

Dear Guests,

It is my pleasure to welcome you to the second symposium held within the scope of the **3R (Three Ukrainian Revolutions) project**. The topic of this year's conference – **Revolution, War and Their Consequences** – brings to our attention the outcome of the most recent Ukrainian revolution and the ongoing consequences which continue as a result.

Since we opened our doors in 1992, Natolin has been at the cutting edge of academic study of the European Union and its neighbours. Every year at Natolin, around 130 students from around 30 different countries study one of the most comprehensive European interdisciplinary advanced masters' programmes.

After the 2004 enlargement we have developed into a centre of excellence in the study of the EU's neighbours and the European Neighbourhood Policy. Ukraine, with its history and strategic importance to the EU, undoubtedly has a special place in these studies.

Revolution, War and Their Consequences is the next stage of the unique research project titled **Three Revolutions (3R)** – initiated in 2015 by Dr Paweł Kowal, a Research Fellow in the European Civilization Chair. The project is being implemented in cooperation with Professor Georges Mink, a Permanent Professor at Natolin, and under the auspices of the European Civilisation Chair led by Professor Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski.



In 2017, the College of Europe in Natolin hosted the first symposium dedicated to the comparative study of the three Ukrainian revolutions: the Revolution on Granite (1990), the Orange Revolution (2004/2005) and the Euromaidan (2013/2014). The successful outcome of last year's event confirmed our belief that this undertaking merits continuation.

The programme of the 2018 symposium is rich and intense. During these two days you will participate in a series of debates which gather experts from many disciplines, as well as key political and social actors who have been involved in these issues first-hand. It is my sincere hope that these discussions will not only profoundly increase our knowledge and understanding of the consequences of the armed conflict in Donbas and the annexation of Crimea for Ukraine, but for the future of Europe as well.

I wish you fruitful and stimulating discussions and I thank you for coming to Natolin.

Ewa Ośniecka-Tamecka

Vice-Rector, College of Europe in Natolin

Acknowledgments

We would like to extend our thanks to all the people who joined and supported the 3R project team in planning, conducting the empirical research as well as sharing their own research and expertise with the project.

In particular, we warmly thank the **Embassy of Ukraine in Poland** for the support provided during the whole 3R project implementation, and **Akhtem Seitablayev** and **Ivanna Diadiura** for the opportunity to hold the first screening of the film *Cyborgs* in Poland.





College of Europe
Collège d'Europe



NatoLin

The 3R (Three Ukrainian Revolutions) Symposium
Revolution, War and Their Consequences

16 - 17 March 2018



16 March, Friday

PLACE: Retinger House, auditorium Copernicus

9:30 Registration and welcome coffee

10:00 – 12:20

Welcome

Ewa Ośniecka-Tamecka, Vice-Rector of the College of Europe in Natolin

Opening remarks

François Hollande, former President of the Republic of France

Arseniy Yatsenyuk, former Prime Minister of Ukraine

Rev. Sviatoslav Shevchuk, Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church

Short video introduction

Discussion: International consequences of the 2014 Revolution

Introduction: Daniel Fried

Borys Tarasyuk

Stefan Gullgren

Danylo Lubkivsky

Kataryna Wolczuk

Igor Gretskiy

Andreas Umland

Przemysław Żurawski vel Grajewski

Chairpersons: Paweł Kowal, Georges Mink, Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski

PLACE: Natolin Palace

12:20 Family photo

12:30 – 14:30 Buffet lunch

14:30 – 16:00

II Discussion: The annexation of Crimea – its consequences for Ukraine and Europe

Introduction: **Refat Chubarov, Sławomir Dębski**

Short video introduction

Piotr Bajor

Gulnara Bekirova

Lily Hyde

Alexander Jankowski

Ilmi Umerov

Chairpersons: **Tobias Schumacher, Kateryna Pryshchepa, Adam Reichardt**

16:00 – 17:00

Poster Session

Marek Figura, Łukasz Staskiewicz, *Belarus in the face of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict in 2014-2017*

Anna Glew, *Human Agency and Historical Memory in Ukraine*

Ostap Kushnir, *Ukraine After 2014*

Tomasz Lachowski, *How to Reintegrate Donbas into Ukraine? Transitional Justice Perspective*

Octavian Milewski, *Romania's perspective on Ukraine after the annexation of Crimea*

Katarina Novikova, Wiktor Trybus, *Ukrainian national idea and war in Donbas*

Anton Gabriel Moldovan, *Agenda of the main challenges for Ukraine in 2018 - Political aspects*

Craig Proctor, *The Ukrainian Radical Right Nationalist Movement Post-Maidan: tracing historical patterns and trends*

Paweł Kowal, Iwona Reichardt, Kateryna Pryshchepa, *3R Hypothesis*

Justin Tomczyk, *The Great Pivot: Ukraine's Economic Reorientation towards Europe*

Emma Troop, *Mobilising Ukraine: Understanding the symbolism and slogans of the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity 2013-14*

Natalia Zubar, *Ukrainian volunteer networks in the war infrastructure support*

Ganna Bazilo, Giselle Bosse, *Talking Peace at the Edge of War: Local Civil Society Narratives and Reconciliation in Eastern Ukraine*

Paweł Fleischer, *NATO defence policy in the Foreign Policy Analysis approach*

Poster session mentors: **Aleksandra Hnatiuk, Kataryna Wolczuk, Stefan Hedlund, Igor Gretskiy, Hryhoriy Perepelytsya, Mykola Riabchuk, Tobias Schumacher, Tomasz Stępniewski**

