

**General Editor:** Andreas Umland,  
*Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation, Kyiv, [umland@stanfordalumni.org](mailto:umland@stanfordalumni.org)*

**Commissioning Editor:** Max Jakob Horstmann,  
 London, [mjh@ibidem.eu](mailto:mjh@ibidem.eu)

### EDITORIAL COMMITTEE\*

#### DOMESTIC & COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Prof. **Ellen Bos**, *Andrássy University of Budapest*  
 Dr. **Gergana Dimova**, *University of Winchester*  
 Dr. **Andrey Kazantsev**, *MGIMO (U) MID RF, Moscow*  
 Prof. **Heiko Pleines**, *University of Bremen*  
 Prof. **Richard Sakwa**, *University of Kent at Canterbury*  
 Dr. **Sarah Whitmore**, *Oxford Brookes University*  
 Dr. **Harald Wydra**, *University of Cambridge*

#### SOCIETY, CLASS & ETHNICITY

Col. **David Glantz**, *“Journal of Slavic Military Studies”*  
 Dr. **Marlène Laruelle**, *George Washington University*  
 Dr. **Stephen Shulman**, *Southern Illinois University*  
 Prof. **Stefan Troebst**, *University of Leipzig*

#### POLITICAL ECONOMY & PUBLIC POLICY

Dr. **Andreas Goldthau**, *Central European University*  
 Dr. **Robert Kravchuk**, *University of North Carolina*  
 Dr. **David Lane**, *University of Cambridge*  
 Dr. **Carol Leonard**, *Higher School of Economics, Moscow*  
 Dr. **Maria Popova**, *McGill University, Montreal*

### ADVISORY BOARD\*

Prof. **Dominique Arel**, *University of Ottawa*  
 Prof. **Jörg Baberowski**, *Humboldt University of Berlin*  
 Prof. **Margarita Balmaceda**, *Seton Hall University*  
 Dr. **John Barber**, *University of Cambridge*  
 Prof. **Timm Beichelt**, *European University Viadrina*  
 Dr. **Katrin Boeckh**, *University of Munich*  
 Prof. em. **Archie Brown**, *University of Oxford*  
 Dr. **Vyacheslav Bryukhovetsky**, *Kyiv-Mohyla Academy*  
 Prof. **Timothy Colton**, *Harvard University, Cambridge*  
 Prof. **Paul D’Anieri**, *University of Florida*  
 Dr. **Heike Dörrenbächer**, *Friedrich Naumann Foundation*  
 Dr. **John Dunlop**, *Hoover Institution, Stanford, California*  
 Dr. **Sabine Fischer**, *SWP, Berlin*  
 Dr. **Geir Flikke**, *NUPI, Oslo*  
 Prof. **David Galbreath**, *University of Aberdeen*  
 Prof. **Alexander Galkin**, *Russian Academy of Sciences*  
 Prof. **Frank Golczewski**, *University of Hamburg*  
 Dr. **Nikolas Gvosdev**, *Naval War College, Newport, RI*  
 Prof. **Mark von Hagen**, *Arizona State University*  
 Dr. **Guido Hausmann**, *University of Munich*  
 Prof. **Dale Herspring**, *Kansas State University*  
 Dr. **Stefani Hoffman**, *Hebrew University of Jerusalem*  
 Prof. **Mikhail Ilyin**, *MGIMO (U) MID RF, Moscow*  
 Prof. **Vladimir Kantor**, *Higher School of Economics*  
 Dr. **Ivan Katchanovski**, *University of Ottawa*  
 Prof. em. **Andrzej Korbonksi**, *University of California*  
 Dr. **Iris Kempe**, *“Caucasus Analytical Digest”*  
 Prof. **Herbert Küpper**, *Institut für Ostrecht Regensburg*  
 Dr. **Rainer Lindner**, *CEEER, Berlin*  
 Dr. **Vladimir Malakhov**, *Russian Academy of Sciences*

