. Когда кто-то говорит что не отдаст страну другой власти, мы не понимаем этих слов. Кому не отдаст? Как не отдаст? Разве ее кто-то присвоил, чтобы отдавать? Разве кто-то приватизировал нас, чтобы отдавать? Разве мы ч/я-то собственность? Действующая власть против приватизации предприятий, но приватизировала всю страну. Белорусы не собственность, а страна не должна принадлежать одному человеку. В последнее время идет много разговоров о сильном лидере. Кто такой сильный лидер? Все просто. Это человек которому не нужно держать в страхе миллионы людей, чтобы оставаться президентом. Это человек, которому не нужно организовывать схемы, где завышается явка, заменяются бюллетени, приписываются голоса, чтобы оставаться президентом. Это человек, которому не нужно применять физическую силу и моральное давление, чтобы оставаться президентом. Это человек, которому не нужно бросать в тюрьмы кандидатов, их детей и соратников, чтобы оставаться президентом. Это человек, которому не нужны ложные свидетельские показания и нечестные обвинительные приговоры, чтобы оставаться президентом. Это человек, который не будет уничтожать все на своем пути, чтобы оставаться президентом. Этот список можно продолжать долго, но мы не будем забирать у вас полтора часа времени.

August 7, 2020 (2 days before the official day of elections). Belarusians, we love you, we love you all without exception. We do not divide Belarusians into people and officials, into people in civilian and black uniforms, into voters and members of election commissions. We are all Belarusians, we are all family. If one of us has given up - we

will extend our hand. If someone has acted dishonestly - we will help to correct it. If someone did the right thing - we will be proud of you. We will never threaten, intimidate, blackmail. And most importantly, we will never take the country for ourselves. Because Belarus does not belong to politicians, presidents, parties or groups. Belarus belongs only to itself and its people. When someone says that he won't give the country to another power, we don't understand these words. Who will not give it to? How not to? Has someone appropriated it not to give it away? Did someone privatize us to give us away? Are we someone's property? The current government is against privatization of enterprises, but it privatized the whole country. Belarusians are not property, and the country should not belong to one person. Recently there is a lot of talk about a strong leader. Who is such a strong leader? It's simple. This is a person who doesn't need to keep millions of people in fear to remain president. This is a person who does not need to organize schemes where turnout is inflated, ballots are substituted, votes are attributed in order to remain president. This is a man who doesn't need to use physical force and moral suasion to remain president. This is a man who doesn't need to imprison candidates, their children and associates to remain president. This is a man who doesn't need false testimony and dishonest convictions to remain president. This is a man who will not destroy everything in his path to remain president. This list could go on for a long time, but we won't take up an hour and a half of your time.

Speech VI. December 16, 2020. EU Parliament. Sakharov prize - freedom of thought prize: <https://tsikhanouskaya.org/en/video/bd4c3cc121457b9.html> (12 minutes)

Dear President, dear members of European Parliament, Ladies and Gentlemen,
This year the world has seen Belarus awakening. We stood for our freedom, dignity, national identity, but we faced the brutal nature of the regime. Two realities confronted: peaceful bright people with flags and flowers against armed men in black hiding their faces behind balaclavas (a photo showed). We feel humbled that our story of resistance touched so many people across the globe. On your way to the European Parliament, you could see a shocking photo on the facade of the building. A woman in white, falling down to her knees before the riot police. It's not a wartime movie scene, it's a peaceful Belarus in 2020. People locked inside a cathedral by special forces. It's a peaceful Belarus. Detainees marked with different colours to determine how severely they should be beaten by the police officers. It's a peaceful Belarus. Deliberately infecting prisoners with COVID-19. It is a peaceful Belarus – in the heart of Europe.

Fear is that one feels in those stories. I'm one of the thousands of Belarusians who used to be afraid. The invisible world of fear was built around us, this world of fear held us back for almost three decades. But this year, everything has changed. This year we united in our aspiration for change, united, we believed that this world of fear can be taken down break by break. United, we overcome our fear on a way to freedom day by

day, week by week, month by month. The photo⁵ on the facet of the building of the European Parliament is not a story of fear. It is a story of hope, courage and freedom. For the 3d time in 20 years, Belarusians have been honoured with the Sakharov freedom of thought prize. What is a better recognition for a free thinker? What is a better motivation for us to keep going? We are bound to win and we will win. A simple wish to walk freely at the centre of our cities and towns keeps us going. Desire to celebrate our holidays with the family keeps us going. Dream of a better future for Belarus keeps us going. Belarus, where justice and truth prevail. Belarus, our children can be proud of. I'm endlessly honoured to speak in front of you. We receive this prize today together with the brave Belarusians - Maria Kolesnikava, Veronika Tsepkalov, Svetlana Alekseevich, Volga Kovalkova, Ales Belyatski (applauses), Mikola Statkevich, Sergey Tikhanouski, Sergey Delevski, Stepan Putilo, and all the members of the Coordination Council. But we are not alone here today, beside us are thousands of Belarusian who inspire us, give us strength and hope. Many of them are not here today. Our courageous women, workers, students, doctors, teachers, lawyers, writers, activists and all are in Belarus - fighting for our freedom. It is to them that this prize belongs. Last Sunday I met with our distinguished Belarusian writer Svetlana Alekseevich, who is with us remotely today. Svetlana Alekseevich received a prize for telling the stories of little big men in the light of historical events. This is how she created a monument to suffering and courage in our time. For me such a little big man is each and every Belarusian who takes part in these peaceful protests against violence and lawlessness. Each of them is a hero, each of them is an example of courage, compassion, and dignity to me. Freedom is made from simple things and often requires fearless resistance. For Alexandr Raikovski , he was protesting against the falsified elections. He stood holding his bare hands in front of men with rivals. And he was shot dead. Fearless he was. For the artist, Roman Bondarenko, he was going out to protect national symbols in the courtyard, where neighbours gathered. He was kidnapped and beaten till death in the police office. Fearless he was. Journalist Ekaterina Boresevich and doctor Artem Sorokin, dared to unveil the truth about the regime murder. This bravery cost him the freedom. Fearless they are. Natalia Korshik couldn't stay on the sidelines and came back to Belarus after living abroad for many years. Out of solidarity, she participated in peaceful protests and was sentenced to two and a half years for taking a mask for a police. Fearless she is. Freedom is victory over fear. Seventy three years old Nina

⁵ See appendix

Boginskaya (applauds) has become a symbol of our struggle (a photo showed). Despite countless detentions and intimidations, she has been protesting against the injustice 30 years already, often alone. Truly free she is. Mikola Statkevich (photo showed) was a presidential candidate in a 2010 election, he has been imprisoned and recognised a political prisoner 3d time in 15 years. His commitment to values of freedom is something no prison sentence can take away. Truly free he is. My friend Maria Kolesnikava tore apart her passport and chose prison over exile to remain in Belarus with our people. Truly free she is. My thoughts are with her every day. My husband Sergei Tikhanouski decided to tell the truth no matter of costs, for that he was thrown in jail, trumped up charges. He hasn't seen his family for 7 months already but these are only some of courageous people of our European nation is extremely proud of. Freedom is also universal. Belarusian have been marching every week since 9th August elections. They marched for their future and future of those who couldn't be there. They marched for the freedom and dignity of Belarusian, of Europeans, yours and ours. Without free Belarus, Europe is not fully free either. We ask Europe and the whole world to stand with Belarus. We call Europe to be braver and support their decisions - and support the people of Belarus now. Not tomorrow and not somewhen in the future. Standing for human rights and democracy is not in interference. But it is the duty of each self-respecting country. Your solidarity and your voice are important. But it is actions that matter. Please, be there for Belarusians, be assured that Belarusians will do the same for you in the future. I have only one wish this year, I want every Belarusian who is now in jail or was forced to live in exile, to return home. The 3d Sakharov prize will mark a new beginning for Belarus. Nelson Mandela, who received a prize in 1988 together with the Soviet dissident Anatoly Marchenko said "I believe that courage was not to be an absence of fear but the triumph over it." He believed that the brave are those who conquer their fear. Only united can we conquer our fear on our way to freedom and build a new Belarus. Every country has its own path to democracy. And this is ours. Long live Europe, long live Belarus. Thank you.

