

FROM PROTRACTED DECLINE TOWARD A ROADMAP FOR REFORMS: HOW TO REBUILD BELARUS'S REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

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SUMMARY

This brief provides an overview of current trends in the development of the Belarusian regions. It analyzes some urgent challenges including depopulation, incoherent regional policy, lack of competitiveness, obsolete system of the administrative division and overcentralization of decision making.

It proposes a comprehensive approach for reforming regional development policy, which will become possible after democracy takes root in Belarus. Most of the long-term actions require significant redesign and reform of the governance system, which is not realistic in Belarus without regime change.

Although the main focus of the document is long-term policy interventions and implementation, in the appendix the authors propose a list of actions for short-term cooperation with development partners. These short-term actions will help to preserve human capital in the regions and strengthen active membership in local communities (a future pillar for successful reforms) to deal with current local development problems related to, among other things, self-employment, social and municipal services, and green transition.

INTRODUCTION

For several decades the Belarusian government has struggled to develop the regions, cities and smaller settlements through its distribution of resources and directive planning. An increasing inequality in development between the Minsk agglomeration and other regions of Belarus, combined with depopulation in a majority of the rayons, small and medium size towns, indicates a discrepancy between current development challenges and existing policies.

The new draft Concept of the National Regional Development Policy in Belarus, which was recently announced by the Ministry of Economy (May 2022),¹ continues to follow the approaches favored by the Belarusian authorities. The regional development policy is aimed anew at creating alternatives for the capital region and regional centers, and the provision of more subventions to less-developed areas. It is obvious that sanctions and economic stagnation will further reduce resources available to the central authorities for distribution among the regions and will complicate development challenges.

1. CURRENT REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES

Over-centralization: an absence of real self-governance and decision-making power, weak institutions and little civil society participation at local level.

The Belarusian system of local self-governance is quite anemic. There are local Councils of Deputies, but they do not de facto constitute meaningful decision-making power at the local level. They are formed through a non-transparent mechanism, and their budgetary freedom and property disposal rights are very limited. All significant decisions (such as those related to the appointment of the heads of executive committees, budget development, local taxation, property management, infrastructure and investment projects) are taken at the oblast (regional) or national levels.

The heads of oblast and city/rayon administrations (i.e. the chairperson of each Council's executive committee) play the essential role in a consolidated power vertical controlled by national authorities. Being de jure executives of the Councils' decisions, they de facto do the opposite by ensuring the implementation national-level decisions through corresponding Council resolutions.

Such a centralized system significantly limits involvement of civil society in the decision-making process and at the implementation stage, creates very unfavorable conditions for drawing on local potential and forming quality institutions for locally-driven development. It is consequently a serious threat for the competitiveness and development perspectives of the Belarusian regions.

Incoherent regional policy: no long-term vision, too much emphasis on implementation of national plans and equalizing regional disparities at the cost of developing each region's strengths and potential.

The centralized governance system provides neither a long-term development vision for the Belarusian regions nor any coherent priorities for regional policy, with conflicting policies stated in different strategic documents. The National Strategy of Sustainable Development to 2035 foresees that the main efforts will be concentrated in strengthening the competitiveness and sustainability of regional economies through the development of strong economic territorial complexes around regional centers, 11 cities/rayons with a population more than 80,000, and 5 rayons with industrial potential.

¹ https://economy.gov.by/ru/news-ru/view/tatijana-brantsevich-tsel-regionalnoj-kontseptsii-sokraschenie-mezhterritorialnoj-differentsiatsii-v-46381-2022/

At the same time, the Program of Social and Economic Development of the Republic of Belarus 2021–2025 intends to increase life, work and business attractiveness of territories located outside the capital and regional centers, as well as promote rural lifestyles (de-urbanization). Meanwhile the recently announced draft Concept for National Regional Development Policy in Belarus is aimed at the creation of alternatives to the capital region and regional centers through the provision of more support for less-developed territories.