#### FOREIGN POLICY & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Dr. **Peter Duncan**, *University College London*  
 Prof. **Andreas Heinemann-Grüder**, *University of Bonn*  
 Prof. **Gerhard Mangott**, *University of Innsbruck*  
 Dr. **Diana Schmidt-Pfister**, *University of Konstanz*  
 Dr. **Lisbeth Tarlow**, *Harvard University, Cambridge*  
 Dr. **Christian Wipperfürth**, *N-Ost Network, Berlin*  
 Dr. **William Zimmerman**, *University of Michigan*

#### HISTORY, CULTURE & THOUGHT

Dr. **Catherine Andreyev**, *University of Oxford*  
 Prof. **Mark Bassin**, *Södertörn University*  
 Prof. **Karsten Brüggemann**, *Tallinn University*  
 Dr. **Alexander Etkind**, *University of Cambridge*  
 Dr. **Gasan Gusejnov**, *Moscow State University*  
 Prof. **Leonid Luks**, *Catholic University of Eichstaett*  
 Dr. **Olga Malinova**, *Russian Academy of Sciences*  
 Dr. **Richard Mole**, *University College London*  
 Prof. **Andrei Rogatchevski**, *University of Tromsø*  
 Dr. **Mark Tauger**, *West Virginia University*

Dr. **Luke March**, *University of Edinburgh*  
 Prof. **Michael McFaul**, *Stanford University, Palo Alto*  
 Prof. **Birgit Menzel**, *University of Mainz-Germersheim*  
 Prof. **Valery Mikhailenko**, *The Urals State University*  
 Prof. **Emil Pain**, *Higher School of Economics, Moscow*  
 Dr. **Oleg Podvintsev**, *Russian Academy of Sciences*  
 Prof. **Olga Popova**, *St. Petersburg State University*  
 Dr. **Alex Pravda**, *University of Oxford*  
 Dr. **Erik van Ree**, *University of Amsterdam*  
 Dr. **Joachim Rogall**, *Robert Bosch Foundation Stuttgart*  
 Prof. **Peter Rutland**, *Wesleyan University, Middletown*  
 Prof. **Marat Salikov**, *The Urals State Law Academy*  
 Dr. **Gwendolyn Sasse**, *University of Oxford*  
 Prof. **Jutta Scherrer**, *EHESS, Paris*  
 Prof. **Robert Service**, *University of Oxford*  
 Mr. **James Sherr**, *RIIA Chatham House London*  
 Dr. **Oxana Shevel**, *Tufts University, Medford*  
 Prof. **Eberhard Schneider**, *University of Siegen*  
 Prof. **Olexander Shnyrkov**, *Shevchenko University, Kyiv*  
 Prof. **Hans-Henning Schröder**, *SWP, Berlin*  
 Prof. **Yuri Shapoval**, *Ukrainian Academy of Sciences*  
 Prof. **Jukka Shnirelman**, *Russian Academy of Sciences*  
 Dr. **Lisa Sundstrom**, *University of British Columbia*  
 Dr. **Philip Walters**, *“Religion, State and Society”, Oxford*  
 Prof. **Zenon Wasyliv**, *Ithaca College, New York State*  
 Dr. **Lucan Way**, *University of Toronto*  
 Dr. **Markus Wehner**, *“Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung”*  
 Dr. **Andrew Wilson**, *University College London*  
 Prof. **Jan Zielonka**, *University of Oxford*  
 Prof. **Andrei Zorin**, *University of Oxford*

\* While the Editorial Committee and Advisory Board support the General Editor in the choice and improvement of manuscripts for publication, responsibility for remaining errors and misinterpretations in the series' volumes lies with the books' authors.

# Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society (SPPS)

ISSN 1614-3515

Founded in 2004 and refereed since 2007, SPPS makes available affordable English-, German-, and Russian-language studies on the history of the countries of the former Soviet bloc from the late Tsarist period to today. It publishes between 5 and 20 volumes per year and focuses on issues in transitions to and from democracy such as economic crisis, identity formation, civil society development, and constitutional reform in CEE and the NIS. SPPS also aims to highlight so far understudied themes in East European studies such as right-wing radicalism, religious life, higher education, or human rights protection. The authors and titles of all previously published volumes are listed at the end of this book. For a full description of the series and reviews of its books, see [www.ibidem-verlag.de/red/spps](http://www.ibidem-verlag.de/red/spps).

