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Contents

Acknowledgements	7
Note on Spelling and Transliteration	8
About the Editor and Contributors	9
Introduction by Olga Bertelsen.....	15
I Ukraine: Sources of Destabilization	
1 The Ukrainian Revolution of 2013–2014 and the Sources of Russia’s Response by George O. Liber	41
2 Ukraine is the Epicenter of the “World Hurricane” by Yuri Scherbak	69
II War of Narratives	
3 Ukraine and Russia: Entangled Histories, Contested Identities, and a War of Narratives by Igor Torbakov.....	89
4 Living with Ambiguities: Meanings of Nationalism in the Russian-Ukrainian War by Myroslav Shkandrij	121
III The Euromaidan, War, and Cultural Change in Ukraine	
5 Ideologies of Language in Wartime by Laada Bilaniuk	139
6 Ukrainian Euromaidan as Social and Cultural Performance by Tamara Hundorova.....	161

IV Crimea, the Black Sea, and the Straits

- 7 The Annexation of Crimea: Russia’s Response to Ukraine’s Revolution by Nedim Useinov 183
- 8 Russian Hegemony in the Black Sea Basin: The “Third Rome” in Contemporary Geopolitics by Dale A. Bertelsen and Olga Bertelsen 213

V Information and Religious Wars

- 9 The Invisible Front: Russia, Trolls, and the Information War against Ukraine by Peter N. Tanchak 253
- 10 The Impact of Russia’s Intervention in Ukraine on Muslim, Jewish and Baptist Communities by Andrii Krawchuk 283

VI Reforming Ukraine

- 11 The Perpetual Cycle of Political Corruption in Ukraine and Post-Revolutionary Attempts to Break Through It by Oksana Huss .. 317
- 12 Police Reform: Challenges and Prospects by Bohdan Harasymiw 353
- Epilogue by Olga Bertelsen 377
- Dictionary of Abbreviations 413
- Index 417

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Note on Spelling and Transliteration

In this volume we employed a slightly modified Library of Congress version for Ukrainian or Russian languages. Ukrainian personal and place names have been transliterated from Ukrainian: for example, Hrushevskyy instead of Grushevskii, Kyiv instead of Kiev, Odesa instead of Odessa, Donbas instead of Donbass. To make it easier for English-speaking readers, we avoided diacritical marks in names and other words: for instance, Glaziev instead of Glaz'iev, Silantiev instead of Silant'iev, Korchynska instead of Korchyns'ka, Kyivan Rus or Kyiv Rus instead of Kyivan Rus'. We preserved them only in quotations. Russian personal names and places were transliterated from Russian: for example, Danilevskii instead of Danylevskyy, Aleksandr instead of Oleksandr, Tsargrad instead of Tsarhrad, Vladivostok instead of Vladyvostok. The occupied territories of Crimea and the Donbas are treated as Ukrainian, and thus names of places have been transliterated from Ukrainian: for example, Simferopil instead of Simferopol. The "English" spelling is preserved in names that gained international fame, such as Alexander Solzhenitsyn. For letters "й" and "я" we used "i" and "ia" respectively: for example, legor instead of Egor, Ianukovych instead of Yanukovych, Iatseniuk instead of Yatseniuk, Ieltsyn instead of Yeltsin, Iuliia instead of Yuliya. Yalta constitutes an exception. For the ending "ii" or "ei" in Russian or "yi" or "ii" in Ukrainian in first or last names, we preserved "y" only for names that have been consistently used with "y" in the West, or in cases when we mention a certain publication in English written by a person with this type of name: for instance, Andrey Makarychev instead of Andrei Makarychev, Dostoevsky instead of Dostoevskii, Brudny instead of Brudnyi, Kuchabsky instead of Kuchabskyy, Rudnytsky instead of Rudnytskyi.