17:30 – 19:00

III Discussion: Military consequences of the war in Eastern Ukraine

Introduction: **Mykhailo Koval**

Short video introduction

Glen Grant

Stefan Hedlund

Bogusław Pacek

Hryhoriy Perepelytsya

Marian Staszewski

Tomasz Stępniewski

Short video introduction

Discussion with direct witnesses of the war:

Władysław Kuczyński

Vitalii Ovcharenko

Bianka Zalewska

Commentary: **Dorota Merecz-Kot**

Chairpersons: **Paweł Kowal, Georges Mink**

19:00 – 19:30	Light buffet dinner
19:30 – 21:15	

Discussion IV: Social consequences of the war in Eastern Ukraine

Introduction: **Bogumiła Berdychowska, Yaroslav Hrytsak**

Mikhailo Cherenkov

Aleksandra Hnatiuk

Kálmán Mizsei

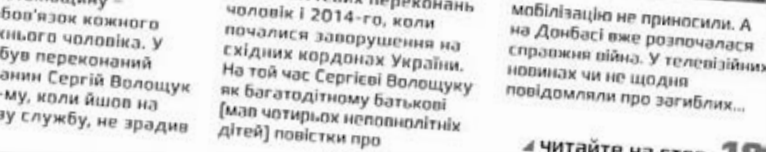
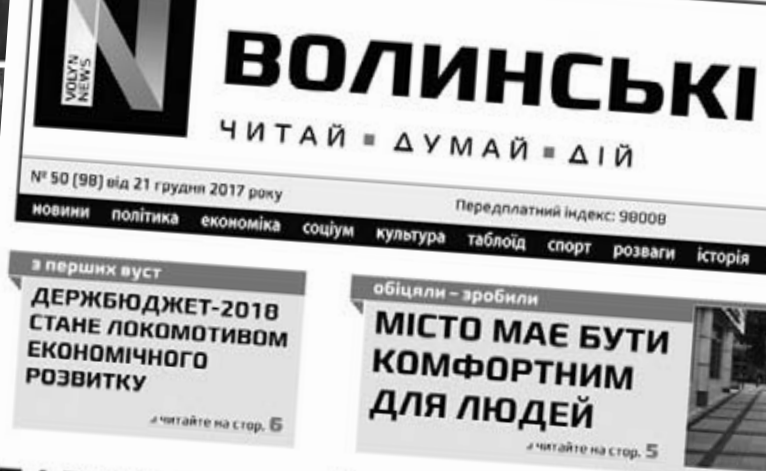
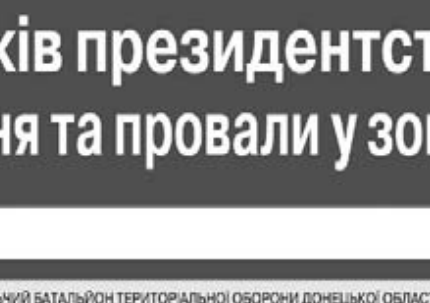
Daniel Szeligowski

Natalia Zubar

Ihor Rushchenko

Iryna Vereshchuk

Chairpersons: **Paweł Kowal, Adam Reichardt**



17 March, Saturday

PLACE: Retinger House, auditorium Copernicus

9:30 Welcome coffee

10:00 – 12:00

Discussion V: Memory and justice at a time of transformation

Introduction: Mykola Knyazhitskiy, Serhii Plokhii

Nikita Petrov

Igor Lyubashenko

Gayle Lonergan

Andriy Kohut

Oleksandr Hrytsenko

Tomasz Stryjek

Andriy Meleshevych

Chairpersons: Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, Andriy Tyushka

12.00 Coffee break

12.15 – 13.30

Discussion VI: Is there a new post-Maidan Ukrainian identity?

Introduction: Oksana Zabuzhko

Olga Onuch

Mykola Riabchuk

Andrzej Szeptycki

Taras Voznyak

Chairpersons: Paweł Kowal, Kateryna Pryshchepa



PLACE: Stables House, auditorium Maria Skłodowska-Curie

13:30 – 14:30 Buffet lunch

PLACE: Retinger House, auditorium Copernicus

14:30 – 15:45

Final discussion: Information warfare

Introduction: Artem Bidenko

Marcel van Herpen

Kateryna Kruk

Taras Kuzio

Yevhen Mahda

Maria Górska

Chairpersons: Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, Adam Reichardt

Conclusions: Georges Mink, Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski

15:45 – 18:00

Polish premiere of “Cyborgs” by Akhtem Seitablayev

Discussion: Ivanna Diadiura, Akhtem Seitablayev

Chairpersons: Nedim Useinov, Paweł Kowal

* Screening organised in cooperation with the Embassy of Ukraine in Poland

THE SITUATION IN THE EASTERN REGIONS OF UKRAINE

30 January 2015 (12:00)



DONBAS — According to the ATO press center, the situation in the ATO region is still tense. The terrorists use various armaments against ATO troops and communities.

The attacks were accomplished in all directions: Donetsk, Lugansk, Mariupil.

Ukrainian troops defend their positions and inflict losses to the enemy and destroyed fire points of artillery and mortars of terrorists' groups.

Report of General Staff of Ukraine Armed Forces from 30 January 2015.

Biograms

Piotr Bajor is an Assistant Professor at the Faculty of International and Political Studies, Jagiellonian University in Krakow. He is also a journalist and columnist for prestigious magazines in Poland. He was a visiting professor in various universities and research centers in the world. He specializes in studies on Poland's foreign and security policy issues, international security with a special focus on the post-Soviet region, as well as social and political transformation of countries in that area.