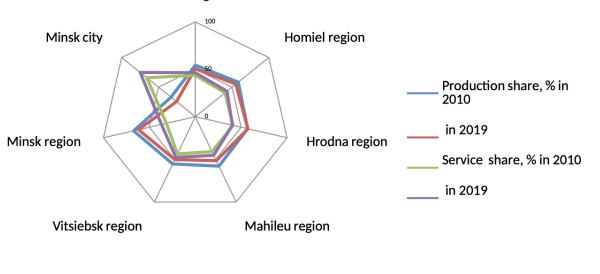
Regions do not often have local development strategies and local stakeholders are excluded from the policy-making process. The national authorities' policies do not consider the specificities and problems of particular regions.

According to the OECD regional typology,² most Belarusian regions are predominantly rural. Regional development policy in Belarus is focused on the regions' equality and is traditionally oriented toward industrialization of underdeveloped rayons. This approach is trying to conserve existing living standards and avoid regional disparities rather than a policy aimed at developing existing opportunities in the perspective urban areas.

The results of such policy are validated by the economic structure of the Belarusian regions. Besides Minsk City and Oblast, other regions demonstrate stable and an almost identical distribution between the production and service sectors during the last decade (see Graph 1). Minsk City and Oblast, with its strong service sector, produces almost 50% of national GDP and its share is permanently growing.

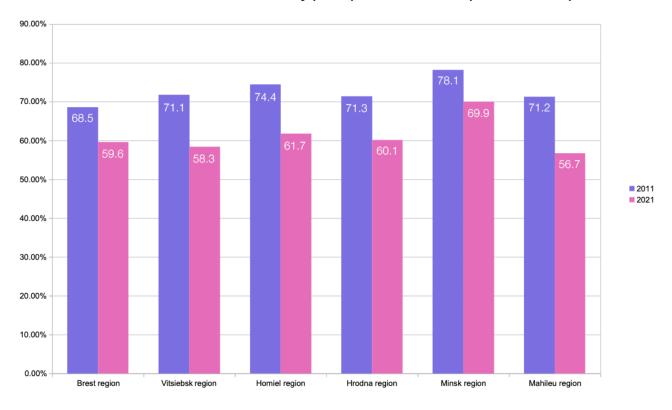
There is also a significant disparity in average salary in Minsk when compared to other oblasts of Belarus and the gap keeps widening (see Graph 2). All Belarusian oblasts have seen a dramatic decline in rural population, while four of six oblasts have also seen a fall in their urban population over last 20 years (see Graph 3). The Belarusian regions face a gradual depopulation, degradation of infrastructure, and falling quality of life in small and medium-sized cities and rural settlements, all of which indicate the inefficiency of the current regional policy priorities and its outdated approaches.

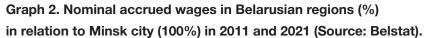
Graph 1. Share of the production and service sectors in the regional product of Belarusian regions in 2010 and 2019 (Source: Belstat).



Brest region

² https://www.oecd.org/cfe/regionaldevelopment/OECD_regional_typology_Nov2012.pdf





Graph 3. Population in oblasts and Minsk City in 2002 and 2022. (Source: Belstat).

	Brest oblast	Vitsebsk oblast	Homiel oblast	Hrodna oblast	Minsk city	Minsk oblast	Mahileu oblast
	2002						
Total	1 469 800	1 340 059	1 523 145	1 160 218	1 699 347	1 521 592	1 186 253
Urban	908 430	921 103	1 058 081	741 915		804 027	849 983
Rural	561 370	418 956	465 064	418 303		717 565	336 270
	2022						
Total	1 324 027	1 103 833	1 357 897	1 006 614	1 996 553	1 465 755	1 000 845
Urban	945 484	861 519	1 051 061	769 845		803 870	803 763
Rural	378 543	242 314	306 836	236 769		661 885	197 082

Depopulation of small and medium-sized cities

Belarusian small and medium-sized towns have lost population in favor of oblast centers and Minsk City and Oblast. According to recent data (January 2022), 78.1% of the Belarusian population is located in urban settlements. 75.3% of the urban population (58.8% of the total population) lives in 20 of the 115 municipalities (see Graph 4). 75% of the rural population lives in 5% of the larger rural settlements.