**Editorial correspondence & manuscripts** should be sent to: Dr. Andreas Umland, Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation, vul. Volodymyrska 42, off. 21, UA-01030 Kyiv, Ukraine

**Business correspondence & review copy requests** should be sent to: *ibidem* Press, Leuschnerstr. 40, 30457 Hannover, Germany; tel.: +49 511 2622200; fax: +49 511 2622201; [spps@ibidem.eu](mailto:spps@ibidem.eu).

**Authors, reviewers, referees, and editors** for (as well as all other persons sympathetic to) SPPS are invited to join its networks at [www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=52638198614](http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=52638198614) [www.linkedin.com/groups?about=&gid=103012](http://www.linkedin.com/groups?about=&gid=103012) [www.xing.com/net/spps-ibidem-verlag/](http://www.xing.com/net/spps-ibidem-verlag/)

## Recent Volumes

- 202 *Iulia-Sabina Joja*  
Romania's Strategic Culture 1990–2014  
Continuity and Change in a Post-Communist Country's  
Evolution of National Interests and Security Policies  
With a foreword by Heiko Biehl  
ISBN 978-3-8382-1286-9
- 203 *Andrei Rogatchevski, Yngvar B. Steinholt, Arve Hansen, David-Emil Wickström*  
War of Songs  
Popular Music and Recent Russia-Ukraine Relations  
With a foreword by Artemy Troitsky  
ISBN 978-3-8382-1173-2
- 204 *Maria Lipman (Ed.)*  
Russian Voices on Post-Crimea Russia  
An Almanac of Counterpoint Essays from 2015–2018  
ISBN 978-3-8382-1251-7
- 205 *Ksenia Maksimovtsova*  
Language Conflicts in Contemporary Estonia, Latvia, and Ukraine  
A Comparative Exploration of Discourses in Post-Soviet Russian-Language Digital Media  
With a foreword by Ammon Cheskin  
ISBN 978-3-8382-1282-1
- 206 *Michal Vit*  
The EU's Impact on Identity Formation in East-Central Europe between 2004 and 2013  
Perceptions of the Nation and Europe in Political Parties of the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia  
With a foreword by Andrea Pető  
ISBN 978-3-8382-1275-3
- 207 *Per A. Rudling*  
Tarnished Heroes  
The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the Memory Politics of Post-Soviet Ukraine  
ISBN 978-3-8382-0999-9
- 208 *Kaja Gadowska, Peter Solomon (Eds.)*  
Legal Change in Post-Communist States  
Progress, Reversions, Explanations  
ISBN 978-3-8382-1312-5
- 209 *Pawel Kowal, Georges Mink, Iwona Reichardt (Eds.)*  
Three Revolutions: Mobilization and Change in Contemporary Ukraine I  
Theoretical Aspects and Analyses on Religion, Memory, and Identity  
ISBN 978-3-8382-1321-7

Paweł Kowal, Iwona Reichardt,  
Georges Mink, Adam Reichardt (Eds.)

**THREE REVOLUTIONS:  
MOBILIZATION AND CHANGE IN  
CONTEMPORARY UKRAINE II**

*An Oral History of the Revolution on Granite, Orange  
Revolution, and Revolution of Dignity*

*ibidem*  
Verlag

## Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

## Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

Additional fact checking and copyediting done by Kateryna Pryshchepa

Cover photo by Wojciech Koźmic, courtesy of the College of Europe in Natolin



College of Europe  
Collège d'Europe



The College of Europe is the oldest and Europe's most renowned institute of postgraduate European studies. Its campuses in Bruges (Belgium) and Natolin (Warsaw, Poland) bring together each year more than 400 students from over 50 countries who live, learn and experience Europe together. The advanced Master of Arts in European

Interdisciplinary Studies offered at the College of Europe in Natolin provides students with the wider perspective on Europe and prepares them for fascinating international careers. The programme fosters excellence in research through the academic expertise of its faculty, as well as via two established Chairs: one in European History and Civilisation, another on the European Neighbourhood Policy and the EU's neighbours.