Gulnara Bekirova studied at the Historic and Archive Institute in Moscow. In 1994, she defended her thesis on "The History of the Crimean Tatar People in Russia in Russian Literature (end of the 18th century until 1940s)". She worked for the First Crimean Tatar Channel ATR and is the author and anchorwoman of Tarikh Syedasi (Echo of the Past), a program on history. She is the author of 11 books. In 2009, she was awarded the Bekir Çoban-zade Award for her monograph "Crimean Tatars. 1941-1991".

Bogumiła Berdychowska is a Polish expert on Polish-Ukrainian relations and an essayist. She was an anti-communism opposition activist. She was the first director of the Office for National Minorities at the Polish Ministry of Culture (1989-1994). Since 2003 Berdychowska has been working for the National Centre for Culture in Warsaw. She is a member of the Polish-Ukrainian Dialogue Forum.

Artem Bidenko is an undersecretary of State in Ministry of Information Policy of Ukraine. Since 2002 serves as a member of the Public Council under the Committee on Information and Freedom of Speech of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine; contributed to the drafting of the bill on Advertising of Ukraine. Blogger and contributor to such online media such as *Ukrayins'ka Pravda*, *UBR*, *Liga*, *Espresso.tv*, he worked as a freelance journalist and political observer/editor of those newspapers.

Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski is the chairholder of the European Civilization Chair at the College of Europe in Natolin and a Professor of Polish-Lithuanian History at University College

London (on leave since 2014). He is also a visiting professor at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.

Mikhailo Cherenkov is a Professor at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv. He is also the author of five essay collections and two books on evangelical Protestantism, and he is the co-author of *A Future and a Hope: Mission, Theological Education and the Transformation of Post-Soviet Society*. He also serves as the executive field director of Mission Eurasia Field Ministries (formerly the Association for Spiritual Renewal or ASR), Mission Eurasia's national affiliate in Ukraine.

Refat Chubarov is a Ukrainian politician and public figure, leader of the Crimean Tatar national movement in Ukraine and worldwide. Since November 2013 he has served as the chairman of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People. He served as Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea from 1995 to 1998 and as People's Deputy of Ukraine from 1998 to 2007. He has also served as the President of the Worldwide Congress of Crimean Tatars since 2009.

Slawomir Dębski is the Director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), a position he also held from 2007 to 2010. He is a historian and political scientist and completed his PhD in history from the Jagiellonian University in 2002. Between 2011 and 2016, he was the Director of the Centre for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding. He has been a member of the Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Matters since 2008.

Ivanna Diadiura is a Ukrainian television and film producer. She produced a number of TV shows for 1+1 and Inter TV channels in Ukraine as well as films *Haytarma*, *Her Heart*, and *Cyborgs*.

Daniel Fried is Distinguished Fellow at the Atlantic Council, former Sanctions Coordinator at the US State Department (2013-2017). Previously he served as the US Special Envoy for the Closure of the Guantanamo Bay Detention Facility, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs (2005-2009) and US Ambassador to Poland (1997-2000).

Emine Dzhaparova is the first deputy minister in the Ministry of Information Policy of Ukraine. Between 2008-2010 she was an attaché as Third Secretary of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs of the Department of social and cultural and humanitarian cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. She was a host and author of several programs on ATR Crimean channel. As a journalist for *Radio Svoboda*, she was an author of the idea and producer of programs on the history of the Crimean Tatars *Tuhra* and on the Crimean Tatar language *Elifbye*.

Glen Grant is currently a lecturer in Human Resource Management (HRM) at Riga Business School. He is an experienced reform and transformation consultant working with the government in the fields of defense and security, justice, education, governance, business and sport.

Igor Gretskiy is an Associate Professor at the School of International Relations of St Petersburg State University. He has held visiting fellowships at universities in Germany and Poland. Gretskiy has published a research monograph devoted to foreign impact on Ukraine's Orange Revolution titled *The Orange Revolution: A Challenge for the Russian Orthodox Church in 2007*.

Mariya Górska is the director of programming, a journalist and a host of weekly talk show with politicians and society leaders at Espresso TV. Expert of the Committee on distribution and demonstration of films in the State Film Agency of Ukraine. Field of interest include international politics, Polish-Ukrainian dialogue, culture.

Stefan Gullgren is a Swedish diplomat. He currently serves as the Ambassador of Sweden to the Republic of Poland. Previously deputy director and the head of the Department for Eastern Europe and Central Asia at Sweden's Foreign Ministry. From 2008 to 2013 Gullgren was the Swedish Ambassador to Ukraine. Prior to that he held numerous foreign service positions, including that of the Minister and Trade Attaché at the Swedish Embassy in Moscow.

Stefan Hedlund is a Swedish academic, an expert on Soviet/Russian studies and a Professor of East European Studies at Uppsala University (since

1990). Currently, he is also the Research Director at UCRS Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies. He has published extensively on the Soviet economic system, Russian economic reforms and the attempted transition to democracy and market economy. His latest book is titled *Putin's Energy Agenda: The Contradictions of Russia's Resource Wealth*.

Marcel van Herpen is the Director of the Cicero Foundation. He is an expert specializing in Russia, Eastern Europe and post-Soviet states. He is the author of three books on Putin's Russia, which were translated into different languages, and is a frequent media contributor to media outlets such as *Forbes*, *the National Interest*, *Project Syndicate*, *the Moscow Times*, *Japan Times*, and *New Eastern Europe*.

Aleksandra Hnatiuk is a literary historian and critic. She is a Professor at the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences. She also teaches at the University of Warsaw and at the National University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

François Hollande was the President of France between 2012 and 2017. Earlier he served as the First Secretary of the French Socialist Party (1997-2008) and the Mayor of Tulle (2001-2008). His political career began by serving, among others, as a Special Advisor to François Mitterrand, a Municipal Councilor for Ussel (since 1983) and a Member of the National Assembly (1988-1993). President Hollande was a initiator of a Normandy format and participant of a peace talks in Minsk.

