Litouskaja palitichnaja dumka, kanec XIX – pachatak XX stst. ukladanne: A. Kazakievich, Minsk: Medisont, 2013. 320 p. ISBN 978-958-6982-96-8

The anthology of Lithuanian political thought in the Belarusian language in the late 19th and early 20th century is part of the series ‘The History of Political Ideas’, which the Political Research Institute Палітычная сфера (Vilnius–Minsk), Vytautas Magnus University (Kaunas), and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Institute (Kaunas) have prepared. The compiler of this anthology, of which the main goal was to present an expression of the political thought of the Lithuanian national movement, is Andrej Kazakievich, while the scholarly editor and author of the introduction is Tomasz Błaszczak. As the structure of the anthology shows, the prepared texts are not only subordinated to the aim, but strive to present other periods in the development of Lithuanian nationalism.

The compiler of the anthology unambiguously sees the formation of the modern Lithuanian nation only on an ethnographic basis (p. 9). According to this concept, the texts in the anthology are arranged into appropriate departments, testifying to the influence of the ideas of Miroslav Hroch. The anthology consists of five sections: ‘The Assumptions of National Identity: Folklore, History, Language’, ‘The Idea of the Nation and Mass Media’, ‘The Beginning of the National Movement and the Formation of the Ethno-Cultural Identity’, ‘The Lithuanian Political Movement: The First Parties’ and ‘The Idea of Autonomy and Statehood’. In this way, only the last chapters of the anthology are devoted to the declared political expression of Lithuanian nationalism, the reflection of which (in the opinion of the compilers) was essentially the programme provisions of the political parties and groups and the political activities of the Lithuanians in 1905 (The Lithuanian Memorandum to the chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers Count S. Witte; the resolutions of the Great Seimas of Vilnius). The compilers of the anthology consider the 16 February 1918 declaration of the Act of Lithuanian Independence one of the more dynamic periods of Lithuanian political thought and activity, in this way ‘bypassing’ the First World War. As is known, the Institute of International Relations and Political Science of the University of Vilnius has prepared a separate anthology of historical sources of Lithuanian political thought in 1918–1940.¹

¹ *Lietuvos politinės minties antologija. Lietuvos politinė mintis 1918–1940 m.*, ed. J. Dementavičius, K. Girnius, A. Jankauskas, A. Jokubaitis, V. Radžvilas (Vilnius, 2012).

It goes without saying that the choice of textbook writings is a rather complicated matter when speaking about any national movement. However, the issue of nationalism in Lithuanian historiography discussed separately (or at least in the introduction) would facilitate the situation of the Belarusian-reading historian, political scientist, teacher or student (as the collective of the anthology declares) in order to have additional information about the main problems of research on Lithuanian nationalism and their level of investigation, and, most importantly, to ascertain the meaning of one or another text and its contextual nature. We think that the preparation of short contextual 'little introductions' to every separate section in this case would play a significant supporting role in facilitating an assessment of the writings of Simonas Daukantas, Motiejus Valančius, Petras Vileišis, Jonas Basanavičius and Vincas Kudirka for the expression of and change in Lithuanian nationalism. The published biograms of authors of selected texts, the brief information about individuals and organisations, the indexes of personal names and place names referred to in the texts partially provide this information. One must, however, note that the compiler of the anthology and the scholarly editor rather precisely evaluate the technical side of preparing the anthology: the semantic content of the terms 'nation', '*maskoliai*' (Muscovites), 'Russian', the principles of transliteration of the Belarusian language, and the presentation in the original language of expressions that are unique to the Lithuanian language, are discussed.

However, one is surprised that the compilers of the anthology completely circumvent the issue of mutual relations between the Lithuanian and Belarusian national movements. The selected texts reflect the relationships with the imperial government and the Polish national movement constructed by the ideologues of Lithuanian nationalism, for example, in the introduction emphasising the antithesis of the provisions of Jonas Basanavičius and Vincas Kudirka separately (p. 22). As is known, the 'politicisation' of the Belarusian national movement took place inconsistently, and essentially became clear during the First World War. However, one can fix the first points of tension between the Lithuanian and the Belarusian national discourse in 1905. As the research by Rimantas Miknys shows in the autonomist meetings, the Belarusian political elite, unlike the Lithuanian elite, on the basis of the concept of historical Lithuania, sought the joint autonomy of Lithuania and Belarus. Meanwhile, 'the Lithuanian requirements', adopted at the initiative of the LDP in Vilnius on 25 March to 7 April 1905 were based on the separation of ethnographic Lithuania from Belarus and calling for a separate Belarusian autonomy.² As is known, in later years, the Lithuanian national discourse looked at the development of the Belarusian national movement with some reservations, which in the

² For a comparison see: R. Miknys, 'Vilniaus autonomistai ir jų 1904–1905 m. Lietuvos politinės autonomijos projektai', *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos*, T. 3: *Lietuvos valstybės idėja (XIX a. – XX a. pradžia)* (Vilnius, 1991), pp. 173–199.

opinion of Darius Staliūnas could also lead to the fear of Lithuanian intellectuals of a potential competitor competing for the legacy of the GDL.³

It is necessary to make a few smaller observations. For example, in the case of the Great Seimas of Vilnius, the texts in the anthology are selected from only one political stratum, the Christian Democrats Jonas Totoraitis and Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas. For comparison, the writings of Povilas Višinskis, Juozas Gabrys-Paršaitis and Liudas Gira would have been useful. The writings by Petras Vileišis and Aleksandras Dambrauskas-Jakštas on the centre of Lithuanian statehood would also provide a more cohesive and more conceptual nature, if there were excerpts from the journalism of Antanas Smetona among them.

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³ D. Staliūnas, 'Žalgirio vaizdinio funkcijos XIX a. pabaigos–XX a. pradžios lietuviškame istoriniame pasakojime', D. Mačiulis, R. Petrauskas, D. Staliūnas, *Kas laimėjo Žalgirio mūši? Istorinio paveldo dalybos Vidurio ir Rytų Europoje* (Vilnius, 2012), p. 67.