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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 University, 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.

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*Paweł Kowal, Iwona Reichardt, Kateryna Pryshchepa*



## Foreword

We invite you to read the three volumes of the publication on the three Ukrainian revolutions. The first volume, titled *Three Revolutions: Mobilization and Change in Contemporary Ukraine: Theoretical Aspects and Analyses on Religion, Memory and Identity* (published by ibidem Verlag in 2019), includes studies on the nature and concept of modern revolution as well as analyses of the three Ukrainian revolutions: the Revolution on Granite (1990), Orange Revolution (2004) and Revolution of Dignity (2013-2014). The second volume, titled *Three Revolutions: Mobilisation and Change in Contemporary Ukraine: An Oral History of the Revolution on Granite, Orange Revolution and Revolution of Dignity* (also published by ibidem Verlag in 2019) includes oral testimonies of the participants of all three Ukrainian revolutions. Volume three, which you are holding in your hands now, complements the first two publications with historical and archival materials from the Revolution on Granite.

All three volumes have been prepared in the framework of the Three Ukrainian Revolutions (3R) research project, which has been carried out by the College of Europe in Natolin (Poland) since 2015. The project has been implemented by the European Civilization Chair in cooperation with international partners, including: the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Ukraine), the Harvard University Ukrainian Research Institute (United States), the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at University College London (United Kingdom), Centre d'études des mondes russe, caucasien et centre-européen (France), University of Alberta (Canada), and the Institute of Political Sciences at the Polish Academy of Sciences (Poland). Since the beginning, the project was managed by professor Georges Mink, professor Paweł Kowal and doctor Iwona Reichardt, who were also the editors of the first two volumes of this publication. In addition, Kateryna Pryshchepa also worked as a researcher, fact-checker and editor of this volume of the publication.

As stated above, the materials presented in this volume come from the period of the first protest action researched by the 3R project team. This non-violent political upheaval took place in Ukraine in 1990 and became known as the Revolution on Granite. The protest lasted from 2 to 17 October and was aimed primarily at preventing the authorities of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from signing the new Union Treaty of the USSR which was meant to preserve the Soviet state's existence in a modified form.

The Revolution on Granite was organised by young people gathered in student organisations, mainly from Lviv and Kyiv universities and sent a strong pro-independence message to the Ukrainian society. It attracted the attention of both the general public (mainly Kyiv residents who expressed their support to protesters) and the communist authorities, as evidenced in the KGB materials which we present here.

Evidently, the outcomes of the protest included Ukraine's increased political independence from Moscow. The then prime minister of Soviet Ukraine – Vitaly Masol – resigned as a result of the protest action. Equally importantly, the protest marked a generational change within the Ukrainian society and had an impact on its further democratisation. Specifically, many of the participants of the Revolution on Granite became influential public figures in Ukraine throughout the first decades of independence.

One of the main hypotheses of the 3R research project was that the revolutions of 1990, 2004 and 2013-2014 were characterised by an inter-generational transfer of knowledge and revolutionary know-how. These revolutions took place in a wider revolutionary context, starting with the revolutions in South Caucasus, through April and Spring revolutions in Northern Africa. That is why in Volume I we identified these protest actions as circulating revolutions<sup>1</sup>. This assumption was verified in the oral history testimonies and during historical workshops which were held at

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1 *Three Revolutions: Mobilization and Change in Contemporary Ukraine: Theoretical Aspects and Analyses on Religion, Memory and Identity*, edited by Paweł Kowal, Georges Mink, Iwona Reichardt, ibidem Verlag in 2019, pp. 25-31.

the College of Europe in Natolin and which provided evidence that the main reference point in Ukraine's revolutionary experience was the 1990 Revolution on Granite. For this reason, we decided to complete our research endeavour with this publication which provides readers with insight into this particular revolutionary event through the prism of authentic historical documents.

The materials presented in this volume were obtained by our team members. The collection of telegrams (earlier unpublished) was given to us by one of the participants of the 1990 events, while authentic KGB materials (also never published, nor translated into English before) were obtained thanks to our cooperation with the director of the Security Service of Ukraine archives in Kyiv – Andryi Kohut. Andryi Kohut also participated in the international symposia which we held in the framework of the 3R project at the College of Europe campus in Natolin in 2017, 2018 and 2019. We are grateful for his support.