Ν	City	2002	2022	Ν	City	2002	2022
1	Minsk	1699347	1996553	11	Mazyr	109790	104967
2	Homiel	488139	503984	12	Orsha	128790	104605
3	Vitsebsk	352113	360419	13	Lida	100728	103479
4	Hrodna	326082	357493	14	Salihorsk	104405	99622
5	Mahileu	357191	355436	15	Navapolatsk	106103	97182
6	Brest	290673	340723	16	Maladzechna	104082	90136
7	Babruysk	220441	209675	17	Polatsk	84517	79896
8	Baranavichy	168116	173028	18	Zhlobin	75096	77028
9	Barysau	150218	137703	19	Rechytsa	67196	65561
10	Pinsk	130503	125060	20	Zhodzina	60059	64318

Graph 4. Population in 20 largest Belarusian cities in 2002 and 2022.

Small and medium-sized towns that were once relatively stable by population have suffered in the last decades a combination of job losses, declining labor force participation, and reduction of income in relation to the national average. This results in negative migration flows to Minsk, regional centers, large cities with regional sub-ordinance, as well as to neighbouring countries.

Low competitiveness of the rayons: weak connectivity and labor mobility

Existing centers attract the larger share of fixed capital investments, amounting to 63.9% of total investments in Belarus in 2020 (comprised 31.6% in Minsk City, 13.8% in 5 oblast centers, and 18.5% in 11 sub-regional centers).³ The main economic activities, human capital, jobs, infrastructure and services are concentrated in these areas.

³ Calculated using statistical data (Source of information: Belstat).

Other rayons and cities cannot withstand the competition with these established centers. Since four of the six oblast centers are located on the periphery of their oblast, a large number of the peripheral rayons are far better connected to Minsk. Large distances and problems with transport connectivity hamper commuting within the regions. The problem is accentuated by a weak labor mobility.

Obsolete system of the administrative and territorial division

The administrative and territorial division of Belarus was made on the basis of urbanization and industrialization trends in the second half of the 20th century. It is a strictly centralized administration and economic planning system with very little delegation of decision-making powers, citizen participation, fiscal freedom and resource management at the local level. The administrative system consists of three levels: (1) six oblasts and Minsk City; (2) 118 rayons and 10 cities subordinated to these oblasts; and (3) 104 cities, 27 urban settlements and 1,154 rural councils subordinated to the rayons. The system requires lots of resources for management and results in out-of-date development policies aimed at supporting traditional sectors of economy such as agriculture and industry, yet contributing to equal social standards all around the country. There have been at least ten attempts to develop and conduct the reforms of the territorial division, but all failed because of the absence of political will for comprehensive government decentralization.⁴ Most analysis refers to the Concept of the Local Self-government Reform in Belarus which was developed by the Institute of Economy of the National Academy of Sciences in 2003 but was never implemented. The State Scheme of Integrated Territorial Organization (GSKTO-2030) also provides suggestions for the improvement of the territorial organization of Belarus,⁵ Several proposals have been developed by research and scientific institutions, including the Belarusian State University,⁶ BEROC,⁷ SYMPA, the European Humanities University,⁸ and the Leu Sapieha Foundation.9

2. PRIORITIES FOR A NEW REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

A full-fledged transition to sustainable regional development is possible only with a general democratization of the entire administrative system of Belarus. The dragging out of the political crisis and the closed nature of the administration system only aggravates the problems discussed above.

After a democratic transition, local regional development should be a priority for reforms. Regions and local communities need to speed up reforms and improve conditions and services for both businesses and citizens, pay more attention to service sector development (e.g., creative industries), the development of human capital, labor involvement and mobility, self-employment, and connectivity. Efficiency should replace equity as the new determinant of local development policies.

7 О. Мазоль. Местное самоуправление в Республике Беларусь. (2015) https://www.beroc.org/upload/iblock/07f/07fb-131dafd8c1fc57252cc51ac3a19d.pdf

8 В.С. Фатеев. Региональная политика: теория и практика. http://ekonomika.by/downloads/fat6.pdf

⁴ М. Кобаса. Местное самоуправление в Беларуси – как превратить миф в реальность. (2011) https://sympa-by.eu/sites/default/files/library/booklet_kobasa.pdf

⁵ Н.Н. Власюк. Государственная схема комплексной территориальной организации Республики Беларусь. Основные направления и приоритеты развития. (2012) https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/279999714.pdf

⁶ Е.А. Антипова, А. Н. Щавель, И.И. Запрудский. Экономико-географические и социально-экономические различия регионов Республики Беларусь как основа совершенствования административно-территориального деления. (2019). https://journals.bsu.by/index.php/geography/article/view/840/960