Speech VII. 24-11-2021. EU Parliament speech
<https://tsikhanouskaya.org/en/news/c3b256c7d6f4676.html>,

"Mr. President, Distinguished Members of the European Parliament,
Right now in Belarus, there are more political prisoners than members of this chamber assembled here today. 882 of my fellow citizens have been recognized to be in prison

for exercising basic political rights people in the rest of Europe taken for granted. If we invited all of the Belarusians unjustly imprisoned for the wrong color of their dress or socks, even four halls like this one would not be enough room. On behalf of them and fellow Belarusians who believe in the freedoms this Union represents, I speak to you today. Among them are my husband, Siarhei, and my friend Maria Kalesnikava. Among them is also Ales Bialiatski. Just one year ago, he was with us at the European Parliament receiving the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought. Ales returned home and half a year later was arrested for his work at the Human Rights Center “Viasna”. The case of Ales shows that the Belarusian crisis is much closer to all of us than it might seem. Just recently, Ales was here for all to greet and congratulate. And now he is behind bars. Belarusians are no longer safe in their country and abroad. And neither, in this case, are other Europeans. As we have seen, the regime in Belarus has shown itself willing to seize individuals from international flights, misuse international agencies and agreements to punish dissent. To weaponize migrants in a way deliberately designed to undermine the stability and security of Europe. Confronted with this challenge, we can feel paralyzed by fear, or we can take our destiny into our hands and turn the tide of European history in our favour. When I addressed the European Parliament last December, I spoke about the year 2020. I said then: “This year the world has seen Belarus awakening”. In 2021, the world saw Belarus actively resisting a regime that has only grown more abusive. But has the world seen Europe standing with us in support of our shared values, our freedom, and our dignity? We saw that Europe can not only talk the talk but also walk the walk. Belarusians saw brave European diplomats like Dirk Schuebel⁶ who were willing to take a risk regarding values and principles. Belarusians were pleasantly surprised by unprecedented action by the European Commission to announce a Comprehensive plan for the future of Belarus.⁷ Belarusians were grateful to the European Parliament for the Sakharov Prize and vocal support for political prisoners. But Belarusians also saw the year 2021 in detail. And I would like to briefly explain the way that the year 2021 has been passing for my fellow countryman. In January police in Belarus started arresting dissenting citizens, breaking right into their homes. In February, two young journalists Daria Tchultsova and Katsiaryna Andreeva were sentenced to two years imprisonment. All they had done was to report on the protest meeting after the terrible death of Raman Bandarenka – after beatings by the security forces. Meanwhile, in Europe, we heard mostly polite urgings to respect freedom of speech in Belarus as analysts speculated that perhaps the political crisis had ended. In March, hundreds of people were detained simply for being outdoors on Belarusian Independence Day – so much did the regime fear new street protests. Meanwhile in Europe, many said that the situation must have “stabilized” since there were no new pictures of mass protests. Even though 800,000 Belarusians have voted for negotiations via the online platform, Holas.

⁶ German EU Ambassador in Belarus

⁷ 3 billion euro economic support package

(https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_21_2685)

In April, the regime's foreign affairs minister promised to “destroy civil society”. People in prisons were poisoned with chlorine. Meanwhile, in Europe, the media interest in Belarus was rapidly vanishing.

May was the critical turning point. The biggest online independent news site TUT.BY was shut down and its team imprisoned. Democratic activist Vitold Ashurak died in prison for unknown reasons. 17-year old Dzmitry Stakhouski couldn't bear the endless interrogations by the police... He killed himself.

Finally, there was the outrage of the state-sponsored hijacking of a Ryanair plane to kidnap blogger Raman Pratasevich. Only after that did Europe take the first stronger measures against the regime. Nine whole months after the human rights catastrophe in Belarus began.

I am grateful for the EU's firm response to the regime's outrageous grounding of a European flight. This was a moment the European Union can truly be proud of. But still, would this have happened if only non-EU citizens were onboard this Ryanair flight? Are democracy and human rights reserved only for EU citizens?

In June, political prisoner Stsiapan Latypau attempted suicide in court because the regime threatened to torture his father if he didn't plead guilty. Meanwhile, in Europe, politicians were fretting that sanctions might hurt ordinary Belarusians. As if Belarusians were not already suffering. As if they blame the EU. According to surveys most Belarusians blame the regime for existing sanctions, not the EU.

In July, another aspiring presidential candidate Viktor Babaryka was sentenced to 14 years in prison. The same month the regime made good on its promise to “destroy civil society”. It closed dozens of independent media and 270 NGOs and arrested many of their employees and volunteers. Meanwhile, in Europe, we heard expressions of deep concern.

In August, Olympic athlete Krystina Tsimanouskaya was almost kidnapped during the Games in Tokyo simply for criticising Belarusian sports management. Same time, the IMF signed over 1 billion dollars in COVID support to Belarus. A country where prisoners are being deliberately infected with COVID. Meanwhile, in Europe, the media focus was exclusively on other global issues.

In September, my friend Maria Kalesnikava was sentenced to 11 years in prison. IT worker Andrey Zeltser was shot dead during a KGB raid of his apartment. His wife, as the only witness, was sent to a psychiatric hospital. And nearly 200 Belarusians have been arrested for “negative comments” online about this event. Meanwhile, all over Europe, well-funded lobbyists were working furiously to block new sanctions against this abusive regime.

In October, the migrant crisis exploded to a full scale. At the same time, the 64-year old politician Ryhor Kastusiou remains in prison with suspected cancer. He receives no medical aid. And in Europe, the regime continued using Interpol to pressure the dissidents abroad.

Finally, in November, the tensions at the Belarusian-Polish border reached a boiling point. Thousands of foreign citizens taken hostage by the regime have come to the focus of the EU. Phone calls have been exchanged to alleviate their conditions. But at the same time, nine million Belarusians remain hostages of the regime.

Have we forgotten the tragic lessons of our European past? That tyrants are emboldened by appeasement, not placated. That when you avoid confrontation with a bully, you only make the inevitable showdown that much more costly and dangerous.

But do you really suppose it will stop there? We are already seeing how dangerous a regime like this can be to its neighbours. Lithuania and Poland are facing the biggest test of their border security. By the way, Polska, Lietuva, stay strong! We know that you pay a big price for being true and principled friends to the People of Belarus.

Supposing this abuse of migrants is somehow stopped, do you really believe the regime's threats beyond its borders will end there? Increases in the flow of smuggled drugs and other contraband? A military provocation? A disaster at a nuclear power plant right on the EU's external borders? None of this is just my imagination. These are threats that the regime itself has made. Whatever it takes to get what it wants.

Meanwhile Europe hesitates, time goes by for those unjustly imprisoned, killed, or exiled. Time is measured differently for Belarusians. It's measured in lost moments of happiness – moments that are the right of every one of us to experience. Moments that are the reason why all of us want to live in freedom and dignity. Moments that Belarusians are deprived of. For me, those would be moments when my daughter Agnia might see the loving face of her father Siarhei seeing her off on her first day of school. Moments when my son Karnei could feel the support of a father who helps him to fix his bicycle. For other mothers like Dasha Losik, Volha Zalatar, Alena Bondarenka, time is measured in tears. When you don't know if your husband is still alive. When you're behind bars and you have no news about your 5 kids. When all is left of your child is a framed photograph with a black ribbon. Because they beat him to death when he asked them not to remove the white-red-white ribbons hung in his backyard.

For the workers in MTZ, Belkalii, Hrodna Azot, time is measured in sweat spilled while forced by the regime to work in unbearable and dangerous conditions. Conditions that are close to being slavery... Work with no rights.

For thousands of activists across the country, time is measured in units of stress and anxiety. Because even though they choose "safer" methods of resistance like distributing self-published newspapers, pasting stickers, joining independent labor movements, every day they risk arrest.

And for our medics from Voranava to Hotimsk, from Verhnedvinsk to Bragin, time is measured in hours of overtime and the minutes of sleep they are allowed. Because, due to the regime's disregard of the pandemic, their workload has tripled.

Ladies and Gentlemen, do you think these people understand what we mean when we talk about the EU's long bureaucratic processes and complex diplomacy? Do you think our statements of deep concern give them hope and confidence? What can the European Union really say to the people of Belarus – to the forgotten Europeans – who want the same things the rest of Europe enjoys? Perhaps we have no right to demand your help or support. Perhaps you may refuse us because it may contradict your national interest. Or perhaps it's bad for your businesses. But I am here to ask for your support, nevertheless. Our fight for freedom is your fight for freedom too. Only by standing together and acting decisively, does democracy have the chance to survive in this world.

Distinguished Representatives of Europe, pardon my straightforwardness, but I must say it: It is getting late! Since August 2020, there have been ample gestures and expressions of solidarity. Belarusians were praised for reigniting their faith in democracy and human dignity. Is it not the turn for Europeans to demonstrate their commitment to those values with action? Will Europe as a whole have the courage to take decisive action now? Or will we wait another year? Dear ladies and gentlemen, we don't have another year. Neither does Belarus. Neither does Europe. There is more we can do than just wait and react. The regime in Minsk is motivated by fear of the Belarusian people. Hence, the escalation of violence. Meanwhile, Belarusians are not giving up. Three independent surveys show more than half of Belarusians want a new presidential election. Despite intense political pressure, Belarusians are still finding ways to protest. Maybe not in ways that get the attention of your media. But thousands have joined mobilization initiatives like "Victory plan" and "The Workers' Movement". They are coordinating and preparing for new rallies and strikes when they are possible. Independent media and civil society groups have reorganized abroad and continue to work for Belarus.

