



Call for Papers – Deadline Extension.

International Symposium “Three Revolutions. Portraits of Ukraine”



The scientific and organizing committees extended the deadline for the submission of the paper applications until 20 January. Find out more [here](#).

Interview with Mikheil Saakashvili



Mikheil Saakashvili, former President of the Republic of Georgia and the governor of the Odessa oblast has been interviewed within the framework of the Three Revolutions project. Find out more [here](#).



The much-awaited final symposium of the Three Revolutions project is fast approaching. Find out more [here](#).

Interview with Dr. Yaroslav Hrytsak



Mr. Adam Reichardt and Mrs. Iwona Reichardt have interviewed Dr. Yaroslav Hrytsak within the framework of the Three Revolutions project. Find out more [here](#).

Call for papers – Deadline Extension.



The deadline for the submission of paper proposals for the international symposium “Three Revolutions – Portraits of Ukraine” has been extended until **20 January 2017**. Please find the updated details below.

Date: 28 February - 1 March 2017

Location: Warsaw, Natolin (College of Europe)

Conference languages: English, Polish, Ukrainian

The scientific and organizing committees invite interested authors to send them their proposed presentations based on current research which has not yet been published. The main conference themes include:

- The Revolution on Granite (1990), Orange Revolution (2004-2005), Euromaidan Revolution (2013-2014);
- Protests on the Maidan as an element of Ukrainian tradition and political culture;
- Revolution in Ukraine in light of theoretical assumptions of revolutionary movements in the world;
- Protest waves in Ukraine: comparative context with similar movements in Central Europe;
- Analysis of revolutionary movements in Ukraine: origins, historical inspirations, and social context;
- Comparing consecutive protest waves in Ukraine in the years 1990, 2004-2005, 2013-2014 from the perspective of the proclaimed values (anti-Communism, liberal democracy, nationalism, etc.) and the vision of a state connected with them;
- Analysis and comparison of the methods of protest (non-violent, revolution of solidarity, the Velvet Revolution as a model of revolution in an authoritarian state, colour revolutions, global context: the ‘third wave’ of democracy);
- Influence of the events in Ukraine on the social situation in other post-Soviet states; and
- The response abroad to the events in Ukraine.

The scientific committee expects from each of the authors/papers/contributions an assessment of the state of the research on the problem of systemic transformation in Ukraine and a formulation of proposals for future research.

The scientific and organizing committee of the conference includes: Professor Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, Professor Georges Mink, Dr Paweł Kowal, Przemysław Pazik, Paweł Pujszo, and Dr Iwona Reichardt.

The primary investigator of the academic project and conference: Dr Paweł Kowal

Secretary of the conference: Kateryna Pryshchepa

The organizers do not charge a fee for participation in the conference and the authors of the papers will be paid for their contribution.

The scientific and organizing committees will choose 12-18 papers from the submitted proposals which will be presented during the symposium. The scientific and organizing committees reserve the exclusive right to print the material from the conference.

The conference organizers kindly request that the authors send their final papers for publication by **30 April 2017**.

The event will take place within the framework of the "Three Revolutions" research project undertaken by the European Civilization Chair at the College of Europe (Natolin), carried out in cooperation with the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Eastern European Studies program of the University of Warsaw, University College London (School of Slavonic and East European Studies), the University of Alberta Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, and the Centre d'études des mondes Russe, Caucasiens et Centre Européen (CNRS-EHESS), Paris.

Application Form

(Please send the completed form to 3r.natolin@coleurope.eu by 20 January 2017)

E-mail address:

Name:

Academic title, position, university or other affiliation:

Address, telephone contact, e-mail:

Title of the paper:

Equipment needed for presentations (please specify from among the following):
multimedia projector + laptop, overhead projector:

A summary of the paper (about 10 sentences):

[back to top](#) ↑

International Symposium “Three Revolutions. Portraits of Ukraine”



The much-awaited final symposium of the Three Revolutions project is fast approaching. This unprecedented political, diplomatic and academic event will take place over the course of two days and will comprise three debates, three historical workshops, and three seminars.

