

Dear Guests,

Welcome to the International Symposium “Three Revolutions – Portraits of Ukraine” at the Natolin Campus of the College of Europe.

Since its inception, Natolin has been at the cutting edge of the academic study of the European Union and its neighbours. When we opened our doors in 1992, our chief focus was on the historic task of enlargement. Since 2004, we have developed into a centre of excellence in the study of the EU’s European

Neighbourhood Policy and the states that are concerned by it. Ukraine, with its history and strategic importance, undoubtedly has a special place in these studies. Currently at Natolin, 130 students from 33 countries and 6 continents study one of the most comprehensive European interdisciplinary advanced master’s programmes in the world.

“Three Revolutions – Portraits of Ukraine” is the final stage of the unique research project “Three Revolutions (3R)”, initiated by Dr Paweł Kowal, Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the European Civilization Chair. It was implemented in cooperation with Professor Georges Mink, Permanent Professor at Natolin and under the auspices of the European Civilisation Chair led by Professor Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski.

In addition, the 3R project has been developed in collaboration with several distinguished academic partners, to whom I would like to extend our warmest thanks: Harvard University, the University of Alberta, University College London, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the Polish Academy of Sciences, the University of Warsaw and Cercec Paris.

The programme of the conference is rich and intense. During these two days you will participate in unprecedented historical and diplomatic workshops, seminars and debates. It is my sincere hope that they will not only profoundly increase our knowledge of the causes and details of these three Ukrainian revolutions, but also help us to develop a deep understanding of their consequences for the future of Europe.

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



Ewa Ośniecka-Tamecka

Vice-Rector, College of Europe Natolin Campus

Acknowledgments

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

In particular, we warmly thank Volodymyr Kravchenko from Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Jan Malicki from the Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw, Andriy Maleshevyh, the Rector of National University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy", Grzegorz Motyka, the director of the Institute of Political Studies Polish Academy of Sciences, Françoise Daucé, the director of the Centre d'études des mondes russe, caucasien et centre-européen EHESS, Serhii Plokhii, the director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

3R Project team



Symposium Three Revolutions – Portraits of Ukraine

28 February (Tuesday) – 1 March 2017 (Wednesday)

(the languages of the conference: English, Polish and Ukrainian)

28 February 2017 (Tuesday)

Place: Retinger House, auditorium Copernicus

8:30 – 9:00 Registration (Due to security reasons please come at 8:15)

9.00 – 9.30 Opening of the Symposium

Ewa Ośniecka-Tamecka, Vice-Rector, College of Europe Natolin Campus

Vyacheslav Kyrylenko, Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine

Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, College of Europe Natolin Campus

Partners' recognition and acknowledgment

Presentation of the Three Revolutions (3R) project

Paweł Kowal, College of Europe Natolin Campus, Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences





9.30 – 10.15 Debate I

Are the old concepts of revolution outdated?

Two points of view:

Georges Mink ISP-CNRS, College of Europe Natolin Campus

Jérôme Heurtaux, Université Paris-Dauphine

Chairman: **Jan Kubik**, University College London

10.15 – 10.30 Coffee break

10.30 – 12.30 Historical Workshop I *(Without media presence)*

Introduction: movie screening

Contexts of the Revolution on Granite, 1990 (30 min)

Vyacheslav Kyrylenko

Oksana Zabuzhko

Motivations of participants, possible alternative scenarios, international context (60 min)

Oles Donij

Volodymyr Filenko

Markian Ivashchyshyn

Vachtang Kipiani

Taras Steckiv

Mykhailo Svystovych

Experts: (30 min)

Taras Kuzio

Markus Meckel

Kateryna Wolczuk, University of Birmingham

Andrij Kohut, Director of the Archive of SBU

Olga Onuch, University of Manchester

Chairpersons: **Paweł Kowal**, **Georges Mink**, **Kateryna Pryshchepa**, College of Europe

и, думки, враження

Place: Natolin Palace

12.30 – 14.00 Lunch

14.00 – 14:15 Family photo

Place: Retinger House, auditorium Copernicus

14.15 – 16.30 Historical Workshop II (Without media presence)

Introduction: movie presentation

A negotiated end to the Orange Revolution 2004/2005 (30 min)

Viktor Yushchenko

Aleksander Kwaśniewski

How to react to the crisis? (70 min)

Anatoliy Kinach (tbc)

Iryna Vannykova

Taras Chornovil

Stefan Gullgren

Mykola Kniazhytskyi

Jacek Kluczkowski

Marek Siwiec

Dietmar Stüdemann

Experts: (30 min)

Igor Gretsikiy, St Petersburg University

Stefan Hedlund, Uppsala University

James Sherr, Chatham House

Iryna Vereshchuk, International Centre for Black Sea Baltic Studies

John Micgiel, Centre for East European Studies University of Warsaw

Chairpersons: **Georges Mink, Stanley Bill**, Cambridge University,

Ioulia Shukan, University Paris Nanterre, CERCEC (EHESS)

«Ні» — революції. «Так» — законності!