I am proud of each of the brave Belarusians in our country and in our diaspora. It is they who will change our country for the better. New Belarus is not only about the future. It is already being born and growing. But today it needs your help.

We need Europe to be more proactive when facing autocracy. The cliché about Belarus being "the last dictatorship of Europe" is, in a way, misleading. Dictatorship does not have natural geographical limits. It spreads if it is not stopped. Dictatorships, after all, can be compared to a virus infecting the body. We all know that the more disease is ignored, the more difficult it is to treat it in the future. It's now clear to the whole world that waiting and seeing is not the right strategy to address the virus. Action is crucial.

To successfully overcome a virus a three-part strategy can help. First, isolation to prevent its spread. Second, treatment to remove its negative effects. And last but not least, the immunity which allows keeping the body in good shape. The same strategies can be applied by Europe when dealing with the virus of dictatorship in Belarus.

The first part of our strategy should be the isolation and non-recognition of the regime. Many Belarusians are hurt to see that even today such influential European media – from Deutsche Welle to BBC – call Aliaksandr Lukashenka “president”. He is not. It shapes the wrong perception among millions of viewers. He is a citizen of Belarus who has illegally usurped presidential power by violence.

Europe, let’s stand up to your decisions! You did not recognize the elections, so do not call this impostor for what he isn’t. Do not recognize any deals made without Belarusians’ agreement. Speak clear and loud: the contracts signed by the regime after 9 August 2020 are and will be legally void. Lukashenka is gambling with Belarus’ sovereignty. We must stay firm in non-recognition policy and be clear that independence and sovereignty can not be traded or undermined.

This non-recognition should be coherent. New ambassadors to Belarus should not be appointed, nor should anyone who respects freedom, human rights, and the rule of law receive the regime’s ambassadors. We also should not invite its representatives to international gatherings, sports, or cultural events. Suspend the regime’s membership in Interpol. This would send a signal that abuses will no longer be tolerated.

Instead, I encourage you to give a voice to the Belarusian people. Invite Belarusian democratic forces to all international fora to represent them at the highest level, particularly during the Eastern Partnership Summit.

The second part of our strategy is treatment. We should push back on the regime and limit its access to the resources it uses to maintain power.

When your child is ill, you know you have to give him medicine even if it hurts to see him resisting. But you realize this is the only way. The same principle should apply when we talk about European sanctions against the regime. Let me assure you: sanctions do work. Continue holding a consistent sanction policy. Sanctions split the elites, destroy corruption schemes, and divide people around Lukashenka. As no one wants to share the responsibilities for the regime's crimes.

Let us be firm. We must not let lobbyists block the necessary sanctions. Let’s close all remaining loopholes. Let’s coordinate our actions with the US and the UK to make the sanctions effective and not merely symbolic. By all means, let us be consistent. It makes little sense to further invest in the mafia regime. Send a message that we will not enrich it so that it can use these resources to abuse its citizens.

Let us be true to international law! Give the green light to prosecute the human rights offenders under the universal criminal jurisdiction. Invoke the regime's responsibility for capturing the civilian aircraft and its hybrid attack on the EU borders! Let’s make sure all the evidence of the regime's crimes will lay on the table of the international tribunal. At ICC and ICJ. I call on Europe to take the initiative in that.

The third part of our strategy is immunity. We need to boost the natural resistance and backbone of Belarusian society. I call on Europe to expand assistance to our people. It requires flexibility and a non-conventional approach to reach those on the ground. To human rights defenders, media, citizen journalists and journalists-investigators, local neighborhoods, activists, volunteers, initiatives promoting Belarusian language and culture. Programs of rehabilitation for families of the repressed, and programs of psychological aid. People must feel they are not abandoned.

Let us stand together in solidarity! Let's not forget the Belarusian prisoners of conscience and their families. Do not let the regime manipulate the migrants smuggling in order to obscure the human rights catastrophe inside the country. Both Belarusians and migrants are now hostages of the regime. And these two problems cannot be solved separately. Remember, to cure the virus we need to treat the problem at its root, not just the symptoms.

And let us all be true to our principles. Let's help those who were forced to leave the country. Many Belarusians fled in a hurry, with short-term Schengen visas. Many Belarusians don't like to be considered as immigrants but as temporary relocants. They want to get back home soon, but they need small things like legal stay and work permits. Though we usually speak of democracy in high terms, democracy is made of small details too.

Help Belarusians so they can help Belarus and Europe, too. So we could continue the fight for our freedom and yours. I know that I'm surrounded here by allies and partners like President Sassoli, Vice-President Metsola.

To all group members "Friends of democratic Belarus" who took godparenthood for dozens of political prisoners in Belarus. Who sent them letters and postcards. Today I brought a response from them to you – "Freedom Postcards" – drawings made by political prisoners in their letters. They feel your support, my dear friends. So as millions of Belarusians who are sincerely grateful to you and all the members of the European Parliament for your firm position, for your statements and resolutions. But they also want the words to be materialized in actions. People on the ground in Belarus have huge expectations from you for one simple reason. They want to see in Europe an example to be followed.

So finally. Let us be true to Europe. The dream of a united Europe is not a dream about a bureaucratic system or an economic union alone. It is the dream of sisterhood and brotherhood. Of a community of nations and people that cooperate peacefully and respectfully, in freedom and dignity. It is a dream that our shared values of respect for human rights, of representative, constitutional government, and the rule of law.

Being a community means walking a common path together. Last year, when we met I said about Belarus: "Every country has its own path to democracy, and this is ours". Now, one year later, Belarusians are much closer to their goal. But the road has become much more difficult. Obstacles are constantly being thrown in our path.

Today not only democracy in Belarus but also democracy in Europe depends on whether we will walk this path together. And overcome these obstacles together. It is time to show that European values are and will continue to be our greatest source of strength and the only solid foundation for peace and prosperity.

I am here today to invite you to walk that path with us. Thank you very much! Жыве Беларусь! Жыве Еўропа! Long live Belarus and long live Europe!”

Speech VIII. Nov,14, 2022 _ Interview to POLITICO.

<https://www.politico.eu/article/sviatlana-tsikhanouskaya-belarus-opposition-leader-democracy-elections-alexander-lukashenko-vladimir-putin-russia-ukraine/>

“I am the Belarusian president-elect, and together we will prevail. The West must stop pretending Lukashenko is president. He has unlawfully seized power and should be brought to justice.”

“Yet, Europe’s longest-sitting, most repressive ruler is deeply unpopular. He’s supported by no more than 25 percent of the population who are mostly pensioners, pro-Russian bureaucrats and security service personnel, all dependent on the state for jobs in a sinking economy.”

“Lukashenko’s backing of Putin’s unlawful war is profoundly unpopular in Belarus. Millions of my people are furious that Russian troops were allowed to march through our country. In April, when the regime admitted over 80 diversions on railways, Belarusian railway partisans helped thwart Russia’s attack on Kyiv. Dozens of them are now awaiting trial, accused of terrorism, and may face the death penalty — Lukashenko has expanded the use of the death penalty for almost any form of dissent. Belarusians are fundamentally European. For centuries, we co-existed with Lithuanians, Poles and Ukrainians in one state. Russia’s attempt to separate Belarus from Europe and create friction with Ukraine goes against our historical memory, and our mentality.”

“Thus, the EU and the United States must apply a dual strategy, helping Belarusians who continue to fight for democracy, as well as those who flee repression and war. Schengen visas for Belarusian activists or bloggers is a show of confidence that even if the KGB comes, you still have a plan B. The West also needs to enforce sanctions already in place. The EU and U.S. must collaborate on closing loopholes, and sanctions evasion monitoring must be stepped up. Regime assets abroad should also be identified and seized, while secondary sanctions should target state enterprises that fuel Lukashenko’s intelligence agency and Putin’s war machine.”

“The West must stop pretending that Lukashenko is president. He’s a criminal who seized power unlawfully and should be brought to justice.

Last week, the Council of Europe took an unprecedented step, when it formalized cooperation with the democratic forces of Belarus and removed regime representatives.

This is a good model for other international organizations — working with sections of Belarusian society that are aligned with Europe and Ukraine.

In August, I also created the **United Transitional Cabinet** of Belarus to bring major political groups together. We have decided not to wait for Lukashenko's or Putin's regimes to collapse, but to prepare Belarus in advance. And this Cabinet will work as the **transitional government** until new elections take place.

I am the Belarusian president-elect. I am fighting for my country in exile. But I continue to support our people. And together, we will prevail."