About the Editor and Contributors

Dale A. Bertelsen (Ph.D., Pennsylvania State University) is Professor of Communication Studies at Bloomsburg University, Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania served as President of the Eastern Communication Association (1995–1996), President of the Speech Communication Association of Pennsylvania (1991–1992), Editor of Publications for the Kenneth Burke Society (1991–1993), Book Review Editor for *Critical Studies in Media Communication* (1999–2001), Editor of *Communication Quarterly* (2001–2003). He is co-author of *Analyzing Media: Communication Technologies as Symbolic and Cognitive Systems* (Guilford, 1996) and *Introduction to Communication Criticism: Methods, Systems, Analysis and Societal Transformations* (Kendall-Hunt, forthcoming), and has published in journals such as *Communication Education*, *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, *Communication Quarterly*, *Qualitative Research Reports in Communication*, *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *Russian Journal of Communication* and *The Speech Communication Teacher*. He was a Fulbright scholar to Ukraine in 2004. His current research focuses on leadership and public advocacy, strategic communication, the rhetoric of genocide, and the intrusion and implications of violence in cross-generational cultural transmission.

Olga Bertelsen (Ph.D., University of Nottingham) is a writer in residence at New York University and research fellow of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. She held fellowships at the Harriman Institute (Columbia University) and the Munk School of Global Affairs (University of Toronto), and has published monographs on the Ukrainian theatre “Berezil” (Smolokyp, 2016) and Ukraine’s House of Writers in the 1930s (Pittsburgh, 2013), as well as translated documents in two volumes on the persecution of Zionists in Ukraine (*On the Jewish Street*, 2011). She is currently preparing books for publication on Stalin’s terror in Ukraine, post-Soviet imperial consciousness among Russian writers, and the social history of Ukraine’s 1932–1933 famine.

Laada Bilaniuk is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Washington. She completed her PhD in anthropology at the University of Michigan. Her main fields of research are language ideology, identity

politics, popular culture, and nation building in Ukraine. She is author of the book, *Contested Tongues: Language Politics and Cultural Correction in Ukraine* (Cornell University Press 2005), and she is currently working on a book on popular culture in Ukraine. She has also published articles on changing language ideologies in Ukraine, language and gender, education, and the politics of language on Ukrainian television.

Bohdan Harasymiw is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Calgary, Canada, and in 2013–16 was Acting Coordinator of the Contemporary Ukraine Studies Program at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, Edmonton. Born in Saskatchewan, he studied at the Royal Military College and at Queen's University (both in Kingston, Ontario) as well as at the University of Alberta, before completing his doctorate at the University of Toronto. He joined the University of Calgary in 1969, where he continued teaching until his retirement in 2005. He is the author of *Post-Communist Ukraine* published by the CIUS Press (2002). His most recently published article "Alberta's Premier Ed Stelmach: The Anomalous Case of Leadership Selection and Removal in a Canadian Province" appeared in the *American Review of Canadian Studies*. Since retirement, he has participated as an election observer with the Canadian mission in Ukraine in 2006, 2007, and 2010. In 1989–91, he was seconded to the federal government in Ottawa as a Strategic Analyst with the Canadian Security Intelligence Service. A life-long member and former President of the Canadian Association of Slavists, he served as Program Chair for its 2016 conference in Calgary.

Tamara Hundorova (Ph.D. in Philology) is a Corresponding member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (NAN Ukrainy), professor and chair of the Department of Literary Theory and Comparative Studies in the Shevchenko Institute of Literature (NAN Ukrainy), the Executive Director of the Institute of Krytyka, professor and dean of the Ukrainian Free University (Munich), and an Associate of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. She has published extensively on Ukrainian literature, modernism, postmodernism, postcolonial criticism, kitsch, feminism and Chornobyl. She is the author of books *Transit Culture. The Symptoms of Postcolonial Trauma* (2013), *Post-Chornobyl Library. Ukrainian Literary Postmodernism* (2005, 2013), *The Emerging Word. The Discourse of Early Ukrainian Modernism* (1997, 2009), *Kitsch and Literature. Travesty*

(2008), *Franko and/not Kameniar* (2006), *Femina melancholica. Sex and Culture in Gender Utopia of Olha Kobylianska* (2002) and others. She is a recipient of various fellowships at Columbia University (USA), Harvard University (USA), University of Hokkaido (Japan), and Monash University (Australia). She is a Fulbright scholar, the editor of several journals, and she taught at American, Canadian, European and Ukrainian universities.