⁹ В.Н. Кивель (и др.). Местное самоуправление в Беларуси. (2007). https://studfile.net/preview/5406186/

Strengthening of regional policy at the national level

There should be a special government body coordinating the development and implementation of a new regional development policy and implementation of reforms (a state department or state agency). This body's main focus should be on supporting regional and local development and democratization, with its role primarily consultative rather than administrative. The national body should be supported by the network of the regional development agencies, which accumulate human and material resources for the implementation of projects, being resource centers for the communities during transformation and capacity-building process. Several post-Soviet countries, for example Ukraine,¹⁰ already possess such experience and this may be relevant to Belarus.

Administrative and territorial reform, strengthening decentralization, and concentration of resources in growth points

The current, complex national and oblast schemes of territorial organization identify 18 sub-regions inside of the existing oblasts taking into consideration their geographical position, population, available networks, social infrastructure, attractiveness for economic activities, access to the social and medical services, and transport accessibility.

Several studies and draft programs on reform of the territorial and administrative division mentioned above suggest plenty of reasonable actions to be implemented as priorities:

- Territorial and administrative reform: (i) abolish the current arrangement of 6 oblasts, 128 rayons/cities and 1,154 rural councils as the basis of local government and administration, with the introduction of a new two-level system comprising 15–20 sub-regions/districts and 200-500 amalgamated communities (e.g., reforms similar to those undertaken in Ukraine and Latvia); (ii) empower local self-governments by granting them competences, while maintaining a clear distribution of power between governments of different levels and state administration;
- Fiscal and budgetary reform: raise revenues through increasing the share of locally-collected taxes that remains in local budgets, adequate leveling transfers from the national budget to depressed settlements and communities to ensure just transition and accessibility of the social services;
- Property reform: strengthen property disposal rights of the communities over their own resources.

The highest priority and attention should be paid to the community level to guarantee the bottomup approach, a significant level of citizen and stakeholders' involvement, and the durability of public services.

Revivify citizen participation

Local elections have been conducted in an undemocratic and non-participatory way for several decades. The miserable power of the local councils to determine local development strategies and solve problems means that the local population has lost interest in the activities of the Councils. Administrative reform will also require significantly higher level of the civil interest and citizen participation and a new role for local communities.

¹⁰ https://www.arrko.com.ua/en/our-history

There is a need for a prior awareness-raising campaign about the new role for community members and local civil society. There is also a need for local institutions supporting local civil society activists, election competitiveness and transparency. These institutions should further enable public participation in thinking up local development policies and decision making, and contribute to the accountability of local self-government. The experience of the election campaign and community action in Belarus in 2020 should be taken into consideration.

Unfortunately, civil society suffered a lot during the broad repressions of 2021-2022. Lots of local civil society leaders stopped their activities and left the country. Potential new leaders are not visible because of the high risks involved.

However, we suggest that the latest economic constraints and the lack of resources will stimulate local authorities to seek out different solutions and resources in their regions to promote self-employment and any potential economic activity. The number of small entrepreneurs suffering from the contraction of their business but not moving to the bigger cities or abroad could create a new target group; these individuals could serve as multipliers for self-employment, economic development, and the creation of conditions for civic participation. The methodology and experience gained during the implementation of the LEADER approach and the Community-Led Local Development approach of the EU may be taken into consideration.

Capacity building for local self-governments

The comprehensive territorial and administration reform will require professionals in local selfgovernment. The large scale of the administrations and additional tasks will require corresponding qualifications, for example in strategic planning, effective resources management, e-governance, project management, support and services for investors, crisis management, attraction of highskilled human capital, or modernization of institutions.

There should be effective mechanisms for encouraging professionals and highly-qualified officials to switch from current executive committees to new local self-government administrations. The decentralization and enlargement of communities will increase the attractiveness of jobs in the public sector and provide more opportunities for competent newcomers to develop careers. The new tasks will require permanent professional development of self-government officials. There should be a comprehensive capacity-building program for the political and technical levels of administration, including vocational training, exchange visits, conferences, and special events. Cooperation and exchanges with twin cities in EU and Eastern Partnership countries will also advance reforms. Furthermore, it will be vital to participate in such initiatives as the Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy, Creative Cities, Green Cities, Learning Cities, Smart Cities, and flagship initiatives of the EU and EaP.