Speech IX. 13-09- 2023 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QD8lOoGnX3Y>

"We are not strangers, we are family members, who were away for too long, we are the **forgotten Europeans** returning home. **Belarusians were always a part of Europe and will always be.**" as cited by Metsola

Speech X. 13-09-2023 2d EU parliament speech (16 minutes)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNQFtPsWn1E>

"When I was here two years ago, I spoke about tyranny as a virus. **A virus, which won't be contained by borders. And the past two years have showed that the virus can mutate into the deadly cancer of war.** Unlike the war in Ukraine, **ours is a quiet war.** The goal of a Kremlin in this war is the same as in Ukraine. To turn a sovereign country Belarus into yet another surviving Russian colony. And Putin is not doing it alone, he is doing it in collaboration with **Lukashenko, who is selling our country and our independence peace by peace.** Quietly, they are tightening their grip on our economy, our military, and our institutions. **Quietly they are destroying our civil society, political parties, our media. Quietly they eradicate our national identity. Their goal is clearly - to absorb and assimilate. They cut all links to our values, histories and culture, anything which anchors us to Europe. Their ultimate goal is to prevent Belarus becoming a truly European democratic nation. To keep an open wound at the heart of the European continent, so that Europe too cannot become whole, free and at peace. But they will fail. The terror unleashed at us, Belarusians, made us even more determined. No tyranny, KGB, or Vagner can kill the desire for freedom in Belarus. Great Belarusians demonstrate true heroism and resistance. In this quiet war, there are many quiet heroes. Heroes like Dmitry Klimov.⁸ When Russians tried to make a shortcut to Kiev from Belarus, he destroyed railways equipment and trains loaded with Russian tanks. And what the KGB did, they arrested him and put bullets through his knees. Dmitry and 11 other partisans were sentenced in total to 200 years in prison. Heroes like Martha Rabkova, who volunteered for Viasna, a human rights organisation led by Ales Belyatski, who is our Nobel Prize Peace Winner behind bars. Martha Rabkova was sentenced to 15 years in prison for documenting the atrocities of the regime. Many quiet heroes are carrying out small acts of defiance in factories, and ministries, at schools, and in the army, teachers who refuse to instruct children in state ideology, honest officers who leak valuable information, businessmen who secretly donate to families of the repressed. Heroes like our pensioners, you know recently a few grannies gathered to**

⁸ 22 years of imprisonment in Belarusian penal colony

read quietly extremist media together. And they also asked me, tell Europeans that we haven't given up. Even speaking A belarusian language today is an act of heroism. The museum worker who conducted tours in the Belarusian language was interrogated as he was a terrorist. Our heroes are countless Belarusians who lost their homes and well-paid jobs, and are now in exile, helping Belarusians and military volunteers in Ukraine. Heroes like Nalalia Suslova, a university teacher from Gomel whose son Pavel Volat gave his life for fighting for Ukraine. And she went there and became a caring mother to his brothers in arms. Our pray warrior fight because they know that the battle for Ukraine is a fight for freedom for us all. And heroes like Ales Pushkin, a famous painter, who raised a European flag in front of a police cordon. Later he was arrested and accused of promoting Nazism. Now he is dead. He was murdered in a prison in Grodno. And now I would like to honour all my compatriots who lost their lives for the freedom of Belarus and Ukraine. These are our heroes, Belarusians - Europeans. Unfortunately the war and repressions became a part of our lives: my seven years old daughter recently asked me to give her some money. I asked her what for, and can you imagine what she replied? I want to buy a tank to free my daddy. And every week she write postcards to her father even though she doesn't receive any answer. And for me she is my little hero (applauses). Her father, my husband, Serhey Tikhanovskiy as sentenced to 19 years in prison and i haven't heard a word from him for 6 months already. And he is my big hero - the biggest in my life. (applauses).

Ladies and gentlemen, tyrannes want to see a European Union as a decadent house of cards, ready to collapse. But for us, Europe is home and a family, and we are Belarusian just like Ukrainian or Moldovans, or other freedom - loving countries who want to be a part of this family too. We want to return home. Back to Europe. You know, Europe is in our DNA, from Fransisk Skorina who brought Renaissance to Belarus to Mark Shagall who brought his unique vision from Belarus to Europe and we chose Europe centuries ago. We reconfirmed that choice in 2020. You know sometimes people say: how did it come that there were no European flags in protests in 2020. Of course, they were there. Our national white red white flag (showing it to the public) is a european flag. These colours symbolise freedom, our european past and our european future. Europe is where we come from and where we are heading. One month ago, democratic forces issued a declaration defining our strategic objective - **Belarus membership in the European Union**. I know it will take time, I know it will not be easy. But there is no way back for us. **European Union is our ultimate destination** - period. You know when I see all these beautiful flags how proud you can feel seeing yours among others. And I wish one day to see our white red white flag here as well. I wish to see democratically elected belarusian representatives sitting in this room. And I want the Belarusian language, which suffered so much through centuries of Russian domination, to become one of EU's official languages. Without Belarus and Ukraine, the European project will not be completed. A European project from Lisbon to Minsk is nightmare for Putin, but for us it's a reality we strive to live in. Belarus and Ukraine in the European Union, will lead to the ultimate collapse of the Evil Empire once and for all. Dear friends i came to the European Parliament to ask for a support of a European perspective for Belarus. Belarusians want to hear from you that the EU is waiting for us.

Belarusians want to hear that our country will not be given to Putin as a consolation prize. So I urge you to support the resolution, introduced by Peters Astravechus, that highlights the **European aspirations of Belarusians**, (applauses). I propose to take the relationships between a democratic Belarus and European Parliament at a new level. **Institutionalise our cooperation, insuring that we can do it before the upcoming EP elections**. Hundreds of thousands of my fellow citizens, had to flee repressions, hundreds of thousands found a safe haven across the European Union. And now contributing to the welfare of your countries .I would like to thank all countries, especially **Poland, Lithuania and Latvia** who, against all odds, opened their arms and issued life saving visas and permits to fleeing Belarusians. Pase (?) prepared an excellent report on **migration challenges Belarusians are facing**. I urge all European States to follow the recommendations of this resolution. Now the situation is going to become even worse. **One week ago, Lukashenko signed a decree to deny passport and property rights to Belarusians abroad unless they return to Belarus**. It puts at risk a legal status of hundreds of thousands of people. And we need a quick and lasting solution, which would allow them to stay safe and now we are working to start issuing **national Belarusian passports**. We are grateful to EU governments and experts in commission for their advice on this matter. **This document will confirm Belarusian citizenship and will serve as a travel document to exiled Belarusians abroad**. Here we are taking lessons from Baltic countries who were in exile during the Soviet occupation. And very soon we will come to your governments asking to recognise our new passports. Then let's not stop Putin's pressure on dictators, sanctions must not have loopholes or derogations. We are dealing with professional thacks, who abuse rules and institutions. And **finally help us to bring Lukashenko to a count, murderers and opening of death squats, the torture of peaceful protesters, the abduction of Ukrainian kids, launching a quiet war against belarusians and collabaration in a war against Ukraine**. He **has a long record of crimes, he doesn't deserve any place at the international stage**. The only thing he deserves is a ticket to the Hague (applauses). And **I really wonder how some people still dare to call him president**. Let it make it clear - **he is a fraud!** We Belarusians hate lies, we Belarusians hate dictatorship, we Belarusians love freedom, we are Europe.

The members of the European Parliament, I want to thank each of you and your political groups for your support and solidarity. I know and I feel how strongly you stand for our course, especially I want to thank my close friend Roberta. **Your leadership, and your dedication to free Belarus inspires me and sets an example for others**. The great European travel once said: **"I believe that the future of Belarus is closely connected with the future of Europe and the future of Europe is closely connected with the future of democratic and independent Belarus**. And I do believe that **one day we will welcome Belarus into the European Union**, so let's make this come true. Long live Europe. Thank you.

Annex 2 _coding:

Emerging themes in Belarus speeches:

1. - political narratives, autocratic regime, political repressions, political injustice
2. - moral obligations, claim/framing - I'm a wife, family narrative
3. - mobilising messages, mobilisation
4. - claim - elections 2020 would be different from all (4) before; claim on, emergence of a concept "New Belarus"
5. - Political demands to the pre-electoral Belarusian regime, presidential campaign of Svetlana Tikhanouskaya

Emerging themes In EU speeches:

6. -Belarusian citizens' will construct
7. - European narrative
8. - claim - Belarusians are Europeans (historically)
9. -Portraying Belarusians as heroes
10. - extreme human rights violations in Belarus, caused by electoral authoritarianism
11. - claim -I'm a president of the Republic of Belarus
12. Political demands towards the EU, guideline for MEPs to act alike
13. Belarusian autocratic regime as a threat to EU
14. Lukashenko's illegality and state of criminality
15. Other claims.

Analysis of representative claims within the Saward's conceptual framework:

1. Political narratives, autocratic regime, political repressions claims, political injustice

"he saw a lot of pain, he talked about corruption, about mismanagement, unfortunately about the rotten judicial system" (Speech I, 2020)

-(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Sergey Tikhanouski which stands for (O) corruption, mismanagement, rotten judicial system, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) voters of elections in Belarus 2020.