Yaroslav Hrytsak is a Professor of history at the Ukrainian Catholic University and the Director of the Peter Jacyk Program for Studies of Modern Ukrainian History and Society. His research focuses on the history of Eastern Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Oleksandr Hrytsenko is a scholar in cultural studies and a cultural policy expert. He is a senior research fellow at the Institute for Cultural Research of the National Academy of Arts of Ukraine. Previously he was the Director of the Ukrainian Center for Cultural Studies under the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine. His main publications include: *Президенти і пам'ять. Політика пам'яті президентів України*

(1994–2014) (*Presidents and memory. Memory policy of the presidents of Ukraine (1994-2014)*) and *Пам'ять місцевого виробництва (Memory produced locally)*.

Lily Hyde is a British writer who has been living in and travelling around Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and the Far East for over 15 years. In addition to writing fiction, she covers Ukrainian affairs for international media including *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *Foreign Policy*, *Newsweek*, the *New Internationalist* and *New Eastern Europe*. She also works as a consultant in public health and human rights.

Alexander Jankowski is a journalist. Formerly he was a host and producer of the Black Sea television and radio company. He is the head of the television project Radio Liberty "Crimea. Reality." A native of Crimea, after the Russian occupation of the peninsula, he moved to Kyiv.

Mykola Knyazhitskiy is a Ukrainian journalist, Chairman of the editorial board of TVi and Member of Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada where he serves as the Chairman of the Committee on Culture and Spirituality.

Andriy Kohut is the Director of the State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. He is a graduate of the Faculty of History of Lviv University. He previously served as the Director of the Centre for Research on Liberation Movements.

Paweł Kowal is a Research Fellow at the European Civilization Chair at the College of Europe in Natolin where he leads, together with Professor Georges Mink, the Three Ukrainian Revolutions research project. He is also an Assistant Professor in the Institute of Political Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences. In the past he served as a Member of the European Parliament and the Chairman of the EU Delegation to Ukraine.

Mykhailo Koval is the Colonel General of Ukraine. Since July 2014 he was first the Deputy Secretary, and later the First Deputy Secretary, of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine. In March-July 2014 he was acting as Minister of Defense replacing Admiral Ihor Tenyukh who resigned. From 2011 until 2014 he was the Director of the Department of Personnel

at the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine.

Kateryna Kruk is a civil activist and a political scientist. She is a co-founder of the international network called Global Ukrainians. Currently she is a Fellow at the European Values Think Tank's Kremlin Watch Program. Previously, she worked as a spokesperson of the Ministry of Agriculture of Ukraine (2014), Ministry of Health (2017) and as a political adviser at the European Parliament (2015-2016).

Władysław Kuczyński was a participant of the Euromaidan and ATO (Anti-terrorist operation) in Eastern Ukraine. Currently, he is a volunteer at the General Consulate of the Republic of Poland in Lviv.

Taras Kuzio is an expert on crime, corruption, politics and nationalism in the USSR, Ukraine, Russia and Eurasia. He is currently a Senior Research Associate at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, and a Non-Resident Fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University.

Gayle Lonergan is a graduate of Cambridge and Oxford Universities. She specializes in modern history. Since graduating, she has held several research fellowships in modern history at Oxford University, the National Research University as well as the Higher School of Economics in St Petersburg, Russia. Her area of expertise includes late 19th century/early 20th century history.

Danylo Lubkivsky is a Ukrainian diplomat and politician. He is also a former advisor to Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk and former Deputy Foreign Minister of Ukraine. He was a participant of numerous bilateral and multilateral negotiations, Ukraine's activities in the UN Security Council, the General Assembly, as well as international conferences and fora.

Igor Lyubashenko is an Assistant Professor at the University of Social Sciences and Humanities (SWPS) in Warsaw. He has a PhD in political science from the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin. His current academic interests include different aspects of transition to democracy

in post-communist states. He is the author of the monograph *Transitional Justice in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine. Swimming Upstream* and the Principal Investigator in the research project “Application of transitional justice mechanisms in ongoing armed conflict”.

Yevhen Mahda is a political scientist and a historian. He holds a PhD in political science and is an Associate Professor at the Publishing and Printing Institute of NTUU “Ihor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute” as well as the Executive Director of the Center of Social Relations. He is a Ukrainian expert who examines Russia’s hybrid aggression. He is also the author of several books on the topic including: *Hybrid War: Survive and Win* (2015), and *Russia’s Hybrid Aggression: Lessons for Europe* (2017). In 2017, he published a book titled *Sixth. Memories of the Future*, which is a study of Ukrainian presidents.

Andriy Meleshevich is the current President of the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. He has held this position since 2014. He has been a Professor of Law since 2005. He has widely published in the areas of European human rights law, institution building in the post-Soviet states, political consequences of electoral laws and executive-legislative arrangements, political parties, comparative constitutional law and constitutionalism, and philosophy of law.

Dorota Merecz-Kot is a Professor in health sciences, a psychologist, the Head of Health & Work Psychology Department at Nofer Institute of Occupational Medicine (Łódź, Poland), the president of the Polish Society of Traumatic Studies and member of ESTSS. Her expertise includes: stress related disorders and diseases. She has collaborated with uniform services (police, army, custom service, fire brigades) as a consultant and trainer introducing PTSD (prevention and treatment polices and anti-bullying polices).

Georges Mink is a Professor at the College of Europe in Natolin and Director of Research at the Intsitut des Sciences Sociales et du Politique (CNRS - France), Université de Paris X, Nanterre. He is a sociologist and political scientist specializing in Central and Eastern Europe. His current research

focuses on the question of transitional justice in EU countries. He is an Associate Professor at Science Po, Paris (since 1973).