ВІСНИК ЦВК: Президент України — Віктор Янукович



ІНДЕКС 61107
232136, Київ-136,
вулиця Майданна

Григорій Янукович
144-45, 45-46-48, 48-49, 49-50, 50-51, 51-52, 52-53, 53-54, 54-55, 55-56, 56-57, 57-58, 58-59, 59-60, 60-61, 61-62, 62-63, 63-64, 64-65, 65-66, 66-67, 67-68, 68-69, 69-70, 70-71, 71-72, 72-73, 73-74, 74-75, 75-76, 76-77, 77-78, 78-79, 79-80, 80-81, 81-82, 82-83, 83-84, 84-85, 85-86, 86-87, 87-88, 88-89, 89-90, 90-91, 91-92, 92-93, 93-94, 94-95, 95-96, 96-97, 97-98, 98-99, 99-100, 100-101, 101-102, 102-103, 103-104, 104-105, 105-106, 106-107, 107-108, 108-109, 109-110, 110-111, 111-112, 112-113, 113-114, 114-115, 115-116, 116-117, 117-118, 118-119, 119-120, 120-121, 121-122, 122-123, 123-124, 124-125, 125-126, 126-127, 127-128, 128-129, 129-130, 130-131, 131-132, 132-133, 133-134, 134-135, 135-136, 136-137, 137-138, 138-139, 139-140, 140-141, 141-142, 142-143, 143-144, 144-145, 145-146, 146-147, 147-148, 148-149, 149-150, 150-151, 151-152, 152-153, 153-154, 154-155, 155-156, 156-157, 157-158, 158-159, 159-160, 160-161, 161-162, 162-163, 163-164, 164-165, 165-166, 166-167, 167-168, 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1227-1228, 1228-1229, 1229-1230, 1230-1231, 1231-1232, 1232-1233, 1233-1234, 1234-1235, 1235-1236, 1236-1237, 1237-1238, 1238-1239, 1239-1240, 1240-1241, 1241-1242, 1242-1243, 1243-1244, 1244-1245, 1245-1246, 1246-1247, 1247-1248, 1248-1249, 1249-1250, 1250-1251, 1251-1252, 1252-1253, 1253-1254, 1254-1255, 1255-1256, 1256-1257, 1257-1258, 1258-1259, 1259-1260, 1260-1261, 1261-1262, 1262-1263, 1263-1264, 1264-1265, 1265-1266, 1266-1267, 1267-1268, 1268-1269, 1269-1270, 1270-1271, 1271-1272, 1272-1273, 1273-1274, 1274-1275, 1275-1276, 1276-1277, 1277-1278, 1278-1279, 1279-1280, 1280-1281, 1281-1282,

■ **Place: Stables House, auditorium Maria Curie-Skłodowska**

16.30 – 17.30 light dinner

■ **Place: Retinger House, auditorium Copernicus**

17.30 – 21.00 **Historical Workshop III** (*Without media presence*)

Introduction: movie presentation

The process of negotiating the Association Agreement with the EU (40 min)

Hryhoriy Nemyria

Oleksandr Chalyi

Oleh Rybachuk

The Cox-Kwaśniewski mission (30 min)

Pat Cox

Aleksander Kwaśniewski

Could things have taken a different turn? (15 min)

Sergey Tihipko

Wine reception break (20 min)

Revolution in the 21st century? (30 min)

Mustafa Nayyem

Vitaly Portnikov

Alexander Chernenko

The “diplomatic backstage” and the situation in Ukraine 2011-2014 (50 min)

Rebecca Harms

Balázs Jarabik

Henryk Litwin

Markiyan Malsky

Jan Tombiński

Experts: (25 min)

Andrzej Nowak, UJ

Andreas Umland, Institute for Central and East European Studies

Irina Somer

Cornelius Ochmann

Andrii Portnov

Chairpersons: **Iwona Reichardt**, **Paweł Kowal**, **Maria Przełomiec**

1 March 2017 (Wednesday)

■ **Place: Retinger House, auditorium Copernicus**

10.00 – 11.30 **Debate II**

Colour revolutions in the East

Chairman: **Jan Kubik**, University College London

Intoroduction:

Viatcheslav Avioutskii, ISC Paris Business School

Marcel van Herpen, Cicero Foundation

Yaroslav Hrytsak, Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv

Comments:

Leonid Litra, Institute of World Policy in Kyiv

Myroslav Marynovych, Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv

Irakli Porchkhidze, Georgian Institute for Strategic Studies

11.30 – 12.00 **Coffee break**

12.00 – 16.30 **Three Revolutions - Four Seminars (one hour break for lunch: 14.00 – 15.00)**