This publication is co-published by the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences and in partnership with the College of Europe, Natolin under ISBN 978-83-65972-61-3.



THREE REVOLUTIONS

This publication is conducted in the framework of the Three Ukrainian Revolutions (3R) Project of the European Civilisation Chair at the College of Europe in Natolin (Warsaw). The project is supported by funding from the European Commission. The production of this publication does not constitute an endorsement of the contents which reflect the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

ISBN-13: 978-3-8382-1323-1

© *ibidem*-Verlag, Stuttgart 2019

Alle Rechte vorbehalten

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar. Dies gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und elektronische Speicherformen sowie die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form, or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the prior written permission of the publisher. Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

Printed in the EU

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	7
Foreword .....	11
<i>Iwona Reichardt and Paweł Kowal</i>	
Oral History as a Method of Researching Contemporary Revolutions.....	17
<i>Barbara Krauz-Mozer</i>	
Endless Visions of the Past: The Paradox of Historical Research .....	35
<i>Oksana Zabuzhko</i>	
The Maidan Against the Matrix.....	53

### SELECTION OF ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

Disclaimer.....	73
Interview with Markiyan Ivashchyshyn .....	75
Interview with Natalia Klymovska.....	105
Interview with Vakhtang Kipiani.....	131
Interview with Mykola Kniazhytskyi.....	173
Interview with Nataliya Zubar .....	195
Interview with Yulia Tymoshenko.....	223
Interview with Aleksander Kwaśniewski.....	247
Interview with Jan Tombiński .....	281
Interview with Viktor Taran .....	297
Interview with Markiyan Matsekh .....	325
Interview with Yuliya Tychkivska .....	343
Interview with Arseniy Finberg .....	367
Interview with Yulia Mostova .....	387

Interview with Oksana Zabuzhko.....	437
Interview with Eduard Drach.....	483
Interview with Mykhailo Cherenkov .....	531
Interview with Andriy Dudchenko .....	547
Interview with Oleg Magdych.....	567
Interview with Rebecca Harms.....	581
Interview with Herman van Rompuy .....	595
Interview with Jacek Saryusz-Wolski.....	611

**TRANSCRIPT OF WORKSHOPS FROM THREE  
REVOLUTIONS SYMPOSIUM**

Context of the Revolution on Granite, 1990.....	639
A Negotiated End to the Orange Revolution 2004/2005 .....	685
The Cox-Kwaśniewski Mission, 2012–2013 .....	735

## Acknowledgements

On 5 May 2016, a conference titled “People Power: Polish Solidarity and the Ukrainian Revolution” was organized at the University of Cambridge. It was during one of the discussions between Oksana Zabuzhko and Stanley Bill at this conference when the idea to undertake a more complex study into Ukrainian revolutions was born. It fit well into the long-standing tradition of the projects of the College of Europe in Natolin in which it was engaged with numerous partners in Ukraine – based in both Kyiv and other regions of the country. In addition, the inspiration to create a whole research programme into the process of social mobilisation and change in Ukraine came also from a different academic work, namely a research programme, a conference and a publication collectively titled “Communism’s Negotiated Collapse: The Polish Round Table Negotiations of 1989, Ten Years Later” which were undertaken by the University of Michigan in 1999 and the subsequent years. This project showed that from such a distanced place as a university campus a research endeavour can be undertaken into contemporary events which only there are calmly and rigorously analysed. Characteristically, contemporary events are often both an element of heated politics and an object of research undertaken by political scientists, historians, sociologists, and representatives of other social sciences. Faced with similar challenges, we decided to derive from this existing tradition.