Oksana Huss is a Ph.D. candidate of Political Science at the Institute for Development and Peace, University of Duisburg-Essen (Germany), and is working for the Ukrainian Think Tanks Liaison Office in Brussels. She graduated from Ludwig-Maximilians-University, where she has been awarded a scholarship from the Hanns-Seidel-Foundation. She was a Petro Jacyk visiting fellow at the University of Toronto (Munk School of Global Affairs), and gave numerous talks on the mechanisms of corruption in Ukraine. She is co-founder of the Interdisciplinary Corruption Research Network and project supervisor of the young researcher's network "Ukraine in Transition," supported by the Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities (Essen). Her main area of expertise is corruption and corruptive schemes in hybrid regimes.

Andrii Krawchuk is Professor of Religious Studies and past President (2004–2009) of the University of Sudbury, Canada. He is the author of *Christian Social Ethics in Ukraine: the Legacy of Andrei Sheptytsky* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1997), and a co-editor, with Thomas Bremer, of *Eastern Orthodox Encounters of Identity and Otherness: Values, Self-Reflection, Dialogue* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) and of the forthcoming *Churches in the Ukrainian Crisis* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). He has also edited numerous documentary collections on religion, society and ethics in Eastern Europe. Vice-President of the International Council for Central and East European Studies, he is also a member of the Religion in Europe Group (American Academy of Religion), and of the Executive of the Canadian Association of Slavists. His current research is on interreligious dialogue and intercultural ethics in the wake of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict.

George O. Liber is Professor of History at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. He is the author of: *Soviet Nationality Policy, Urban Growth, and Identity Change in the Ukrainian SSR, 1923–1934* (Cambridge University Press, 1992); *Alexander Dovzhenko: A Life in Soviet Film* (British Film Institute, 2002); and *Total Wars and the Making of Modern Ukraine, 1914–1954* (University of Toronto Press, 2016). With Anna Mostovych, he compiled and edited *Nonconformity and Dissent in the Ukrainian SSR, 1955–1975: An Annotated Bibliography* (Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1978). He also served as a Short-Term Observer to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) for the 2010 Presidential Elections in Ukraine, the 2011 Presidential Elections in Kazakhstan, and the 2012 parliamentary elections in Ukraine.

Yurii Scherbak is a Ukrainian writer, doctor of medicine, politician, diplomat, and environmental activist. He is a laureate of prestigious literary awards, and currently chairs the Committee of the Shevchenko Literary Award in Ukraine. He is a co-founder and Chairman of the Ukrainian Environmental Association "Green World", and the first leader of the Green Party of Ukraine. First environment Minister of independent Ukraine and Member of the National Security Council of Ukraine in (1991–1992), he served as the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine to Israel (1992–1994), to the USA (1994–1998, also to Mexico since 1997), and to Canada (2000–2003). Scherbak was an Advisor to the President of Ukraine (1998–2000) and Advisor to the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (2004–2006). In 2006 he became President of the Vernadsky Institute for Sustainable Development in Ukraine, and in 2009—a co-founder and a member of the Council on Foreign and Security Policy. In 2013 he was elected a member of the World Academy of Art and Science. He is a recipient of many national and international awards and honors, and the author of numerous books which became international bestsellers and prominent studies on geopolitics and environmental issues, including Chornobyl.