Kálmán Mizsei is former Head of the EU Advisory Mission on Civilian Security Sector Reform in Ukraine. Previously he was the chairman of the “Making the Most of EU Funds for the Roma” programme at the Open Society Foundations. From 2001-2006 he was the UNDP Regional Director for Europe and the CIS.

Olga Onuch is an Assistant Professor in politics, working at the University of Manchester and an Associate Fellow in politics at Nuffield College at the University of Oxford. Her comparative study of protest politics, political behaviour, institutions and good governance in democratizing states in Latin American and Eastern Europe has made her a leading expert in Ukrainian and Argentine politics, but also in inter-regional comparative analysis.

Ewa Ośniecka-Tamecka is the Vice-Rector of the College of Europe in Natolin since 2007. Former Secretary of State for European Affairs in Poland. In 2006-2007 she was a Polish negotiator (i.e. Sherpa) in the preparation of the Treaty of Lisbon. She was also actively involved in the preparation of the mandate for the European Commission to negotiate the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with Russia.

Vitalii Ovcharenko is a political activist and former soldier of the Artemivsk battalion. He is a graduate of the Donetsk Vasyl Stus National University.

Bogusław Pacek is a Polish General and Professor of social and military sciences. From 2003 until 2006 he was Commander of the Military Police in Poland. From 2012 until 2015 he was the Rector-Commandant of the Academy of National Defense in Warsaw-Rembertów.

Nikita Petrov is a Russian historian working for the Memorial society in Russia. He specializes in Soviet security services. On 24 March 2005 he was awarded the Knight’s Cross of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland for his efforts in uncovering the truth about repressions against

the Polish people during the Second World War. In 2008 he earned a PhD from the University of Amsterdam. He publishes in *Novaya Gazeta*.

Hryhoriy Perepelytsya is the Head of the Department of Military Policy in Ukraine. Since 2003 he has been the Deputy Director of the National Institute for Strategic Studies of Ukraine. Since 2006 he has been a Professor in the Chair of International Relations and Foreign Policy of the Kyiv Institute of International Affairs, the Head of the Chair of European Integration of the Diplomatic Academy, the Director of the Institute of Foreign Policy of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at Ukraine’s Foreign Ministry.

Serhii Plokhii is a historian and an author specializing in the history of Ukraine, Eastern Europe and Cold War studies. Since 2007 he has been the Mykhailo Hrushevsky Professor of Ukrainian history at Harvard University, where he also serves as the Director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. Earlier, he worked at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies as well as the Ramsey Tompkins Professor of Russian history at the University of Alberta.

Kateryna Pryshchepa studied philosophy at the University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and worked as a journalist in Kyiv, covering EU-Ukraine relations. In 2011 she graduated from the College of Europe in Natolin where she is currently a Project Coordinator.

Adam Reichardt is the *Editor-in-Chief* of New Eastern Europe. Prior to assuming the role of Editor-in-Chief, Adam served as the Managing Editor of New Eastern Europe. He is also a member of the editorial board of the Central European Journal of International and Strategic Studies (CEJISS).

Iwona Reichardt is the Deputy Chief Editor of New Eastern Europe. She holds a PhD in political science from the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Her previous experience includes work with *Foreign Policy* magazine in Washington DC and policy analysis work with the World Bank. She is also the author of a number of academic texts, journalistic articles and papers.

Mykola Riabchuk is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Political and Nationalities’ Studies in Kyiv. He is member of the editorial boards of *Krytyka*, *New Eastern Europe* and the *Journal* of South Eastern Europe. From 1985 until 1994 Riabchuk worked as an Editor of *Vsesvit*, a journal dedicated to translations of literature from foreign languages.

Ihor Rushchenko is a Professor at the Department of Sociological and Political Sciences at the National Technical University “Kharkiv Polytechnic Institute”. He is a Member of the Board of the Sociological Association of Ukraine, the Chairman of the Research Committee on Sociology of Law and Deviant Behaviour.

Akhtem Seitablayev is a theater and film actor, a film director and a TV host. He is a Ukrainian of Crimean Tatar descent. Born in Uzbek SSR, his family moved to Crimea in 1989. He graduated from the Kyiv National I.K. Karpenko-Kary Theatre, Cinema and Television University. His film credits include: *Mamai* (actor), *Haytarma* (director), *Her Heart* (director) and *Cyborgs* (director). In 2017 he was awarded the Order of Merit by the President of Ukraine.

Tobias Schumacher is the chairholder of European Neighborhood Policy Chair at the College of Europe in Natolin. His research interests focus on European Neighborhood Policy, European-Mediterranean relations as well as politics of the Middle East and North Africa and the South Caucasus, respectively. He is the author of four books and numerous book chapters, research articles and policy papers.

His Beatitude **Sviatoslav Shevchuk** began his religious education in 1991-1992 at the Don Bosco Theological Seminary in Buenos Aires. From 1994 to 1999 he studied at the Papal University of St Thomas Aquinas in Rome, where he received his doctoral degree in theological anthropology on the moral roots of theology in the Byzantine theological tradition. From 1999 to 2000 he served as Prefect of the Lviv Holy Spirit Theological Seminary. From 2000 to 2007 he was Vice-Rector of the seminary. In 2001 he became Vice-Dean of the Theology Department at the Lviv Theological Academy. On 23 March 2011, at

the election held by the Synod of bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, he was named Major Archbishop of the church.