The outcomes of these decisions included a series of conferences, a collection of oral history testimonies and this three-volume publication. From the very beginning we were supported in these endeavours by numerous institutions that pursue Ukrainian studies. They include: the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta, the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University College London, the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the Institute of Political Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Centre for East European Studies at the Warsaw Univer-

sity, and Centre d'études des mondes russe, caucasien et centre européen (CNRS). Here we would like to express our deep appreciation to them for their continued support. We would also like to thank the experts with whom we cooperated in the first phases of the project and they include: Bogumiła Berdychowska, Marek Cichocki, Aleksandra Hniatuk, Joanna Konieczna-Salamatin and Jan Kubik.

We would also like to thank the members of the scientific board who kindly shared with us their wise advice and supported us in our determination to pursue comparative research in Ukraine. They included: Stanley Bill, Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, Robert Frost, Borys Gudziak, Iwona Hofman, Volodomyr Kravchenko, Jan Malicki, Markiyan Malskyi, Myroslav Marynovych, Grzegorz Motyka, Andrzej Nowak, Serhii Plokhyy, Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, Timothy Snyder, Tomasz Stryjek, Frank Sysyn, Andrzej Szeptycki, Andrew Wilson, and Kateryna Wolczuk.

In addition, we would like to express our gratitude to those who helped us implement all aspects of the project, namely the two international conferences, seminars and the publication. A special thanks goes to: Marek Rybak, Anna Banach, Aleksandra Bellostas-Seweryn, Mariusz Marszałkowski, Przemysław Pazik, Kateryna Pryshchepa, Paweł Pujszo, and Adam Reichardt. As the collection of oral history testimonies are a very important part of this project, we would like to thank everyone who supported us in this research collection. They include: Orest Boichuk, Olesya Yaremchuk, Roman Kabachiy, Anna Kotalchiuk, Tanya Kovtynovich, Liudmyla Levcheniuk, Iuliia Mendel, Iryna Miniaylo, Vitaliy Ovcharenko, Przemysław Pazik, Paweł Pieniążek, Agnieszka Pikulicka-Wilczewska, Natalia Prohasko, Tetyana Pryvalko, and Paulina Siegień.

Materials and primary results of our research have already been published in academic journals and collective works. For their cooperation in this regards we would like to thank the editorial team of *New Eastern Europe* and the *Wrocław Yearbook of Oral History*. We would also like to thank Marek Cichocki, the editor-in-chief of *Nowa Europa. Przegląd Natoliński* for the opportunity to publish a



special edition focusing on social mobilisation and revolutions in Ukraine.

We would also like to thank Andreas Umland, who is the editor of the series “Soviet and Post Soviet Politics and Society” published by *ibidem* but also a respected expert in Ukrainian history studies, for the opportunity to publish our books under his aegis. We would also like to express our gratitude to Valerie Lange and the whole team of *ibidem* Verlag for their assistance during the whole editorial process.

We are also in debt to all the researchers who allowed us to use their research findings and shared them with us in the first volume of this publication, as well as to all our interlocutors who have agreed to share with us their oral histories regarding the events in Ukraine. In this second volume, we publish 21 of these interviews with the appropriate footnotes and references. The rest of the collected interview transcripts can be found on our website: [www.3r.natolin.eu](http://www.3r.natolin.eu).

We would also like to thank the director of the archives of the Security Services of Ukraine, Andryi Kohut, for his support to the project and for providing us with unique materials from the collection of the KGB archives, which allowed us – to a great extent – understand the Soviet interpretation of the revolutions in Ukraine, especially the Revolution on Granite.

We would also like to thank Andriy Meleshevych, Serhii Plohhii and Jan Kubik for writing their recommendations of our publication. Also, we would like to thank Kateryna Pryshchepa for her role in this volume as a researcher and fact-checker.

We would also like to thank all the translators, proof-readers and editors of this publication as well as those who prepared our collection of interviews for print. In this second volume we also include transcripts of some of the discussions which took place during the first symposium in 2017. We thank everybody who helped us with preparing them for print.