Myroslav Shkandrij is Professor of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba, and has published on modern Ukrainian and Russian literature, art and cultural politics, the avant-garde, and nationalism. He is the author of *Ukrainian Nationalism: Politics, Ideology and Literature, 1929–1956*

(Yale University Press, 2015), *Jews in Ukrainian Literature: Representation and Identity* (Yale University Press, 2009), *Russia and Ukraine: Literature and the Discourse of Empire from Napoleonic to Postcolonial Times* (McGill-Queens University Press, 2001), and *Modernists, Marxists and the Nation: The Ukrainian Literary Discussion of the 1920s* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992). Exhibitions curated by him include: *Futurism and After: David Burliuk, 1882–1967* (Winnipeg Art Gallery, 2008) and *The Phenomenon of the Ukrainian Avant-Garde, 1910–35* (Winnipeg Art Gallery, 2001). He is also the translator of Serhiy Zhadan's *Depeche Mode* (Glagoslav Publications, 2013) and Mykola Khvylovy's *Cultural Renaissance in Ukraine. Polemical Pamphlets, 1925–26* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1986).

Peter N. Tanchak is a Research Fellow at the Citizen Lab, the University of Toronto's preeminent cyber security research institution, studying cyber operations involving Russia and Ukraine. He holds his Master's from the Centre for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (CERES) at the Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto. He has previously held positions with the Canadian public service, and interned as an analyst with the Polish Institute of International Affairs (Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych), where he conducted policy work and was a contributing author with the European Union Evolving Concepts of Security Project (EvoCS, 2015). He also co-authored *Nie tylko dla ortów. Czy terroryści sięgają po hybrydowość?* (PISM, 2015).

Igor Torbakov is a Senior Fellow at the Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Uppsala University, Sweden. He holds an MA in History from Moscow State University and a PhD from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and specializes in Russian and Eurasian history and politics. He was a Research Scholar at the Institute of Russian History (Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow); a Visiting Scholar at the Kennan Institute (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC); a Fulbright Scholar at Columbia University; a Visiting Fellow at Harvard University; a Fellow at the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study; a Senior Fellow at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs in Helsinki; and a Visiting Fellow at the German Council on Foreign Relations in Berlin. His recent publications discuss the history of Russian nationalism, the links between Russia's domestic politics and foreign policy, Russian-

Ukrainian relations, and the politics of history and memory wars in Eastern Europe.

Nedim Useinov is a Ph.D. candidate of Political Science at the University of Gdansk, Poland, and also works for the Solidarity Fund PL in Warsaw, contributing to the program aimed at supporting political reforms in post-Maidan Ukraine. He is the author of a number of publications on the Crimean Tatars political movement in the 20th century. His most recent publication is a chapter on Crimea in *The Maidan Uprising, Separatism and Foreign Intervention*, edited by Klaus Bachmann and Igor Lyubashenko (Peter Lang, 2014).

Introduction

Olga Bertelsen

In late March of 2015, a Kyiv pensioner, a volunteer who makes camouflage nets, socks, and underwear for the Ukrainian army, asked a soldier who had just returned to Kyiv from the war in eastern Ukraine, whether the army needed more white camouflage nets to cover their equipment. “We’ve made plenty of them,” she said. The young man replied: “It is warmer now. There is no snow there. We now need green nets. But no worries... We’ll need the white ones next winter...” Fighting in Donetsk and Luhansk for nearly a year, the soldier perceived the Russian-Ukrainian war as a long-term conflict which was not going to end any time soon. His certainty and casual fatalism appeared striking and disturbing to the woman. This conversation exacerbated her uncertainties about the future of her country.¹ There are innumerable stories like this one about Ukraine, illuminating a popular feeling of instability and collective insecurity.

Observers have argued that Ukraine’s transitional period has been “one of the most difficult and prolonged” because the country was hesitant to break from the Soviet traditions of corruption and political passivity.² By late 2013, governed by the Yanukovich regime, the Ukrainians felt that their country no longer belonged to them. The revolution of 2013–2014, known as the Euromaidan, was an attempt to discontinue the vicious cycle of the state’s failures and its inability to function within the rule of law, especially after Viktor Yanukovich’s election to the presidency in February 2010.³ Indeed, the Euromaidan Revolution broke the monotony of Ukraine’s transition and slow progress. The loss of more than one hundred human lives, people who were shot by snipers in broad daylight in the center of Kyiv in February 2014, triggered a far-reaching national