The rich programme of the symposium will provide a comprehensive coverage of the Three Revolutions, with topics spanning from diplomatic backstage discussions to theoretical conceptualisations of “revolution” and legacies of the revolutions in Ukraine.

Whilst the complete list of participants is still being finalized, we are proud to present some of the speakers who have preliminarily confirmed their participation in the symposium.

Among the key political actors, who themselves shaped the events under discussion and who will share their experiences during the symposium, we are delighted to welcome President Victor Yushchenko, President Aleksander Kwaśniewski, President of the European Parliament Pat Cox, vice-President of the European Parliament, Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, Minister Borys Tarasyuk, Ambassador Jan Tombiński, Ambassador Jacek Kluczkowski, Ambassador Dietmar Stüdemann, and Mr. Alaksandar Milinkievič.

A strong body of outstanding scholars, who will represent our invaluable institutional partners at the symposium, includes Jan Kubik (University College London), Volodymyr Kravchenko (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies), Myroslav Marynovych (Ukrainian Catholic University), Andrei Meleshevych (National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy), and Grzegorz Motyka (the Institute of Political Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences).

The events will be enriched by the interventions of internationally renowned researchers such as Bogumiła Berdychowska, Ola Hnatiuk, Kateryna Wolczuk, Oksana Zabuzhko, Viatcheslav Avioutskii, Igor Gretsхий, Jérôme Heurtaux, Yaroslav Hrytsak, Andrzej Nowak, Mykola Riabchuk, James Sherr, Marcel Van Herpen, and Andrew Wilson.

Last, but not least, the College of Europe (Natolin campus) and the Three Revolutions project team will be represented by Ewa Ośniecka-Tamecka, Georges Mink, Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, Paweł Kowal, Iwona Reichardt, Adam Reichardt, Kateryna Pryshchepa, and Marek Rybak.

[back to top ↑](#)

Interview with Mikheil Saakashvili



Miłosz Wiatrowski has interviewed former President of Georgia and governor of the Odessa oblast, Mr. Mikheil Saakashvili. The interview began with Mr. Saakashvili's description of his first visit to Ukraine in the mid-1980s. Once in Kyiv, he immediately noticed the difference of attitude between Ukrainians and Russians, which was not quite so evident when residing in Georgia. "The Ukrainians were much more open, much more open, and much more humane in many ways." This was evidenced by the support from his Ukrainian colleagues when KGB detained him, then a young student, for reading foreign magazines and press. Fortunately for Mr. Saakashvili, the incident did

not lead to his expulsion from the university. Speaking about his role in the Revolution on Granite, former Georgian president told about his involvement in organizing Georgian events supporting the pro-independence Ukrainian movement. He admitted, however, that the events took him by surprise.

The interview then discussed Mr. Saakashvili's participation in the events related to the Orange Revolution. Having had a very fresh memory of the Rose Revolution in Georgia, the interviewee became involved in facilitating dialogue among leaders of Ukrainian opposition. At the time he frequently met with Viktor Yushchenko, Yuliia Tymoshenko, and Petro Poroshenko. Mr. Saakashvili talked about the differences of opinion between Yushchenko and Tymoshenko, but noted that whilst Yushchenko was a leader, Tymoshenko was "a really important engine behind him". He also characterized Viktor Yanukovych as having "brutal organizational skills" that helped him to overcome his flaws. Speaking about the impact of other states on the Orange Revolution, Mr. Saakashvili argued that in the beginning there was almost no involvement, but later Polish president Kwaśniewski seemed to have played an important role in dissuading president Kuchma "from some of the worst steps that he would have taken". Moreover, Kwaśniewski's presence in Ukraine highlighted the Orange Revolution's major international significance. The interviewee suggested that, at the time, Russian authorities were shocked by the Ukrainians' determination and did not seem to have a clear strategy how to resolve the crisis.