Marian Staszewski is a Polish diplomat who served in many diplomatic missions abroad, including Ho Chi Minh City (in the International Commission on Control and Supervision in South Vietnam), Kuala Lumpur, Vienna (CSCE/OSCE Review Conference) and New York (Polish Mission to the United Nations). In the United Nations he served as Deputy Head of the UN Office of the Secretary-General in Iran, Kuwait, Iraq and Georgia. From 2014 to 2017 he was a Deputy Special Representative of the CIO OSCE to the peace talks on the conflict in Eastern Ukraine.

Tomasz Stępniewski is an Associate Professor at the Institute of Political Science and International Affairs (Faculty of Social Sciences) at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. He was involved in a number of research projects dealing with developments in the post-Soviet space while, at the same time, engaged in expert-level discussions and negotiations on related issues. His main research interests include: the EU's policy towards its eastern neighbourhood, international relations of the Commonwealth of Independent States, and Russia's policy towards Eastern Europe.

Tomasz Stryjek is a historian, political scientist, lecturer at Collegium Civitas since 2008 (from 2013 an employee of the Institute of Sociology, CC); since 1996 a researcher at the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences (since 2008 an associate professor). He specializes in the history of modern and contemporary Ukraine – explores its collective memory, historiography, historical policy, identity transformation, relations with neighbors. He is the author of over 50 books and articles about the history and present day of Eastern Europe.

Daniel Szeligowski is a Senior Research Fellow within the Eastern Europe program at the Polish Institute of International Affairs. He is an economist and a political scientist. From 2013 to 2017 he was a PhD student at the Warsaw School of Economics, where he is currently finishing his

PhD thesis on EU-Ukraine relations. His expertise include: political and economic situation in Ukraine, Polish foreign policy, EU external relations.

Andrzej Szeptycki is a graduate of the Institute of International Relations and the DEA Postgraduate Studies in History at the University of Paris-Sorbonne. From 2005 until 2009 he was an Analyst at the Polish Institute of International Affairs, specializing in Ukraine and France. He is a Member of the board of the Warsaw branch of the Polish Association for International Studies. Currently, he holds the post of Associate Professor at the Institute of International Relations (Warsaw University). He is also the coordinator of the Centre of Polish and European Studies at the Institute of International Relations of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

Borys Tarasyuk is a Ukrainian diplomat and politician. He was twice Minister at Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (1998-2000, 2005-2007). Since 2015 he is a Vice President of the EURONEST Parliamentary Assembly, after being its co-president between 2011 and 2015. He is the Founder of the Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation and has been its director since 2001. He is founder and chairman of the Board of the Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation. He was the leader of the political party "People's Movement of Ukraine" from 2003 until 2012, and a Deputy Head of All-Ukraine Union "Bat'kivschyna" party since 2013.

Andriy Tyushka is working in the ENP Chair at the College of Europe in Natolin as a Research Fellow having previously held a Post-Doctoral Fellowship position with the Chair in 2014. He is also a member of the *Strategic Partnerships Group* at the Nicolaus Copernicus University of Toruń (Poland) and an editor of the *Polish-Studies. Interdisciplinary* online platform run by the European University Viadrina in Frankfurt/Oder.

Ilmi Umerov is a Member of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People, a Ukrainian and a Crimean Tatar politician and a public servant. He holds a number of positions in the government of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the Parliament of Crimea. At the time of Russia's

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Oksana Zabuzhko is a leading Ukrainian writer, poet, essayist and public intellectual. She is a graduate of the Department of Philosophy of Taras Shevchenko University of Kyiv (1982). After having completed her post-graduate studies there, she obtained a PhD in Philosophy of Arts in 1987. Since then she has been working as an associate scholar for the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv. Her works have been widely translated in Central and Eastern Europe and she has won many literary awards.

Bianka Zalewska is a journalist for Espresso TV – a Ukrainian television channel. Apart from being the journalist, she is also a war correspondent, volunteer, TV producer, translator, and a PR-manager. She initiated and co-organized many charitable activities, and humanitarian campaigns.

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The 3R Project

Given the importance of the revolutions in the recent history of Ukraine the project aims to analyse the three most significant protests which have taken place in Ukraine since 1990:

Revolution on Granite (1990) // Orange Revolution (2004-2005) // Euromaidan Revolution (2013-2014)

The last three decades of the history of Ukraine has been marked by three waves of protests at Independence Square (Майдан Незалежності) in Kyiv whose scale and impact have attracted the attention of international public opinion. The Revolution on Granite in 1990 was the first of these protests, leading, for the first time in the history of the USSR, to a high-ranking official's resignation under the pressure of public opinion, and prefiguring the revolutionary demonstrations of the following years. The revolutions of 2004/2005 and of 2013/2014 were exceptional in terms of their scale and impact on EU and American policies in the region. In particular, the events of 2013/2014, internationally known as 'the Euromaidan', met with wide European and international responses. 'Maidans' supporting the protests in Ukraine gathered in London, Vienna, Warsaw and New York. Moreover, the protests brought about a pro-Western change in Ukrainian politics. This allows us to perceive Ukrainian revolutions as milestones in the country's road to integration with the West in general, and the EU in particular.

To contextualize our research, we look at three dimensions: first we treat the Maidan protests as a part of Ukrainian political culture, second we apply the theoretical framework of contemporary studies of revolutions, asking whether the protests were 'refolutions' (the phrase coined by Timothy Garton Ash), or whether the changes introduced by them in fact only affected the governing circles. Finally, we compare the Ukrainian revolutions to the third and fourth wave of democratization, that is, to

the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989, and to the 'colour' revolutions in the post-Soviet space in the 2000s.