"They were frank stories about the conditions in which the majority of Belarusians live, while the authorities drive luxury cars, fly on fabulously expensive airplanes, live in golden palaces"

-(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Sergey Tikhanouski which stands for (O) corruption, luxury life of authorities at the expense of citizens of Belarus, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) voters of elections in Belarus 2020.

“authorities decided to use their own methods - detentions. At the time of registration, Sergei was sitting in a temporary detention centre, for far-fetched reasons he was not registered” (Speech I, 2020).

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) electoral authoritarianism, autocratic elections, which is related to a (R) voters of elections in Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) voters of elections in Belarus 2020.

“Only they didn’t realize that it’s not the candidates who’re a threat to the authorities. It’s the people who’re tired of sitting in humiliation and unfreedom” (Speech II)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Belarusians as a threat to the autocratic regime and not the candidates, which is related to (R) voters of elections in Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) watchers of a national TV broadcasting program of presidential candidates.

“The elections to be held on August 9 will not be free and fair. None of the strong leaders have been registered as presidential candidates. Criminal cases have been opened, hundreds of thousands of collected signatures have been thrown in the trash” (Speech III, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) electoral authoritarianism, autocratic elections, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of the rally.

“We don't need million dollar private jets. We don't need expensive events for the president and his family at the expense of the people. We will not spend your children's and grandchildren's tax dollars on their entertainment like the current government does. We will spend them on pensions because that is our sacred responsibility” (Speech III, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) excessive corruption, rich life of authorities at the expense of Belarus' citizens, alternative to this, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of the national TV broadcasting program of presidential candidates.

“We say that we want a new president, but the authorities tell us that then there will be Maidan. We say that the majority of Belarusians want to live in a free rich country, and the authorities threaten us with Maidan”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) electoral authoritarianism, autocratic elections, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of the youtube channel.

“When this government leaves, we will not lose our independence, we will gain our freedom” (Speech III, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) gained freedom after the incumbent regime is over, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of the TV national broadcast program of presidential candidates.

“We are all Belarusians, we are all family. If one of us has given up - we will extend our hand. If someone has acted dishonestly - we will help to correct it. If someone did the right thing - we will be proud of you. We will never threaten, intimidate, blackmail. And most importantly, we will never take the country for ourselves” (Speech V, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) political belonging of Belarus, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of the broadcast.

“Belarus does not belong to politicians, presidents, parties or groups. Belarus belongs only to itself and its people” (Speech V, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) political belonging of Belarus, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of the broadcast.

“Right now in Belarus, there are more political prisoners than members of this chamber assembled here today” (Speech VII, 2021)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) political autocracy, electoral rights violations, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“If we invited all of the Belarusians unjustly imprisoned for the wrong colour of their dress or socks, even four halls like this one would not be enough room” (Speech VII, 2021)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) political autocracy and injustice, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“In July, another aspiring presidential candidate Viktor Babaryka was sentenced to 14 years in prison. The same month the regime made good on its promise to “destroy civil society”. It closed dozens of independent media and 270 NGOs and arrested many of their employees and volunteers” (Speech VII, 2021).

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) destruction of civic society and political autocracy, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“Unlike the war in Ukraine, ours is a quiet war” (Speech X, 2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) war narrative towards Belarusian domestic situation, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

Overall analysis of a frame: Svetlana Tikhanouskaya through claim-making unites Belarusians around the common goal - cease electoral authoritarianism. She openly talks about political injustice, corruption, luxury life of authorities at the expense of citizens of Belarus, talking emotionally about causing its pain. Ms. Tikhanouskaya continues the electoral authoritarianism narrative further when presenting her speeches in the European Parliament, but using much stronger language to describe the relations as a “ quiet war”.

2. - moral obligations, claim/framing - I’m a wife, appeal to family narrative

“my husband Sergey Tikhanovsky,..., is in jail again” (Speech I, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) i’m a wife, moral, family obligations , which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) participants of a rally.

“I’m not a politician. It was my husband, Sergei Tikhanovski, who wanted to run for president of Belarus” (Speech I, 2020)

-(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) self-representation as a wife, not a politician, political background , which is related to a (R) voters of elections in Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) voters of elections in Belarus 2020.

“Her father, my husband, Serhey Tikhanouski was sentenced to 19 years in prison and I haven't heard a word from him for 6 months already. And he is my big hero - the biggest in my life” (Speech X, 2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) husband’s persecution, which is related to (R) i’m a wife, moral and family obligations and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“Moments that Belarusians are deprived of. For me, those would be moments when my daughter Agnia might see the loving face of her father Siarhei seeing her off on her first day of school. Moments when my son Karnei could feel the support of a father who helps him to fix his bicycle. For other mothers like Dasha Losik, Volha Zalatar, Alena Bondarenka, time is measured in tears. When you don’t know if your husband is still alive. When you’re behind bars and you have no news about your 5 kids. When all is left of your child is a framed photograph with a black ribbon. Because they beat him to death when he asked them not to remove the white-red-white ribbons hung in his backyard” (Speech VII, 2021)

(M) Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tsikhanouskaya which stands for (O) family sufferings due to political autocracy, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

Overall analysis of a frame: Sergei Tsikhanouski, a husband of Svetlana

Tsikhanouskaya is the permanent topic of the speeches. Family narrative was continued in the EU speeches.

3. - mobilising messages, democratic peaceful but brutally oppressed mobilisation, claim on democratic values of Belarusian citizens, belief in a democratic future

“The authorities thought that this was the end of it. But no, that's where it all started”.

“we saw all these lines at the signature pickets” (Speech I, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Transitional Cabinet which stands for an (O) start of mobilisation, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of the rally.

“you understand that the force and threat to the authorities are not candidates, they are people of Belarus who don't want to live in humiliation anymore, who want to live in a free country” (Speech I, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) citizens of Belarus are the threat to authorities not the candidates, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) voters of elections in Belarus 2020.

“to win we need all of you, absolutely all people of our beloved country” (2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) mobilisation of all citizens in order to win, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) voters of elections in Belarus 2020.

“And also no matter what happens next, we have an obligation to protect our votes” (Speech I, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) obligation to protect the votes no matter what,, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) participant of a presidential campaign rally in Minsk.

“for these elections to take place, we need to unite. What do I urge you to do now? The first thing is to become independent observers. Second - come to the elections on August 9, but no early voting. Third, vote for me - Svetlana Tikhanovskaya. One last thing is to protect your voice. What is the purpose of this? The authorities should realise that we are the absolute majority and we will never stand aside. It is necessary to create a record number of independent observers, the largest number in the history of independent Belarus, and to fix the real result of voting” (Speech II, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) mobilisation of Belarus’ citizens through independent observation, no early voting, protection of the votes, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of a TV national broadcasting program of presidential candidates.

“We have two ways: to continue living in poverty and unfulfilled promises or to build the Belarus we deserve” (Speech II, 2020)

Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) the chance of Belarus elections 2020 to cease political injustice, mobilisation, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of the national TV broadcasting presidential candidate campaign.

“They won't show you on TV that the government bullies you and humiliates your names, but it's true. They won't show you on TV that the absolute majority is against the current government and wants a new president, but it's true. They won't show you on TV that Belarusians beg teachers and all those who are forced to falsify the vote count not to agree to this crime. And it's true. They won't show you on TV how poor the majority of the population lives and how rich the officials live, but it's true. They won't show you on TV that many more people have died from the coronavirus than the Ministry of Health says. But it's true. They won't show you on TV that the government bullies you and humiliates your names, but it's true. They won't show you on TV that political prisoners are behind bars for their beliefs and not for committing crimes, but it's true” (Speech III, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) mobilisation of all citizens for the sake of truth, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) voters of elections in Belarus 2020.

“One last thing is to protect your voice. What is the purpose of this? The authorities should realise that we are the absolute majority and we will never stand aside” (Speech III, 2020)

Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) protection of a vote, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) voters of elections in Belarus 2020.

“I had to hide my children for their safety. I sacrificed my quiet life for all of us. I'm tired of being patient, I'm tired of being silent. I'm tired of being afraid. Are you tired of being patient? Are you tired of being silent, tired of being afraid?” (Speech IV, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) mobilisation of Belarusians and tiredness of a Belarusian autocratic regime, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of the Minsk pre-electoral rally of Svetlana Tikhanouskaya.

“After we have received the results of the elections on August 9, 2020, which are obvious for the whole country, the people's choice will have to be respected by everyone. Otherwise, we will have to defend our votes” (Speech III, 2020)

Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) obligation to defend the votes after the electoral results, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of the national TV broadcasting presidential candidate campaign.