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- 1 Private conversation with Liudmyla Shalaieva, a resident of Kyiv, May 9, 2015.
 - 2 Anders Aslund, *Ukraine: What Went Wrong and How to Fix It* (Washington, DC: Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2015), xi.
 - 3 Igor Lyubashenko, “Euromaidan: From the Students’ Protest to Mass Uprising,” in *The Maidan Uprising, Separatism and Foreign Intervention: Ukraine’s Complex Transition*, eds. Klaus Bachmann and Igor Lyubashenko (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014), 61–85.

awakening and accelerated the tempo of change in Ukraine. The victory of the revolution and people's subsequent optimism, however, were marred by the separatist movement in eastern Ukraine, backed by the Russian Federation. Russia's annexation of Crimea and its hybrid war in the Donbas fundamentally changed Ukraine's priorities in modernizing its economic sector, legal and political system, and jeopardized the implementation of social reforms, so desperately needed in Ukraine.⁴

Despite the fact that Ukraine has been a center of world attention on several occasions over the course of the last century and new millennium, many in the West are still uncertain about where Ukraine is located. The closest approximation they often offer is "somewhere in Europe." Over the years, Ukrainian news that made the cover pages of the international press was uplifting, most was tragic. For example, in the late twenties the West was shocked by scattered reports about the scale of Soviet terror. The cultural renaissance of the mid-1920s made many Ukrainian poets, writers, and theatre directors internationally recognized celebrities who contributed to European and world culture. For the first time, speaking Ukrainian became stylish and fashionable, and the Ukrainian diaspora began to return to Soviet Ukraine to help build a new Ukrainian culture. Yet, in the late twenties newspaper accounts about Soviet show trials against Ukrainian intellectuals proliferated in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain. Unprecedented state violence in Ukraine in the early thirties claimed the lives of millions of Ukrainian peasants during the man-made famine (the Holodomor) and thousands among the intelligentsia, which provoked deep concerns around the world.⁵

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- 4 For a discussion about Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 and the role of Crimea in Ukraine-Russia relations, see Nedim Useinov, "Crimea: From Annexation to Annexation, or How History Has Come Full Circle," 207–26; and Natalia Shapovalova, "The Role of Crimea in Ukraine-Russia Relations," 227–65, both in *The Maidan Uprising, Separatism and Foreign Intervention: Ukraine's Complex Transition*, eds. Klaus Bachmann and Igor Lyubashenko (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014).
- 5 William Henry Chamberlain, *Russia's Iron Age* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1935); Anonymous author, *Experiences in Russia-1931: A Diary* (Pittsburgh: The Alton Press, Inc., 1932); Marco Carynnyk, Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, and Bohdan S. Kordan, eds., *The Foreign Office and the Famine: British Documents on Ukraine and the Great Famine of 1932–1933* (Ontario-Vestal, New York: The Limestone Press Kingstone, 1988); Margaret Siroli Colley, *More Than a Grain of Truth: The Biography of Gareth Richard Vaughan Jones* (Newark,

During the Second World War Ukraine, together with other states, became the bloodlands where mass killings occurred that resulted in tremendous losses of human life. Millions of Jews, Ukrainians, Russians, Belorussians, and Poles were exterminated by Hitler and Stalin in the territories of Poland, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Soviet Ukraine, Soviet Belarus, and RSFSR. The world observed in trepidation the unmatched mass violence that transformed the war into “the most lethal conflict” in human history.⁶

The period of late socialism in the 1970s and 1980s made human rights activists in the West anxious. They alerted the international community about Moscow’s prosecution of Ukrainian dissidents and the use of punitive psychiatry against them. After prolonged pharmaceutical torture by administering haloperidol and sulphazine in psychiatric clinics, the Ukrainian intellectual Leonid Pliushch and the Ukrainian student Viktor Borovskii made their way to Europe and the United States. Their revelations about the psychiatric abuse of dissidents resulted in heated public discussions about human rights violations in Ukraine and in the Soviet Union.⁷