Our goal is, firstly, to provide a multi-dimensional analysis of the events in Ukraine. Additionally we want to stimulate further academic debate, with the College of Europe in Natolin taking a lead in this regards. To achieve this, we interviewed selected participants and leaders of the 1990, 2004/2005 and 2013/2014 protests. The analysis of these oral history sources together with media and documentary accounts of the revolutions will allow an interdisciplinary study of contemporary revolutionary movements in the post-Soviet space. Furthermore, by making our oral history repository publicly available, we hope to present students of modern Ukrainian history, society and politics with unique research material.

We invited leading experts in modern Ukrainian studies to collaborate with our team aiming at establishing a network of research centres in Ukraine, Poland, the UK, France, the US and Canada. During a series of conferences, increasing in scope and scale, we shall develop and assess effective research tools, reflect on their state of the art, and, finally, take part in the debate on the meaning and impact of popular protests on contemporary Ukraine.

Thus far the outcomes of our work include special thematic issues of professional and academic journals in which we presented partial results of our research. They included such publications as *New Eastern Europe*, *Przegląd Natoliński* and *Wrocławski Rocznik Historii Mówionej*. Under way are also preparations for a special edition of *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*. The overall outcomes of our endeavours will be presented in a three-volume book titled *Three Revolutions: Between mobilization and change*, which is currently being edited for publication.

All the resource materials gathered by the 3R Project have been made publicly available on the website www.3rnatolin.eu which now constitutes a unique oral history repository for the study of mass mobilization in Ukraine in the last 25 years.

Institutional Partners:

Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance
Jan Nowak-Jeziorański College of Eastern Europe
New Eastern Europe

Academic Partners:

The University of Alberta, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
Centre d'études des mondes russe, caucasien et centre-européen (CERCEC)
University College London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies
Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute
National University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy"
The Eastern European Studies program of the University of Warsaw
The Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences

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European Review, BiznesAlert.pl, Eastbook, Defence24.pl, Espresso.tv.





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Prof. **Timothy Snyder**, Bird White Housum Professor of History at Yale University.

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Prof. **Frank Sysyn**, Director of the Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Prof. **Andrew Wilson**, professor at UCL SSEES specializing in Ukraine and comparative politics of democratization in post-Soviet states.

Prof. **Kateryna Wolczuk**, works at the Centre for Russian, European and Eurasian Studies at University of Birmingham.

College of Europe in Natolin

The Natolin campus of the College in Warsaw was established in 1992 in the aftermath of the 1989 revolutions and in anticipation of the EU’s eastern enlargement. Today, the Natolin campus is at the cutting edge of academic study of new developments in the EU. Its European Interdisciplinary Studies programme including courses in EU institutions, Law, Economics, Politics and Policies attracts students from all over Europe who are seeking a truly multicultural experience and an international career.

Located in the largest central European Member State of the EU, close to its Eastern border, its programme allows students to become familiar with the political and socio-economic developments of Central and Eastern Europe, as well as with the new policies developed by the EU to shape its relationship with its neighbours following enlargement. The College of Europe’s Natolin (Warsaw) campus is part of a 120-hectare historical park and nature reserve - formerly the Royal hunting palace of Natolin - situated in the southern part of Warsaw.

Natolin - a historical place

The history of Natolin began in the late 17th century when the Polish monarch Jan III Sobieski bought an area of land near his already existing residence at Wilanów and established a pheasantry. The term “pheasantry” has stuck in relation to the whole area: one of the streets in today’s Warsaw district Ursynów is called Przy Bażantarni (“by the Pheasantry”). King Sobieski was the most notable monarch of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and was celebrated as “the Savior of Vienna and Western European civilisation” after his victory over the Ottoman Empire during the Battle of Vienna in 1683. The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was the largest and one of the most populous countries in 16th and 17th century Europe. It was marked by immense ethnic diversity and by unusual religious tolerance.

Prince August Aleksander Czartoryski, who erected the Natolin palace, together with his

family, led the regeneration of the Polish state at the political level before the first partition of Poland in 1772. His grandson, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski was the greatest Polish statesmen and diplomat of the 19th century. He developed and devoted himself to a programme designed to restructure Europe, to end repression, and to build a community of free and independent states, including a reconstituted Poland. In recognition of this, in 1975/76 he was the patron of the promotion at the College of Europe, Bruges.

Princess Izabela Lubomirska who inherited Natolin as a part of Wilanow in the middle of the 18th century, was one of the most eminent women of that era in Poland. Apart from her political activities she distinguished herself as a protector of peasants.

Count Stanisław Kostka Potocki, who became a successor to Natolin at the end of the 18th century had the greatest influence on the shape of Natolin Palace. He was a Polish nobleman, politician, writer, publicist, collector and patron of the arts. He held high state appointments including: Prime Minister, Chairman of the Council of State and the Council of Senate. He was one of the most eminent representatives of the Enlightenment in Poland.

Ideas from that period led to the great achievement of Poland, the Constitution of the 3rd May 1791, the second-oldest written constitution in the world, as well as other reforms, like the creation of the the Commission of National Education (Komisja Edukacji Narodowej) KEN, the first ministry of education in the world. Stanisław Kostka Potocki was the chairman of the Commission from 1810. The main road in the district Ursynów is named in commemoration of KEN.

The next generation of proprietors, Count Aleksander Potocki and his wife Anna, transformed the Pheasantry into a park residence. The park was created by Countess Anna Potocka, a well-educated noble lady with a great sense of culture. The park was maintained in the English style with full respect for elements of natural beauty, and as a result, portions of the original forest have survived.

The name Natolin derives from their daughter, Natalia, who passed away at 23 soon after giving birth to her daughter with Prince Roman Sanguszkó, who was himself a Polish aristocrat, patriot, political and social activist. Soon after Natalia’s death Sanguszkó took part in the November Uprising against Russia in 1830. After the fall of the Uprising the Russian court revoked his noble status, confiscated of all his property (one of the largest fortunes in the region) and exiled him to Siberia.