Subsequently, Mr. Saakashvili talked about his views on the consequences of the Orange Revolution. In his opinion, despite having a decent economic situation, Ukraine did not manage to implement truly fundamental reforms and merely replaced the cadres. He suggested that after a few years, Ukrainian society seemed to have come to a conclusion that it is preferable to replace the coalition with Yanukovych, who despite being brutal was at least capable of centralizing opinions within his group. Commenting on Yanukovych's decision not to sign the Association Agreement with the EU, Mr. Saakashvili told that he believes that "Russians made him an offer that he could not refuse", which explains Yanukovych's volte-face despite his public promises to accept the agreement.

Then, Mr. Saakashvili talked about his arrival to Ukraine in the beginning of the Revolution of Dignity, in spite of being blacklisted, and his participation in the backscene discussions with the opposition leaders. Noting that the European diplomats, who visited the Maidan, were in fact truly listened to by the Ukrainians, he stressed the importance of Polish politicians' presence. Afterwards, the interviewee discussed the principal causes of the Revolution of Dignity, among others the need for forming a de-sovietized Ukrainian identity, struggle against structural corruption, long-term economic stagnation, and some of its mechanisms, such as the increasing significance of modern media. He observed that "[t]he main thing is that people are asking for real changes. They know that symbols will not substitute a real change." Eventually, it is the ability of the Ukrainian state that Mr. Saakashvili considered a crucial criterion for determining the future of Ukraine.

[back to top](#) ↑

Interview with Dr. Yaroslav Hrytsak



Mr. Adam Reichardt and Mrs. Iwona Reichardt have interviewed Dr. Yaroslav Hrytsak within the framework of the Three Revolutions project. In the beginning, Dr. Hrytsak has outlined the most important aspects of his upbringing and self-reflectively considered the ways in which his personal experiences could affect the objectivity of the overall account. When speaking about the trends and sources that affected his intellectual formation in his youth, Dr. Hrytsak listed rock music, French existentialists (Albert Camus in particular). He noted that as a member of a younger generation, he appreciated the

struggle of Polish workers and intellectuals with the communist system more than the older generations. He briefly commented on *perestroika's* failure to deliver any tangible changes to the Ukrainian society, which contributed to paving the way for the Revolution on Granite.

When discussing the Granite Revolution, Dr. Hrytsak pointed out the students participating in the event kept their coordination mechanisms confidential and hence he, as a young research fellow, was not aware what the granite revolutionaries have planned to achieve. *"It was my impression that there was already a generational difference between them and us. They were early twenties, we were late twenties or early thirties."* Then, Dr. Hrytsak has brought attention to dissertation by Anatoliy Rusnachenko, who wrote about workers strikes in Donbas, less prominent than the student protests on Granite, in spite of *"the fact that Donbas was starting decommunisation. Not Lviv, nor Kyiv."* When asked about the reasons for underestimating Donbas's importance in the events in 1991, Dr. Hrytsak suggested that the *"the alliance between Lviv, Kyiv, and Donetsk was not a marriage of love; but marriage of reason, a pragmatic one"*. Once it was clear that Donbas's expectations of Kyiv could not entirely be fulfilled, this marriage began to be full of tensions.

At the time of the Orange Revolution, Dr. Hrytsak was teaching at Columbia University, thus his participation was indirect, but very considerable as jointly with Prof. Aleksandra Hnatiuk he drafted an appeal of the world intellectuals, which was signed by Noam Chomsky and Tony Judt among others. Discussing some of the main causes of the Orange Revolution, the interviewee highlighted President Kuchma's *"russifying Ukraine [...] [i]n terms of political order and political system; especially in case of transferring power from someone who is appointed. From Yeltsin to Putin; from Kuchma to Yanukovich"*. Dr. Hrytsak then commented on the stark difference between personalities between the leaders of the Orange Revolution – Viktor Yushchenko and Yuliia Tymoshenko. Afterwards, he also suggested that the Orange Revolution was an expression of the rising expectations of the Ukrainian society and Kuchma's failed attempt to *"install an authoritarian regime, [when] it was already too late"*.