Nottinghamshire, UK: AlphaGraphics, 2005). For more details on the Holodomor, see Bohdan Klid and Alexander J. Motyl, eds., *The Holodomor Reader: A Sourcebook on the Famine of 1923–1933 in Ukraine* (Edmonton, Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2012); Stanislav Kulchytskyi, *Holodomor 1932–1933 rr. iak henotsyd: Trudnoshchi usvidomlennia* (Kyiv: Nash chas, 2008); on Stalin’s repressions of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, see Olga Bertelsen and Myroslav Shkandrij, “The Secret Police and the Campaign against Galicians in Soviet Ukraine, 1929–34,” *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 42, no. 1 (2014): 37–62; Myroslav Shkandrij and Olga Bertelsen, “The Soviet Regime’s National Operations in Ukraine, 1929–1934,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* LV.3–4 (2013): 417–47.

6 Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), viii.

7 Leonid Pliushch, *History’s Carnival: A Dissident’s Autobiography*, ed. and trans. Marco Carynnyk (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979); Viktor Borovsky, *Potsilunok satany* (New York: Meta Publishing Company, 1981); Petro G. Grigorenko, *Memoirs*, trans. Thomas P. Whitney (New York & London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1982); Sidney Bloch and Peter Reddaway, *Soviet Psychiatric Abuse: The Shadow over World Psychiatry* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1985); Robert van Voren, *Cold War in Psychiatry: Human Factors, Secret Actors* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2010); Olga Bertelsen, “Rethinking Psychiatric Terror against Nationalists in Ukraine,” *Kyiv-Mohyla Arts and Humanities* no. 1 (2014): 27–76.

The devastating news about the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in 1986 once again made Ukraine the epicenter of concerns that were overwhelmed by more striking news—the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.⁸ Even then, Ukraine was on the pages of all leading international newspapers that considered the newly created independent state of Ukraine a key player in the politics of destruction of the “evil empire.”⁹

Since its independence in 1991, Ukraine did not follow in the political and economic footsteps of Poland, Estonia, Latvia, or Lithuania. The post-Soviet political order resembled in many ways the Soviet one. Despite the Orange Revolution, which astounded the world with its innovative techniques, the bravery, and sacrifice of the demonstrators, little changed in post-Soviet Ukraine.¹⁰ Only the Euromaidan fundamentally restructured Ukrainian political life,¹¹ awakened patriotic feelings and sharpened national consciousness among the majority of Ukraine’s citizens. A deep re-evaluation of identities and cultural realignment occurred on individual and collective levels, a dramatic cultural change that propelled the state’s nearly dormant transition toward a more unified nation and civil society.

Our hope is that this book will help our readers understand what important changes occurred after the revolution of 2013–2014 in Ukraine, and why they took place. We believe that our analyses will facilitate their discovery or rediscovery of Ukraine, a state whose historical flow has

8 For more details about the Chernobyl disaster, see David R. Marples, *Chernobyl and Nuclear Power in the USSR* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1986); Zhores A. Medvedev, *The Legacy of Chernobyl* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992); Svetlana Alexievich, *Voices from Chernobyl: The Oral History of a Nuclear Disaster*, trans. Keith Gessen (New York: Picador, 2006); Adriana Petryna, *Life Exposed: Biological Citizens After Chernobyl* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013).

9 The first recorded use of this expression in reference to the USSR belongs to Ronald Reagan. See the transcript of Ronald Reagan’s speech “Evil Empire,” an address to the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida (March 8, 1983), *Miller Center (University of Virginia)*, accessed June 18, 2016, <http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/speech-3409>; on the role of Ukraine in the collapse of the Soviet Union, see Serhii Plokyh, *The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).

10 For a discussion about the Orange revolution, see Andrew Wilson, *Ukraine’s Orange Revolution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

11 Serhiy Kvit, “The Euromaidan Revolution and the Struggle for Ukraine’s Place in Europe,” in *Jews, Ukrainians, and the Euromaidan*, ed. Lubomyr Y. Luciuk (Toronto: Kashtan Press, 2014), i.

been at times dynamic, at times stagnant but whose future means a great deal to global security.

