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THREE REVOLUTIONS: MOBILIZATION AND CHANGE IN CONTEMPORARY UKRAINE I

Theoretical Aspects and Analyses on Religion, Memory, and Identity



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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 University

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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 the second volume, we publish 21 of these interviews with appropriate footnotes and references. The rest of the collected interview transcripts can be found on our website: www.3rnatolin.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—to understand the Soviet interpretation of the revolutions in Ukraine, especially the Revolution on Granite.

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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 the 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.

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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

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 consists of three volumes: the first one 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 symposia; and the third volume will contain unpublished historical and archival documents on contemporary Ukrainian history.

This book, the first of the three volumes, as mentioned above, will be composed of studies prepared by researchers on the topic of revolutions in the context of Ukraine. The reader will find a section devoted to the theoretical aspects of research on the problem of continuing protests in Ukraine and their nature over the last 30 years. Two more sections will include studies on the subsequent revolutions, which have been analysed in the framework of the research: the Revolution on Granite, the Orange Revolution and the revolutionary events of 2013/2014. In the last part of the first volume, which the reader is holding in their hands, we examine two important issues: the role of religion as well as memory and identity in the revolutionary changes in Ukraine.

In this place, 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, 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, the Centre for East European Studies at the University of Warsaw, University College London, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Kyiv, the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, the 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 the subsequent stages 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 reflected 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. 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 those from the private collection of the participants of the events such as, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Volodymyr Filenko and Mykhaylo Kanafotskiy.

As part of two consecutive symposia 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 leading research centres around the world in relation to the study of Polish history, including two of the most well-known projects that ended with serious academic achievements. The first one was a project initiated in the late 1990s by the University of Michigan in Ann Arbour 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 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. The third symposium planned for 2019 will serve to summarize the project. Some of the discussions held during the Natolin symposia are of great documentary importance to us which is why we decided to publish their records, 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, Nowa Europa. 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.

Paweł Kowal, Georges Mink, Iwona Reichardt