Lastly, we would like to express our special gratitude to the Vice Rector of the College of Europe Natolin Campus, Ewa Ośniecka-Tamecka for offering us the opportunity to research Ukraine’s transformation. The outcomes of this endeavour was the

“Three Ukrainian Revolutions” project which gathered academics as well as experts on Ukrainian system changes at annual symposia which took place on the premises of the Natolin campus of the College of Europe as well as created a collection of around 100 interviews which we carried out with the application of the oral history method and was completed by other unique archival materials that offer knowledge of the whole process of change which has taken place in Ukraine since the 1980s.

*Paweł Kowal, Georges Mink, Iwona Reichardt, Adam Reichardt*

## Foreword

We invite you to read these volumes devoted to comparative studies on the problem of the revolutions in Ukraine and related issues like social mobilization and a major transformation (however, under other rules than in Central European countries after 1989). The entire publication will consist of three volumes: the first contains research studies devoted to the problem of the revolutions in Ukraine after 1990; the second includes selected testimonies and entries of oral history prepared as part of the project developed and translated into English as well as records of the historical workshops conducted during symposiums; and the third volume will contain unpublished historical and archival documents on contemporary Ukrainian history.

This volume, the second of the three volumes, as mentioned above, is composed of oral histories from the participants of the revolutionary events throughout Ukraine since 1990. The selection is just a sample of the entire archive collected during the research project period and is meant to provide a holistic view from a variety of perspectives. We include organizers from the first, second and third revolutions, everyday participants, politicians and Western observers and political influencers. This volume also includes transcripts of three workshops held during the International Symposium titled: “Three Revolutions – Portraits of Ukraine” which took place on 28 February–1 March 2017 at the College of Europe in Natolin. The workshop transcripts are discussions with the participants, leaders, experts and researchers – and each workshop is dedicated to one of the three revolutions.

Yet, before starting this volume, it is worth to briefly recall how our several-year research process unfolded. The idea of studying the continuation and change in contemporary revolutions in Ukraine was initially undertaken in an interdisciplinary group of researchers associated with the College of Europe in Natolin. It is worth noting that for over 25 years of its existence, the College of Europe in Natolin has hosted a group of students from Ukraine every year, and the problems of contemporary Ukrainian history

are constantly an area of interest and a part of the academic programme. The College of Europe in Natolin also has the only department in the academic world devoted to the European Neighbourhood Policy, funded by the European Parliament and dealing with the eastern flank of the neighbourhood policy of which Ukraine is an important country. The second department devoted to the history and civilization of Europe, and named after Bronisław Geremek and also funded by the European Parliament, hosted our research project—titled the “Three Revolutions of Ukraine”, or 3R for short. Quite soon, we extended cooperation to several other major research centres as part of the Three Revolutions project. These partners included: the Institute for Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Eastern Europe Studies of the University of Warsaw, University College London, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Kyiv, the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and Center d’études des mondes russe, caucasien et center-est-européen. We also cooperated with centres that document historical events that interest us, including: the Polish Institute of National Remembrance, the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, and the Judaica Center at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. In subsequent consecutive events related to the implementation of the project, researchers involved in contemporary Ukrainian history and particularly interested in theoretical issues (oral history, theory of revolution) from more than 30 research centres around the world participated in our project.

On 19 February 2016, the Three Revolutions project organized a seminar titled ‘The Oral History of Ukrainian Revolutions’. During this seminar we analysed the importance of documenting events and preserving the memory of events in the history of the contemporary region of Central Europe and Ukraine in the form of oral history. We also undertook a reflection on the methodological issues related to oral history and the specificity of using this kind of source. In Kyiv, we trained a cadre of interviewers according to the principles of in-depth interviews and the technology that allowed us to collect a series of oral history interviews. The collection of interviews with the participants of the revolutionary events in

Ukraine were compiled and translated into English. The second volume of this publication features a selection of these interviews and the entire collection is available to researchers at [www.3rnatolin.eu](http://www.3rnatolin.eu). On 20 June 2016, during the second seminar of the Three Revolutions project we managed to obtain new collections of archival documents and previously unknown historical documents, including from the private collection of participants of the events such as, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Volodymyr Filenko and Mykhailo Kanafotskiy.