Accessibility, mobility and connectivity

The new special division and regional development strategies will require numerous short, medium and long-term investment project plans in order to plug missing links and upgrade or modernize the existing road and railway networks, ICT and e-governance infrastructure. Application of smart technologies and big data should make this process more transparent, resource efficient, cost efficient, and green. This may be achieved by strengthening cooperation between the regions and international financial institutions (WB, EBRD, EIB) as a part of their programs aimed at efficient reforms of public sector and green transformation.

Special attention should be paid to urban, intra-regional and inter-regional mobility, including the creation of regional transport operators, integration of all transport means into the joint-routes network, and increasing the attractiveness of public transportation for commuting.

Extensive ICT application and strengthening of e-governance should make community administrations better capable of providing more public services to their residents.

Human capital, work force mobility and labor involvement

Strengthening the educational infrastructure at the local level should be a priority action. There is a need for modernization of educational methods, development of foreign language abilities and intercultural communication skills, and broadening the horizons for people living in peripheral settlements.

For these purposes, local higher education institutions should be strengthened to become transmitters of new competencies. The infrastructure for vocational education, non-formal education and adult education should also be developed. Places for obtaining new competencies should be close to where people live. Thus, regional reform should be linked with educational reform.

Regions should mitigate negative migration through work force mobility and labor participation projects, aimed at a stronger professional education, vocational education, availability of training, and user-friendly job search instruments.

Instead of high-cost targeted interventions to save regional jobs, programs should support a transition to more productive employment in the private sector and development of ecosystems for entrepreneurship. Consequently, more incentives and support over the long-term should be directed towards technological innovations in companies and institutional innovations which will together improve knowledge creation and transfer, the development of new products and services, and aid marketing and sales methods.

The priority in the short term should be support of small businesses and self-employment at the local level and development of human capital for the subsequent implementation of the long-term priorities.

Sustainable development and green transition

Local self-governments play a key role in green transition. Green transition, climate resilience, resource efficiency and biodiversity are cross-cutting issues which need to be considered at every step in regional policy development and implementation. Experience and knowledge in these areas has been collected during several projects financed by the EU (the Transition to a Green Economy project and the Covenant of Mayors in which half of local authorities participate), GEF/ UNDP (Green Planning in Small and Medium-Sized Cities in Belarus), the EBRD (Green Cities), and the Ministry for the Environment (environmental rating of local authorities). The knowledge and experience gained during these projects will be replicated around the country. One of the unified solutions is application of international standards (ISO) which establish requirements for a management system for sustainable development in communities through introduction of the certification of local self-governments.

Green transition and climate-related issues should remain to be a high priority for the Belarusian government. They should therefore be considered a priority for the short term. The variety of the educational activities for youth and the promotion of ESG for business could be a good option for the short-term action plan.

The following table outlines some ideas for long-term actions which need to be implemented after significant change to the political system in Belarus.

N	Long-term actions	Development partner	Belarusian stakeholders			
	Step I. Comprehensive reform of local self-governance					
1	 Strengthening civil society to cope with political and administrative reform: local activism and leadership development; capacity building for local NGOs and civil society initiatives; awareness raising about administrative reform; introduction and support of mechanisms enabling the local population to participate in local strategic planning and reform; strengthening civil society's role in decentralization reforms (e.g., civil society councils or working groups). 	EU, SIDA, USAID, Council of Europe (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, Contact Group with Belarusian civil society), International NGOs (ALDA and others)	NGOs, expert com- munity, civil activists, mass media			
2	 Development of the concept for administrative and territorial reform: stakeholders' involvement campaign; creation of expert working groups; evaluation of the existing reform concepts; proposals for the revision of the complex schemes of the territorial organization of Belarus; development of the concept; broad public discussions; approval in form of a national program. 	EU, SIDA, USAID, Council of Europe (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, Contact Group with Belarusian civil society), International NGOs (ALDA and others)	Local authorities, local civil society, Belarusian spatial planning institutions, expert community, economic institutions of the Ministry of the Economy and Acade- my of Sciences, gov- ernment, parliament, universities			
3	 Legislative framework for the decentralization reform: joining the European Charter of Local Self-government; constitutional law; fiscal and budgetary legislation; communal property management legislation; spatial planning legislation. 	EU, SIDA, USAID, Council of Europe (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, Contact Group with Belarusian civil society), International NGOs (ALDA and others)	National Centre of Legislation and Legal Research, parliament, local authorities, civil society, economic and spatial planning institutions, gov- ernment (sectoral ministries), experts community			
4	 Institutional framework for the decentralization reform: establishment and capacity building of the National Agency of Regional Policy and Reform; establishment and capacity building of regional development agencies in each new region to facilitate the implementation of reforms; establishment of expert teams and helpdesks for the facilitation of the reform implementation process. 	EU, USAID, SIDA, IMF, WB, COE, Internation- al NGOs (ALDA and others)	Government, oblast and rayon executive committees			