“This year the world has seen Belarus awakening” (Speech VII, 2021)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) media which stands for a (O) mobilisation of Belarusian society, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“We stood for our freedom, dignity, national identity, but we faced the brutal nature of the regime” (Speech VI, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) democratic mobilisation of Belarusian society, its democratic values, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“Two realities confronted: peaceful bright people with flags and flowers against armed men in black hiding their faces behind balaclavas (a photo showed)” (Speech VI, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) peaceful, democratic but brutally oppressed mobilisation, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“On your way to the European Parliament, you could see a shocking photo on the facade of the building. A woman in white, falling down to her knees before the riot police” (Speech VI, 2020)

Aesthetic representation.

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) oppressed mobilisation, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“This year we united in our aspiration for change, united, we believed that this world of fear can be taken down break by break” (Speech VI, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) 2020 year mobilisation and a belief in a democratic future, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

Overall analysis of a frame: Svetlana Tikhanouskaya was using strong mobilisation messages to the Belarusian audiences, obliging people to protect their voice no matter what. For the EU audiences, mobilisation mentioning is a tool to legitimise the democratic representation of hers at the 1st speech at the European Parliament. After that, the narrative of mobilisation wasn't used.

4. - claim - elections 2020 would be different from all (4) before, new narrative and scenario; claim on, emergence of a concept “New Belarus”

“the authorities thought that this was the end of it. But no, that's where it all started” (2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) new different from before elections in Belarus, which is related to (R) voters of elections in Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) watchers of the picket.

“We can't have fair elections. This does not mean that this year we believe in fair elections - no. The elections will be rigged and we all know it. But this is the year we

believe that we will be able to control the votes, how they were distributed” (Speech I, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) new different, more controllable from before elections in Belarus 2020, which is related to (R) voters of elections in Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) watchers of the picket.

If disaster, pandemic or crisis comes to this country, people know what is happening. They are not lied to, the real numbers of dead and sick are not hidden from them. Their health is not being traded. They are not being traded for a chance to stay in the presidency longer. And they do everything to save their relatives and friends. Elections in this country are celebrated, not faked. The president here is replaced, not ruled by a lifetime of getting rich while the people live in poverty. We have never lived in this country, we can lose this country forever. Let us all together not allow this to happen, we are the majority (Speech III, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) different new Belarus, which can be lost in elections 2020, appeal to the strength of majority which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) voters of elections in Belarus 2020.

“The invisible world of fear was built around us, this world of fear held us back for almost three decades. But this year, everything has changed” (Speech VI, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) different from 4 before elections in Belarus 2020, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament members.

“The 3d Sakharov prize will mark a new beginning for Belarus” (Speech VI, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) image of new Belarus, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) European Parliament members.

“New Belarus is not only about the future. It is already being born and growing. But today it needs your help” (implicit claim on new Belarus is part of the EU) (Speech VII, 2021)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) the EU help for New Belarus, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament members.

Overall: claim on elections 2020 in Belarus being different from all before created a topic and a narrative on New Belarus. Though it was unknown how New Belarus would

look like. Svetlana Tikhanouskaya claimed at the 2d EU speech that New Belarus 'needs the EU help'.

5. - Political demands to the pre-electoral Belarusian regime. Presidential campaign of Svetlana Tikhanouskaya .

“all political prisoners should be released” (Speech I, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) the political demands to the pre-electoral political regime in Belarus, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to the (A) viewers of the rally.

“My program is an unusual program for a presidential candidate. The main point of my program is fair and honest elections” (Speech II, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) presidential campaign - free and fair elections, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to the (A) watchers of the national TV broadcasting programme of presidential candidates for elections 2020.

“When I become president of the Republic of Belarus I will do 3 things, I will release political and economic prisoners, secondly I will hold a referendum on the return of the constitution of 1994, where there are limits on the powers of the president and the terms of his rule. Third, within six months I will create conditions and hold fair and independent elections for a new president, and this president will be chosen by YOU!” (Speech II, 2020).

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) 3 obligations within a presidential campaign, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to the (A) viewers of the rally.

“People who have worked all their lives should buy fish and meat, not the cheapest bread. They should be playing with their grandchildren, not peddling on the highway to buy the cheapest medicine. We know how to make those pensions bigger several times over” (Speech II)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) pensioners deserving decent life, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to the (A) watchers of a national TV broadcasting for presidential candidates.

“I want my children to grow up in a free and happy country and not be afraid for their parents, who demand respect and truth...I want people not thrown in jail for walking the streets. Is that what you want? I want to know the truth, even if we have a lot of sick people, not listen to the health department saying that everything's fine. Is that what you want? I want people not to look for an opportunity to leave Belarus, but to get a decent

salary here, and you want that?” “I love my children. That's why I want them to grow up in a country where people are not shut up” (Speech II, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) political demands and wishes for a new political order in Belarus, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to the (A) viewers of the rally.

“If you, like me, are tired of empty promises and problems, if you want a good life, a safe life for yourself and your children, do not vote early. Come on August 9th and vote for me, Svetlana Tikhanovskaya. I am a simple person, a simple Belarusian, a woman, a mother, who wants and can make our life the way we deserve it. So let us together build a country for life” (Speech III, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) her presidential campaign, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to the (A) watchers of a TV national broadcasting program of presidential candidates for elections in Belarus 2020.

“We need new free and fair elections with transparent vote counting. We also need to change the system so that all power in the country is not in the hands of one person. After assuming the office of the President, I will take measures to maintain stability in the country and to hold fair elections. All necessary actions will be taken within six months” (Speech III, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) political campaign and political demands for a new political order in Belarus, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to the (A) viewers of the rally.

“Therefore, the main point of my program is new, honest, fair elections, with the participation of all alternative candidates and transparent vote counting. By voting for me, you are voting for new, honest and fair elections” (Speech III, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) her presidential campaign of new, fair, free, honest elections, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to the (A) watchers of a TV national broadcasting program of presidential candidates for elections in Belarus 2020.

“We want a new president” (Speech IV, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) political campaign and political demands for a new political order in Belarus, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to the (A) viewers of the broadcast.

“What revolution? We want fair elections. What's revolution got to do with it? Why are you provoking your own people? We have absolutely no need for militants. We are peaceful people and we want peaceful changes in our country. Peace, love and independence”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) peaceful transition of power, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of the broadcast.

“Who is such a strong leader? It's simple. This is a person who doesn't need to keep millions of people in fear to remain president. This is a person who does not need to organize schemes where turnout is inflated, ballots are substituted, votes are attributed in order to remain president. This is a man who doesn't need to use physical force and moral suasion to remain president. This is a man who doesn't need to imprison candidates, their children and associates to remain president. This is a man who doesn't need false testimony and dishonest convictions to remain president. This is a man who will not destroy everything in his path to remain president” (2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) framing of a new presidency, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of the TV national broadcasting for a presidential candidacy.

“By voting for me, you are voting for honest, new and fair elections. This is the only way for the country to develop further” (Speech II)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) new, fair, honest elections as a strategy for Belarus' further development, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) watchers of the TV national broadcasting for a presidential candidacy.

Overall analysis of a frame: Svetlana Tikhanouskaya as part of her presidential campaign promised to organise free and fair elections as a way for Belarus to develop further, change the constitution of Belarus to limit presidential power and release all political prisoners. Ms. Tikhanouskaya regarded democratic principles during her presidential campaign.

In EU speeches themes:

7. -Belarusian citizens' will construct, construct of Belarusians towards the EU

“millions of Belarusians who are sincerely grateful to you and all the members of the European Parliament for your firm position, for your statements and resolutions” (Speech VII, 2021)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) grateful Belarusians for EU policies, which is related to a referent (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“People on the ground in Belarus have huge expectations from you for one simple reason. They want to see in Europe an example to be followed” (Speech VII, 2021)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) expectations of Belarusians from the European Parliament, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“Millions of my people are furious that Russian troops were allowed to march through our country” (Speech VIII, 2022)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) furious Belarusians about the Russian intervention and troops on the Belarusian territory, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) readers of POLITICO.

“And they also asked me, tell Europeans that we haven't given up. Even speaking a belarusian language today is an act of heroism” (Speech X, 2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) furious on Russian intervention Belarusians, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) readers of POLITICO.

“Belarusians want to hear from you that the EU is waiting for us” (Speech X, 2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Belarusians’ will, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

Overall analysis of a frame: Ms. Tikhanouskaya creates a dialogue between Belarusians and the European Parliament Members through such expressions as “Belarusians want to hear”, “they (Belarusians) also asked me”, producing an expectation of a response from the European Parliament Members and certain accountability. Svetlana Tikhanouskaya in this frame constructs the Belarusian constituency as being “grateful to the European Union”, “furious” about Russian intervention, “heroic” toward the EU audiences.

8. - European narrative. European future of Belarus. Europe’s moral obligations

“Your solidarity and your voice are important. But it is actions that matter. Please, be there for Belarusians, be assured that Belarusians will do the same for you in the future” (Speech VI, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) future solidarity of Belarusians with the European Union, construct of common moral obligation before each other, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“The 3d Sakharov prize will mark a new beginning for Belarus” (implicit claim about the start of Belarus-EU cooperation) (Speech VI, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) start of Belarus-EU cooperation, new beginning for Belarus, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“Every country has its own path to democracy. And this is ours. Long live Europe, long live Belarus. Thank you” (implicit claim: Belarus path to democracy through EU membership).