As part of two consecutive symposiums held in Natolin, at the end of February and beginning of March 2017 and in March 2018, we worked together with participants of the events and researchers dealing with the contemporary history of Ukraine. This method of running panel discussions became a continuation of the research process which resulted in in-depth discussions of participants in the presence of experts during the symposium at the Natolin campus. A similar method had already been used in the past by significant research centres in the world in relation to the study of Polish history: for example, two of the most well-known projects that ended in serious academic achievements. The first was a project initiated in the late 1990s by the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in the United States. Its central point was a conference in 1999, during which a number of discussion panels were organized that brought together researchers on the problems of contemporary Polish history and the post-Soviet area with dozens of the participants of the breakthrough political events in Poland, representing both the authorities side and the opposition (including the Catholic Church) which played an important role in the conclusion of the political agreement in Poland in 1989–1991. The second methodological example on which we partly modelled our project was carried out as part of the Cold War Project (a complete set of data financed by the US Congress under title IX) which was a compilation of various versions of events that led up to the declaration of Martial Law in Poland by participants (Solidarity leaders, generals of the Soviet Union, Brezhnev advisors, Americans among whom was the leader of NATO troops in Europe and advisors to US presidents, communist leaders in Poland such as General Jaruzelski). The experiment was

a closed event and took place in the Jachranka centre. The actors of these events were also subjected to a wave of questions and comments from academic specialists. The experiences of these projects have been confirmed in the case of the Three Revolutions project implemented since 2016 in the College of Europe in Natolin. This included an academic atmosphere, a certain isolation of the symposium site, the opportunity to calmly discuss with other participants and experts, and a broad framework of the whole project using several research methods in parallel (oral history, archival research, joint reconstruction of past events by participants who may still play political roles in their country and not easily meet). The repeatability of certain project modules allows for a positive effect. This has also been the case for the Three Revolutions project.

During the symposium “Three Three Revolutions—Portraits of Ukraine”, which took place on 28 February–1 March 2017, the key issue was to compare successive waves of revolutionary events in contemporary Ukraine as well as to discuss the specificity of each of them. Over 90 invited guests participated from 25 academic centres around the world. Among the guests and the witnesses of history were the presidents of Poland and Ukraine, the former chairman of the European Parliament, and former foreign ministers of Poland, Ukraine and Germany. We also invited researchers dealing with theoretical aspects of contemporary revolutionary movements. The symposium “Revolution, war and their consequences”, which took place on 16–17 March 2018 was devoted to the consequences of the revolutionary events of 2013 and 2014. It was attended by about 80 guests from over 20 academic centres in the world, including former French President François Hollande, former Ukrainian Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk, the Archbishop of the Catholic Church of the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite Sviatoslav Shevchuk, former defence minister of Ukraine Gen. Myhai Koval, journalists, war reporters and participants of the Donbas war. Photographic documentation of these first symposiums can be found throughout this volume.

The third symposium planned for 2019 will serve to summarize the project. Some of the discussions held during the Natolin symposiums are of great documentary importance to us which is

why we decided to publish their records in this volume, so that they would also be used by researchers who did not have the opportunity to participate in the Natolin events devoted to the issue of revolution in Ukraine.

The effect of several years of research as part of the Three Revolutions project is not limited to the three volumes presented here. We have presented partial results of the research on a regular basis as part of the website and special editions of publications including: *New Eastern Europe*, *Przegląd Natoliński* and the *Wrocław Yearbook of Oral History*. A thematic issue of the French academic journal *Revue d'Etudes Comparatives Est-Ouest* (CNRS) is under preparation. The continuation of the programme will be the establishment of a 'Laboratory of Change' in Natolin which will be a centre of transformation research in our region of Europe based on the research methods developed in recent years.