We also hope that this book will help more people to see Ukraine as an important counterbalance to Russia's aggression and militant ideology, rather than a region fated to remain in Russia's shadow or as a permanent borderland between East and West. The manifesto of the Russian youth organization "Rossiia-3," founded by Aleksandr Dugin, a Russian ideologue whose ideas inspire Putin, reads:

We are imperial builders of the newest kind and will not agree to less than governing the world, because we are the masters of the Earth, we are the children and grandchildren of the masters of the Earth. Peoples and countries worshiped us and were subservient to us, we governed half of the world, and our feet trampled the mountains and valleys of all continents of the Earth. We will recover everything.¹²

This manifesto suggests an ideological imperative for new generations of Russian citizens, an immediate tenuous future for Ukraine and other former Soviet republics, as well as a possible long-term threat to global peace and security. Importantly, the events in Ukraine, the focus of this anthology, seem to align with the dynamics in other parts of eastern Europe, which reveal the uneven relations between Russia and its neighboring states.

This volume invites readers to revisit conceptions about the immense power of human agency, the ethics of politics, and the morality of human choice. As events of the last two years in Ukraine and Russia have demonstrated, the activities and behavior of a single individual driven by his or her identities, values, and beliefs, have a broader impact, going beyond this individual's village, city, or state: these activities ultimately change patterns and procedures of global security and political behavior.

The discussion of cultural change in Ukraine, provoked by the Euromaidan, and Russia's cultural realignment and motivation for invading the Ukrainian territories allows us to contextualize newly occurring events and, most importantly, to introduce historical, moral, and aesthetic analyses of individuals' actions which shape others people's behaviors, perceptions, and lives. These analyses help us employ history, facts,

12 See "The Catechesis of a Member of the Eurasian Union of Youth," *Rossiia-3, Ievraziiskii soiuz molodiozhi*, accessed June 18, 2016, <http://www.rossia3.ru/katehizis.html>.

imagination, intellect, and common sense to establish patterns of politics and human behavior, which have always been “the ultimate criterion of reality as against illusion, incoherence, fiction,” and fabrication.¹³

Some scholars argue that Ukraine’s history runs in certain temporal rhythms or cycles.¹⁴ Others identify it as “repeated patterns inimical to the consolidation of democratic norms and the creation of a vibrant civil society.”¹⁵ No matter how Ukrainian history is defined, the Euromaidan created a paradigm shift in Ukraine’s development, a shift which suggests rapid change, and illustrates the contingent nature of history, affirming the paramount role of human agency in history.

Although all authors traverse their topics in their own unique ways, there are several common themes that explicitly shape the leitmotif and the thesis of this collection.

Contemporary Ukrainian history and culture serves as a starting point for our inquiry and as the conceptual thread of this book, which helps us grasp, among other things, the deep connection between culture and the degree of coherence in Ukrainian society. Language, art, literature, and religion are the integral assets of a people with a common identity. In Ukraine, cultural construction, destruction, and reconstruction are associated with Stalinism, mass killings, and an enormous loss of cultural artifacts, and this legacy of a disrupted and distorted national narrative and identity haunts the Ukrainians in their struggle to rejuvenate their traditions, the core of social cohesiveness and civilized political culture. The analyses of cultural trends in contemporary Ukraine help us better understand Ukraine’s self-destructive paroxysms and, most importantly, the evolution of national sensibilities provoked by the Euromaidan and Russia’s invasion.

13 See, for instance, Isaiah Berlin’s discussion about the possibilities such analyses grant in his essay “The Concept of Scientific History,” in *The Proper Study of Mankind: An Anthology of Essays* by Isaiah Berlin, eds. Henry Hardy and Roger Hausheer (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), 48–49.

14 Taras Kuzio, “University of Toronto Censors Book on Corruption in Ukraine,” *YouTube*, July 3, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2mCSORPNBh8>, and his book *Ukraine: Democratization, Corruption, and the New Russian Imperialism* (Santa Barbara, California: Praeger Security International, 2015).

15 George Liber, private e-mail conversation, July 13, 2015.