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) path to democracy of Belarus,, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“Belarusians were pleasantly surprised by unprecedented action by the European Commission to announce a Comprehensive plan for the future of Belarus. ⁹Belarusians were grateful to the European Parliament for the Sakharov Prize and vocal support for political prisoners”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) the EU participation in a democratic path of Belarus, which is related to a referent (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“Meanwhile, in Europe, we heard expressions of deep concern” (Speech VII, 2021)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) Europe’s moral obligations, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

⁹ 3 billion euro economic support package
(https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_21_2685)

“Do you think these people understand what we mean when we talk about the EU’s long bureaucratic processes and complex diplomacy? Do you think our statements of deep concern give them hope and confidence? What can the European Union really say to the people of Belarus – to the forgotten Europeans?”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Europe’s obligations act faster and proactively, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“Belarusians were always a part of Europe and will always be” (Speech IX, 2023)

(M) Roberta Metsola puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) Belarusians are part of Europe and will always be, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“We reconfirmed that choice in 2020. You know sometimes people say: how did it come that there were no European flags in protests in 2020. Of course, they were there. Our national white red white flag (showing it to the public) is a European flag. These colours symbolise freedom, our european past and our european future. Europe is where we come from and where we are heading. One month ago, democratic forces issued a declaration defining our strategic objective - Belarus membership in the European Union. I know it will take time, I know it will not be easy. But there is no way back for us. European Union is our ultimate destination - period” (Speech X, 2023)
_aesthetic representation, performative side

(M) Roberta Metsola puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Belarusian national symbols are European ones, Belarus’ membership in the EU, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

‘And I wish one day to see our white red white flag here as well. I wish to see democratically elected Belarusian representatives sitting in this room. And I want the Belarusian language, which suffered so much through centuries of Russian domination, to become one of the EU's official languages. Without Belarus and Ukraine, the European project will not be completed. A European project from Lisbon to Minsk is nightmare for Putin, but for us it's a reality we strive to live in’ (Speech X, 2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O), Belarus’ membership in the EU, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

‘European aspirations of Belarusians’ (Speech X, 2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O), Belarusians' aspiration to the EU, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

Overall analysis of a frame: Svetlana Tikhanouskaya constructs moral obligation between Belarus and the European Union, gives implicit claims on the future of democratic Belarus being a member of the European Union. Ms. Tikhanouskaya creates a very strong European narrative of Belarus' future and present.

9 - claim - **Belarusians are Europeans (historically, culturally and geographically).**

“It is a peaceful Belarus – in the heart of Europe” (Speech VI, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) Belarus is part of Europe, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“these are only some of courageous people of our European nation is extremely proud of” (Speech VI, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) European nation Belarus is part of, which is related to a referent (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“882 of my fellow citizens have been recognized to be in prison for exercising basic political rights people in the rest of Europe take for granted” (Speech VII, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Belarusians civic rights as a basis of European political rights, which is related to a referent (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“our European past” (Speech VII, 2021, Speech X, 2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) Belarus' European past, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“Belarusians are fundamentally European. For centuries, we co-existed with Lithuanians, Poles and Ukrainians in one state. Russia's attempt to separate Belarus from Europe and create friction with Ukraine goes against our historical memory, and our mentality” (Speech VIII, 2022)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Belarusians are fundamentally European, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) readers of POLITICO.

“for us, Europe is home and a family, and we are Belarusian just like Ukrainian or Moldovans, or other freedom - loving countries who want to be a part of this family too. We want to return home. Back to Europe. You know, Europe is in our DNA, from Fransisk Skorina who brought Renaissance to Belarus to Mark Shagall who brought his unique vision from belarus to europe and we chose Europe centuries ago” (2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Europe is historically a home for Belarusians, willingness of Belarusians to join the EU which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“I would like to thank all countries, especially Poland, Lithuania and Latvia who, against all odds, opened their arms and issued life saving visas and permits to fleeing Belarusians” (Speech X, 2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Poland, Latvia, Lithuania cooperation with the Belarusian democratic forces (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

Overall analysis of a frame: Svetlana Tikhanouskaya presents Belarusians as culturally, historically, geographically being Europeans, “forgotten Europeans”.

10. Portraying Belarusians as heroes

“United, we overcome our fear on a way to freedom day by day, week by week, month by month”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) heroism of Belarusian citizens, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“The photo¹⁰ on the facet of the building of the European Parliament is not a story of fear. It is a story of hope, courage and freedom”.

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) heroism of Belarusian citizens, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

¹⁰ See appendix

“For me such a little big man is each and every Belarusian who takes part in these peaceful protests against violence and lawlessness” (Speech VI, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) heroism of every Belarusian citizen, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“My friend Maria Kolesnikava tore apart her passport and chose prison over exile to remain in Belarus with our people”. “My husband Sergei Tikhanouski decided to tell the truth no matter of costs, for that he was thrown in jail, trumped up charges. He hasn’t seen his family for 7 months already” (Speech VI, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) heroism of Belarusian citizens, family, friends’ narrative, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“The terror unleashed at us, Belarusians, made us even more determined. No tyranny, KGB, or Vagner can kill the desire for freedom in Belarus. Great Belarusians demonstrate true heroism and resistance. In this quiet war, there are many quiet heroes. Heroes like Dmitriy Klimov.¹¹ When Russians tried to make a shortcut to Kiev from Belarus, he destroyed railways equipment and trains loaded with Russian tanks. And what the KGB did, they arrested him and put bullets through his knees. Dmitriy and 11 other partisans were sentenced in total to 200 years in prison” (Speech X, 2023)

“Heroes like Nalalia Suslova, a university teacher from Gomel whose son Pavel Volat gave his life for fighting for Ukraine. And she went there and became a caring mother to his brothers in arms. Our pray warrior fight because they know that the battle for Ukraine is a fight for freedom for us all. And heroes like Ales Pushkin, a famous painter, who raised a European flag in front of a police cordon. Later he was arrested and accused of promoting Nazism. Now he is dead. He was murdered in a prison in Grodno. And now I would like to honour all my compatriots who lost their lives for the freedom of Belarus and Ukraine” (Speech X, 2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) heroism of Belarusian citizens, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

¹¹ 22 years of imprisonment in Belarusian penal colony

Overall analysis of a frame: Svetlana Tikhanouskaya depicts Belarusians as heroes and does it extensively and in detail. The heroic image is mentioned not once, but several times in different speeches.

11. - extreme human rights violations in Belarus, caused by electoral authoritarianism

“Deliberately infecting prisoners with COVID-19”.

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) political prisoners in Belarus which stands for (O) extreme violation of human rights in Belarus’ juridical system, which is related to (R) voters for Tikhanouskaya and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“Alexandr Raikovski , he was protesting against the falsified elections. He stood holding his bare hands in front of men with rivals. And he was shot dead”.

“Roman Bondarenko, he was going out to protect national symbols in the courtyard, where neighbours gathered. He was kidnapped and beaten till death in the police office”.

“Mikola Statkevich (photo shown) was a presidential candidate in a 2010 election, he has been imprisoned and recognised a political prisoner 3d time in 15 years”.

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) extreme violation of human rights in Belarus, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“In 2021, the world saw Belarus actively resisting a regime that has only grown more abusive”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) worsening human rights situation in Belarus, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“In January police in Belarus started arresting dissenting citizens, breaking right into their homes. In February, two young journalists Daria Tshultsova and Katsiaryna Andreeva were sentenced to two years imprisonment. All they had done was to report on the protest meeting after the terrible death of Raman Bandarenka – after beatings by the security forces”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) extended human rights violations in Belarus, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“In March, hundreds of people were detained simply for being outdoors on Belarusian Independence Day - so much did the regime fear new street protests”.

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) extended human rights violations in Belarus caused by electoral autocracy, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“In April, the regime's foreign affairs minister promised to “destroy civil society”. People in prisons were poisoned with chlorine”. “Democratic activist Vitold Ashurak died in prison for unknown reasons. 17-year old Dzmitry Stakhouski couldn't bear the endless interrogations by the police... He killed himself”. “In June, political prisoner Stsiapan Latypau attempted suicide in court because the regime threatened to torture his father if he didn't plead guilty” (Speech VII, 2021).

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) extreme human rights violations in Belarus' criminal justice system, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“In September, my friend Maria Kalesnikava was sentenced to 11 years in prison. IT worker Andrey Zeltser was shot dead during a KGB raid of his apartment. His wife, as the only witness, was sent to a psychiatric hospital. And nearly 200 Belarusians have been arrested for “negative comments” online about this event”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) extreme human rights violations in Belarus, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“the 64-year old politician Ryhor Kastusiou remains in prison with suspected cancer. He receives no medical aid”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) extreme human rights violations in Belarus, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

Overall analysis of a frame: claims about extreme human rights violations are used extensively.