Moving to the Revolution of Dignity, Dr. Hrytsak has recalled writing an article “Revolution is in the air” in 2013. There were a number of potential beginnings with the “Tax Maidan”, the “Teachers’ Maidan”, the “Yanukovich Maidan” and parts of the society was “waiting [...] which one would get the momentum”. It was the shock of Yanukovich’s decision not to sign the Association Agreement with the EU and the governments vicious response that the straw that broke the camel’s back. The interviewee mentioned that the group of students, with whom he had been with at the earliest stages of the student protest in 2013, had received a call warning against remaining on the Maidan Square when the protesters were first attacked. Dr. Hrytsak pointed out that “there was something strange with [...] these Euromaidan developments” and, adopting a more geo-strategic perspective on the Euromaidan, discussed relations between Ukraine, Russia, and the EU. He pointed out that “Yanukovich was not a good enough protagonist for Moscow [as he] was not loyal. He hated Putin, and Putin intensely disliked Yanukovich.” The interviewee considered a number of scenarios, plausible from the Russian authorities’ point of view, which could lead to reshaping Russian influence in Ukraine. These included, what Dr. Hrytsak referred to as the “Kirgizstan scenario”, in which Yanukovich was replaced with another political figure, more liberal but very susceptible to Russian influence. Afterwards, the interview moved towards Dr. Hrytsak’s personal involvement in Euromaidan protests. He commented on an unbelievable freeze that the protesters faced and mentioned that the only viable method of keeping warm throughout the nights was putting mustard seeds in socks. The adverse conditions affected the *Berkut* troops as well. Owing to the intelligence gathered by Euromaidan protesters, they were aware that the storm police troops “were getting two-days ration for three days”. “Some of the *Berkut* had said that they were actually starving at some point. They had no place to sleep.” The violent attitude of the troops could have partially been affected by this factor, however, by far more important cause of bloodshed was Yanukovich’s propensity to resort to violence.

Commenting on a dominant emotion among the Ukrainians at the time, Dr. Hrytsak spoke about fear. He told the interviewers that joining the vast protest was a way of combatting fear and frustration. On the one hand, coming to the Maidan had a soothing effect on the anxiety about the country’s fate, but on the other, the protesters faced constant feeling of insecurity about their personal safety. The protesters, who waited for “the West, for Brussels, for Washington to send any message that they would [...] not allow the people to resort to violence”, were frustrated and frequently laughed at. Dr. Hrytsak told the interviewers that Poland was exceptional in sending a different signal. This fact that was very appreciated by the protesters irrespective of the side of the Polish political scene, with which Polish politicians (such as Jarosław Kaczyński and Jacek Saryusz-Wolski) going to the Maidan were associated. Afterwards, the interview discussed the first killings at the Euromaidan, among which there were Dr. Hrytsak’s students and his colleague. Despite the indescribability of the shock to the Ukrainian society, Dr. Hrytsak was quick to observe that this was a nail to the Yanukovich administration’s coffin.

The Russian invasion was yet another severe blow contributing to the widespread insecurity within the Ukrainian society. The interview suggested that this mass feeling of fear contributed to the selection of Petro Poroshenko as the President of Ukraine as he was perceived as the most serious politician capable of providing security. Towards the end of the interview, Dr. Hrytsak argued that the Revolution of Dignity was exceptional, as opposed to a few attempts to re-

initiate the Maidan protests (also with the involvement of the FSB), in that it was fought out of fear. “It is not about your enemy. It is fighting your fear that drives you to heroism” Dr. Hrytsak concluded.

[back to top](#) ↑