Sanguszkó was compelled to walk the entire way to Siberia (about 3300 km) in chains for his part in the Uprising, as was usual at the time. Prince Sanguszkó spent fifteen years at Siberia. His life is the subject of “Prince Roman” (1910), one of Joseph Conrad’s short stories.

Wincenty Kasprzycki
„Widok pałacu w Natolinie od strony dziedzińca”,
View of the palace in Natolin from the courtyard, 1834

The splendid period of developments of Natolin park and palace ended with the death of Aleksander Potocki. The next administrators of estate, his son August and his daughter-in-law Alexandra, did not maintain the property, so Natolin began to fall into decline.

The Natolin Palace edifice is among the few historical monuments in Warsaw which survived World War II. However, during the Warsaw Rising in 1944 onwards the German soldiers residing in Natolin intentionally wrecked the grounds, looting interiors and damaging buildings. Especially, the monument in honour of Natalia was defaced when it was used for target practice. In 1945, Natolin became a state property and underwent important restorations. It became the residence of the President of the Republic and then the estate passed into the hands of the Council of Ministers.

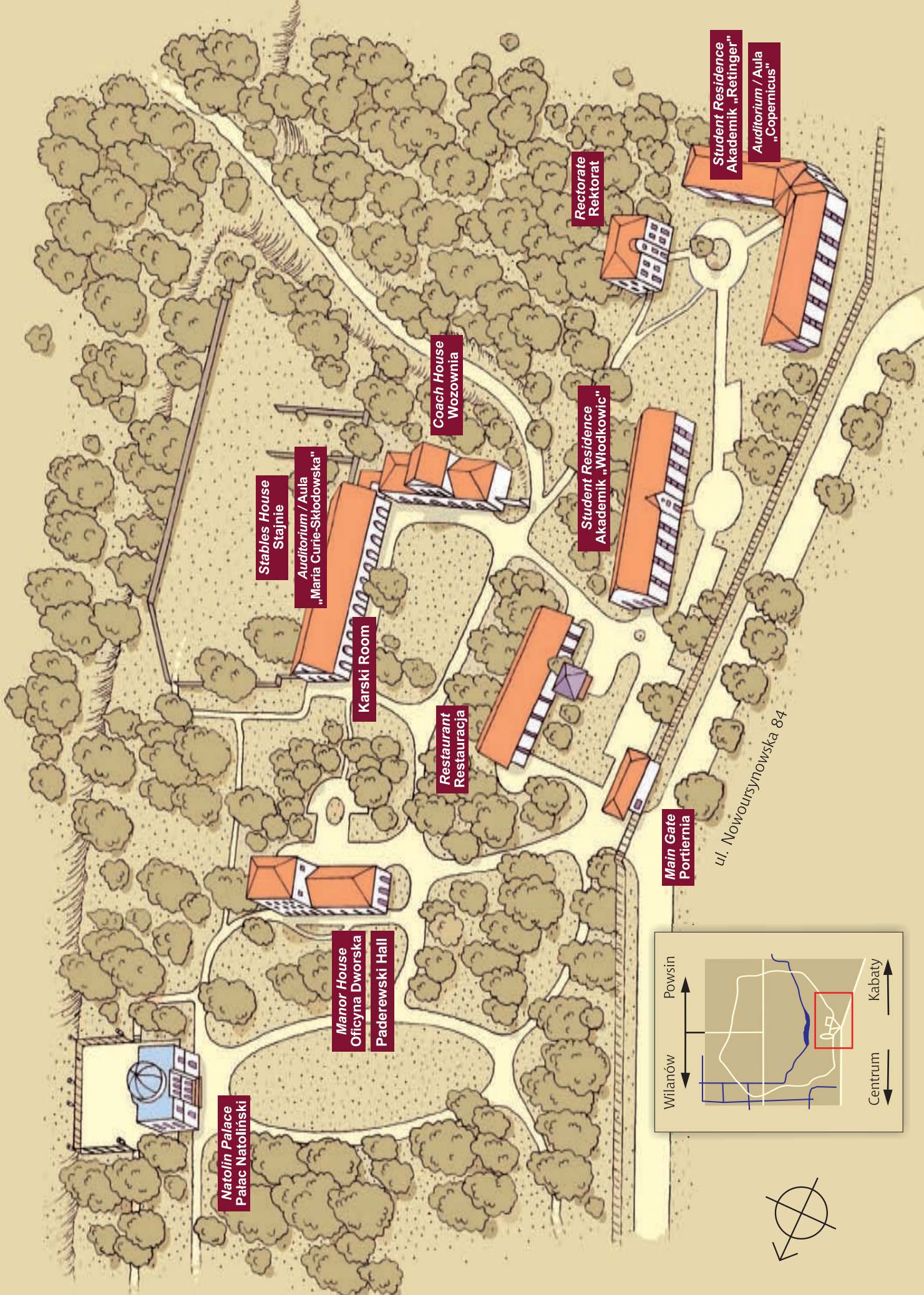






**Symposium Three Revolutions
Portraits of Ukraine**
28 February – 1 March 2017





Natolin Palace
Pałac Natoliński

Manor House
Oficyna Dworska
Paderewski Hall

Stables House
Stajnie
Auditorium / Aula
„Maria Curie-Skłodowska”

Karski Room

Restaurant
Restauracja

Coach House
Wozownia

Student Residence
Akademik „Włodkowic”

Rectorate
Rektorat

Main Gate
Portiernia

ul. Nowoursynowska 84

Student Residence
Akademik „Retinger”

Auditorium / Aula
„Copernicus”