12.- claim -I'm a president of the Republic of Belarus

“I am the Belarusian president-elect, and together we will prevail. The West must stop pretending Lukashenko is president. He has unlawfully seized power and should be brought to justice” (Speech VIII, 2022)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya is a president-elect¹², which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) readers of the interview of a newspaper POLITICO.

Overall analysis of a frame: the claim about being a president-elect was used once in the interview for the newspaper ‘POLITICO’

13. Political demands towards the European Union, guideline for MEPs to act alike,

“We ask Europe and the whole world to stand with Belarus. We call Europe to be braver and support their decisions - and support the people of Belarus now. Not tomorrow and not somewhen in the future. Standing for human rights and democracy is not in interference. But it is the duty of each self-respecting country. Your solidarity and your voice are important. But it is actions that matter”.

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) the European Union acting upon democratic development of Belarus, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“Suspend the regime’s membership in Interpol”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) cease the membership of Belarus’ regime in Interpol , which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“Invite Belarusian democratic forces to all international fora to represent them at the highest level, particularly during the Eastern Partnership Summit”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) democratic Eastern partnership between the EU and democratic belarusian forces, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

¹² the person who has been voted to be president, prime minister, etc. but has not yet started work (Cambridge dictionary)

“Let us be true to international law! Give the green light to prosecute the human rights offenders under the universal criminal jurisdiction. Invoke the regime's responsibility for capturing the civilian aircraft and its hybrid attack on the EU borders! Let's make sure all the evidence of the regime's crimes will lay on the table of the international tribunal. At ICC and ICJ. I call on Europe to take the initiative in that”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) criminal responsibility under the international criminal law of the Belarusian regime, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

Overall analysis of a frame: Svetlana Tikhanouskaya asks the European Union to stand with Belarus, hold the policy of non-recognition towards the Lukashenko, cooperate with the democratic forces of Belarus, and call the European Parliament for a criminal persecution of Lukashenko.

14. Belarusian autocratic regime as a threat to the EU. Europe is interdependent on Belarus' freedom. Belarusian and Europeans are united.

“They marched for the freedom and dignity of Belarusians, of Europeans , yours and ours. Without free Belarus, Europe is not fully free either” (Speech VI, 2020)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) codependence Europe's freedom with Belarus', which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“The case of Ales shows that the Belarusian crisis is much closer to all of us than it might seem. Just recently, Ales was here for all to greet and congratulate. And now he is behind bars. Belarusians are no longer safe in their country and abroad. And neither, in this case, are other Europeans”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) connectedness between the EU security and Belarus' human rights crisis, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“We are already seeing how dangerous a regime like this can be to its neighbours. Lithuania and Poland are facing the biggest test of their border security. By the way, Polska, Lietuva, stay strong! We know that you pay a big price for being true and principled friends to the People of Belarus. Supposing this abuse of migrants is somehow stopped, do you really believe the regime's threats beyond its borders will end

there? Increases in the flow of smuggled drugs and other contraband? A military provocation? A disaster at a nuclear power plant right on the EU's external borders?"

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Belarus' regime threat to EU security and EU borders, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

"Our fight for freedom is your fight for freedom too. Only by standing together and acting decisively, does democracy have the chance to survive in this world" (Speech VII, 2021).

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) codependence of Europe's freedom from Belarus', which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

"Help Belarusians so they can help Belarus and Europe, too. So we could continue the fight for our freedom and yours" (Speech VII, 2021)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) codependence of Europe's freedom from Belarus', help from Europeans in the fight for freedom in Belarus, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

"Today not only democracy in Belarus but also democracy in Europe depends on whether we will walk this path together. And overcome these obstacles together"

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) codependence Europe's democracy with Belarus', which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

"When I was here two years ago, I spoke about tyranny as a virus. A virus, which won't be contained by borders. And the past two years have showed that the virus can mutate into the deadly cancer of war" (2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) autocracy transfer to the Russian war of aggression, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

"tyrannes want to see a European Union as a decadent house of cards, ready to collapse" (2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an(O) autocracy threat to the EU project, which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

Overall analysis of a frame: Svetlana Tikhanouskaya several times claims the codependency of EU security and EU security foreign policy and the autocratic regime of Belarus. Belarus' autocracy is shown as a threat to EU security policy.

15. Claim on a European misrepresentation of Lukashenko's. Instead the image of his illegality, non-recognition and state of criminality

“Many Belarusians are hurt to see that even today such influential European media – from Deutsche Welle to BBC – call Aliaksandr Lukashenka “president. He is not. It shapes the wrong perception among millions of viewers.

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Belarusians do not recognise Lukashenko a president: he is violent and illegal, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“He is a citizen of Belarus who has illegally usurped presidential power by violence”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Lukashenko is a citizen, who is out of rule of law and not recognised by Belarusians, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members.

“Lukashenka is gambling with Belarus’ sovereignty. We must stay firm in non-recognition policy and be clear that independence and sovereignty can not be traded or undermined” (Speech VII, 2021)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) politics of non-recognition of Lukashenko, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“You did not recognize the elections, so do not call this impostor for what he isn’t. Do not recognize any deals made without Belarusians’ agreement. Speak clear and loud: the contracts signed by the regime after 9 August 2020 are and will be legally void. Lukashenka is gambling with Belarus’ sovereignty. We must stay firm in non-recognition policy and be clear that independence and sovereignty can not be traded or undermined”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) unfair elections 2020, complete loss of any legitimacy of Lukashenko which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“The West must stop pretending Lukashenko is president. He has unlawfully seized power and should be brought to justice” (2022)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) Lukashenko is politically unjust which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“Yet, Europe’s longest-sitting, most repressive ruler is deeply unpopular. He’s supported by no more than 25 percent” (2022)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for (O) 25% of Lukashenko legitimacy which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) readers of the interview in POLITICO.

“Lukashenko, who is selling our country and our independence peace by peace” (2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Lukashenko is a threat to the sovereignty of Belarus which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) readers of the interview in POLITICO.

One week ago, Lukashenko signed a decree to deny passport and property rights to Belarusians abroad unless they return to Belarus” (Speech X, 2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Lukashenko denied passport rights which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) readers of the interview in POLITICO.

“finally help us to bring Lukashenko to a count, murderers and opening of death squads, the torture of peaceful protesters, the abduction of Ukrainian kids, launching a quiet war against Belarusians and collaboration in a war against Ukraine. He has a long record of crimes, he doesn't deserve any place at the international stage. The only thing he deserves is a ticket to the Hague (applauses). And I really wonder how some people still dare to call him president. Let it make it clear - he is a fraud!” (Speech X, 2023)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward a (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Lukashenko’s criminal record and fraud which is related to a (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to an (A) European Parliament Members

Overall analysis of a frame: Svetlana Tikhanouskaya strongly states that world media must stop calling Lukashenko a president, because he is a “fraud”. Lukashenko holds a state of criminality and must be brought to justice.

15. Other claims

“We feel humbled that our story of resistance touched so many people across the globe”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) Belarusians not feeling proud of mobilisation in 2020, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“For the 3d time in 20 years, Belarusians have been honoured with the Sakharov freedom of thought prize”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for the (O) 3d time Sakharov prize for Belarusians, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“In March, hundreds of people were detained simply for being outdoors on Belarusian Independence Day – so much did the regime fear new street protests. Meanwhile in Europe, many said that the situation must have “stabilized” since there were no new pictures of mass protests” (Speech VII, 2021)

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for a (O) lack of media representation of Belarus’ situation, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus 2020 and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

“Meanwhile Europe hesitates, time goes by for those unjustly imprisoned, killed, or exiled. Time is measured differently for Belarusians. It’s measured in lost moments of happiness – moments that are the right of every one of us to experience. Moments that are the reason why all of us want to live in freedom and dignity. Moments that Belarusians are deprived of”. “Only by standing together and acting decisively, does democracy have the chance to survive in this world.

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) emotional appeal to democratic values, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

16. Claim: appeal to common democratic values

“Belarusians were praised for reigniting their faith in democracy and human dignity. Is it not the turn for Europeans to demonstrate their commitment to those values with action?”

(M) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya puts forward (S) Svetlana Tikhanouskaya which stands for an (O) appeal to common democratic values, which is related to (R) citizens of Belarus and is offered to (A) European Parliament Members.

Declaration of Authorship

I hereby declare that I am the sole author and composer of my thesis and that no other sources or learning aids, other than those listed, have been used. Furthermore, I declare that I have acknowledged the work of others by providing detailed references of said work.

I also hereby declare that my thesis has not been prepared for another examination or assignment, either in its entirety or excerpts thereof.

Lüneburg, 08.09.2024