With an aim to add some contextualization to this collection of sources, naturally to some extent dispersed, we created the very first base that can be used by next generations of researchers to complete the whole archival materials of all three revolutions. Historical research has long been based on archival materials, but it has also, since shorter period of time, been complemented by witness testimonies or biographic productions. Written records, like those presented in this volume, give light to the course of events and people's behaviour, but they also call for some epistemological caution. We can here paraphrase the words of such respected epistemologists as for example Pierre Bourdieu who in his works, including *Ce que parler veut dire* (published in English as *Language and Symbolic Power*)<sup>2</sup> and *Le métier de sociologue* (published in English as *The Craft of Sociology*). In these works Bourdieu pointed out to the importance of "place" from which texts are produced as well as the intentions of their "producers".

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2 *Le métier de sociologue (The Craft of Sociology)* edited by Pierre Bourdieu, Jean-Claude Chamboredon, Jean-Claude Passeron, Ed. Mouton, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris 1968.

Analysis of KGB documents naturally needs to account for these aspects<sup>3</sup>.

The collection of archival materials presented in this volume opens with KGB sources, both in the original language as well as their English translation. They include internal notes and reports issued by the agency's officials at the time of the Revolution on Granite. They are aimed to give us insight into the Soviet authorities' interpretation of the developments which were taking place within the Ukrainian national and democratic movement in late 1980s. Today they can also serve as evidence that the KGB correctly recognized the growing power of anti-Moscow sentiments among Ukrainian students. Not surprisingly it was this social group that in the end organised the protest (and a hunger strike) in Kyiv in October 1990.

The KGB documents are followed by a series of telegrams which were sent to the protesting students from all over Ukraine (they are also published in the original followed by the English translation). The presented sample includes 12 telegrams which were selected from a collection of over 100. They serve as an illustration of the society's attitude towards the 1990 protesters in Kyiv and are meant to be used in qualitative analysis. The complete set of the telegrams is available on the 3R project website: [www.3rnatolin.eu](http://www.3rnatolin.eu). In addition, the MAPA project of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University presented the geographical scope of the telegrams on their website.

The telegrams included in this volume were sent to the students gathered in Kyiv in the later stages of their protest, after the protestors (with support of opposition members of Verkhovna Rada) presented their demands on national television. Most of the telegrams were sent from western regions of Ukraine. As expected, their authors expressed support with the protestors. Similar telegrams were sent from other regions of Ukraine, including Donbas and Crimea. Yet, not all telegrams were sent to share words

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3 See: *Archives et histoire dans les sociétés post-communistes*, edited by Sonia Combe, Ed. La Découverte, Paris, 2009.

of support. In our sample there are also telegrams whose authors called for the students to stop their protest.

The telegram section is complemented by samples of public statements issued in support of the protests by Ukrainian public intellectuals and writers. These documents, written in a form of letters or manifestos, were published by *Literaturna Ukraïna*. It was a Soviet Ukrainian newspaper and the official publication of the Union of Writers of the Ukrainian SSR. In addition, the last section of the volume includes three excerpts of transcriptions from parliamentary sessions of the Verkhovna Rada which were convened during the time of the revolution. They portray the decision-making process at the parliamentary level in regards to the protests.

All of the documents included in this volume have been selected, translated and analysed by a team of researchers from the College of Europe in Natolin. They were then prepared for publication and enriched with footnotes that provide the readers (including those less familiar with Ukraine's 20th century history) with some factual aspects regarding the context of the 1990 revolution. In our view, such a presentation is crucially important for the proper understanding of the events that took place in Ukraine during the late 1980s and early 1990s. That is why all materials included in this volume are published in two languages: the original language of the document (Ukrainian or Russian) and English (translation).

Overall, the main goal of this publication is to bring light, through presented archival materials, the context of the first of the three Ukrainian revolutions analysed under our research project. Thus, the materials which are presented here complement our existing knowledge regarding revolutionary experiences in Ukraine. First and foremost, they are an illustration of the political and social atmosphere that accompanied the revolution which might have had an impact on its participants. The content analysis of these materials also points to the negotiated nature of the power transition which took place in Ukraine in 1990-1991. Namely, many of the officials whose names are mentioned in the documents presented in the volume, including members of the communist

party and the KGB officials, continued their political or government careers in independent Ukraine. Relevant biographic information regarding their lives is presented in the footnotes to the documents in this volume.

Lastly, while the publication of the three volumes on three Ukrainian revolutions is the main outcome of our research project aimed at encouraging future researchers to further explore the topic of social change and mobilization in contemporary Ukraine, it has been preceded by a series of publications where we presented preliminary results of our research. They included publications in *New Eastern Europe* published by the Jan Nowak-Jeziorański College of Eastern Europe in Wrocław, *Nowa Europa. Przegląd Natoliński* published by the European Centre in Natolin and the *Wrocław Yearbook of Oral History* published by the Remembrance and Future Centre in Wrocław.

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