5	 Reform implementation: facilitation of the amalgamated communities formation process, provision of consultations and supervision; observation of local election campaigns; mentoring during task transfer from abolished administrative institutions to newly-established ones; scaling up and capacity building for the newly-formed local self-governments at community and regional levels. 	EU, USAID, SIDA, IMF, WB, COE, Internation- al NGOs (ALDA and others)	Government, oblast and rayon executive committees
Ste	p II. Maximizing territories' development potential, grea	ter opportunities for cit	izens and business
6	Comprehensive regional and community development strategies based on new spatial vision and priorities, smart specialization	EU, GIZ, UNDP, US- AID, SIDA, IMF, WB, COE	Communities and districts self-govern- ments, regional de- velopment agencies, civil society, stake- holders, territorial representatives of the national government
7	Project pipeline for improvement of e-governance, ser- vices of public institutions, inner regional and international connectivity and infrastructure	WB, EIB, EBRD, EU flagship initiatives, climate funds	Communities and districts self-govern- ments, regional de- velopment agencies, government, national financial institutions
8	Human capital development, labor involvement and mo- bility program	EU, GIZ, USAID	Educational institu- tions, local self-gov- ernments, national authorities
9	Innovative SME support mechanisms (clusters, services, infrastructure, access to finance)	IFC, EU, USAID, international financial institutions	Chamber of com- merce, business associations, SMEs and large companies, local authorities
10	 Green transition program climate mitigation and adaptation; sustainable mobility; green and blue infrastructure; circular economy; biodiversity. 	EU, UNDP, GEF, SIDA, international financial institutions	Local authorities, NGOs, business

ANNEX 1. PRIORITIES FOR SHORT-TERM INTERVENTIONS TO SUPPORT REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Although the authors of this brief have focused on developing a vision and roadmap for reforms of regional development policy, proposals for short-term interventions and priorities have also been briefly prepared. These ideas can be used by international partners when planning support programs.

As the current situation does not allow the initiation of any comprehensive reform of regional policy, short-term actions should be focused on the creation of conditions for future reform, and support of local civil society and stakeholders who will play the key role in the implementation of reforms. The table describes the types of activities which could be supported by development partners:

Ν	Short-term actions	Development partner	Belarusian stakeholders
1	 Development of an alternative concept of regional development policy, administrative and territorial reform: stakeholders' involvement campaign; creation of expert working groups; evaluation of existing reform concepts; proposals for revision of the complex schemes of the territorial organization of Belarus; development of the concept; broad public discussions; approval. 	EU, SIDA, USAID, Council of Europe (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, Contact Group with Belarusian civil society)	Civil society, indepen- dent experts, Belaru- sian spatial planning institutions, economic institutions of the Ministry of the Econ- omy and Academy of Sciences, gov- ernment, parliament, universities
2	 Creating conditions for the development of local civil society and economic potential in the regions adaptation of the LEADER approach to Belarusian needs and circumstances; stakeholders' involvement campaign; creation of expert working groups and involvement methodology; mapping of the potential territories and target group representatives; capacity-building activities on-line and outside of Belarus; support of local actions. 	EU, GIZ, USAID	Entrepreneurs, NGOs, local self- governments
3	 Green transition, educational and awareness raising campaigns, work with youth support of ecological NGOs on development and implementation of educational programs, activities aimed at localization of the Green Deal in Belarusian cities, conducting campaigns among the youth and business, offline activities outside of Belarus. 	EU, UNDP, GEF, SIDA, international financial institutions	NGOs, youth, busi- ness

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