■ **Place: Retinger House, auditorium Copernicus**

Seminar I (12.00-14.00) (*working languages: English – Polish – Ukrainian*)

Chairman: **Tomasz Stryjek**, Institute of Political Studies Polish Academy of Sciences

Volodymyr Kravchenko, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, *Intellectual re-mapping of Ukraine in the course of 2004-2016*

Ola Hnatiuk, Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

Aleksandra Kuczyńska-Zonik, Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, *W poszukiwaniu nowej tożsamości – paradygmat dziedzictwa w porewolucyjnej Ukrainie*

Ostap Kushnir, Lazarski University, *Political symbolism and collective memory in interpreting Ukraine's revolutions*

Alessandro Milani, EPHE-Ecole pratique des hautes études, Paris/ CEFRES – Centre français de recherche en sciences sociales Prague, *God and identities: The role of Orthodox Churches as a vector of national identity and democracy in Ukraine's latest revolutions (1990, 2004-2005, 2013-2014). A comparative analysis with 1989 in East Germany"*

Katarina Novikova, Institute of Religious Studies, Jagiellonian University, *Religion and National Idea in the Euromaidan*

Mykhailo Dymyd, Ukrainian Catholic University, *Theological consequences of the Maidan*

■ Place: Manor House, Paderewski Room

Seminar II (12:00- 14.00) (working language: English)

Chairwoman: **Iwona Hofman**, Marie Curie-Skłodowska University

Igor Gretskiy, St Petersburg State University, *Russia's reaction to 2014*

Ivanna Machtidze, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia, *The Revolution of Dignity and post-Euromaidan Developments: Response from Georgia*

Ilgar Gurbanov, Centre for Strategic Studies (Baku, Azerbaijan), *Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy towards the EU and Russia following the crisis in Ukraine*

Darya Malyutina, New Europe College, *Russian migrant journalists in Ukraine after Euromaidan: 'middling transnationals' or 'voluntary exiles'?*

14.00 – 15.00 Lunch break

■ Place: Retinger House, auditorium Copernicus

Seminar III (15:00-16.30) (working languages: English – Polish – Ukrainian)

Chairman: **Tomasz Stępniewski**, Catholic University of Lublin

Andriy Tyushka, College of Europe, Natolin Campus, *The Revolutionary Constitutionalism: Balancing Consti-tutional Resilience and Participatory Constitutional Change in Ukraine since 1990*

Natalia Pohorila, Center of Graduate Studies in Sociology and Cultural Studies, Lviv, *Support for the protests in Ukraine since 2000: social structure, language used and national identity.*

Yuriy Matsiyevsky, Ostroh Academy, *Ukraine's Modern Revolutions and the Regime Endurance: Introducing "Institutional Trap" Perspective to Study Ukrainian Politics*

Oksana Khomei, National Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of Ukraine, *Comparison of values approach of the three generations of political elites in Ukraine (3Revolutions) in relations to the reforms and systemic transformations in Ukraine*

Anna Osypchuk, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, *(Re)Imagining Revolution: Values, Visions, Ideas, and Ideals and Their Role in Participation in 3R (from 'Revolution on Granite' to 'Maydan')*

■ Place: Manor House, Paderewski Room

Seminar IV (15.00-16.30) (working language English)

Chairman: **Przemysław Pazik**, College of Europe, Natolin Campus

Jennifer Smith, Dalhousie University, Canada, *Activism or Conditionality? Verifying and Explaining the New Influence of Ukrainian Civil Society*

Olena Nikolayenko, Fordham University, USA, *Student Activism during the Three Revolutions in Ukraine*

Oleksandr Avramchuk, Warsaw University, Department of History, *Three Revolutions (3R) in the context of Ukrainian civic resistance*

Valeria Korablyova, University of Warsaw, Faculty of "Artes Liberales", *Maidan as a third modern revolution: solidarity and troubled modernity*

Natalia Zubar, Maidan Monitoring Information Center, *Scale-free social networks in Ukrainian democratic movement*

Andrii Portnov, Humbolt University, *How to write a history of the War in Donbass*

16.30 – 17.00 Coffee break

■ Place: Retinger House, auditorium Copernicus

17.00 – 18.30 Final Debate III: Summary and conclusions

The legacy of Ukrainian revolutions

Introduction:

Mykola Riabchuk, Ukrainian Center for Cultural Studies

Andrew Wilson, University College London

Discussion:

Bogumiła Berdychowska

Aleksandar Milinkievič

Kateryna Wolczuk, University of Birmingham

Oksana Zabuzhko

Chairman: **Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski**, College of Europe, Natolin Campus

■ **Place: Stables House, auditorium Maria Curie-Skłodowska**

18.30 Closing dinner



Biograms

Viatcheslav Avioutskii is an expert on geopolitics, economics and Soviet area studies. He taught at l'École des dirigeants d'entreprises (EDC) in Paris. He is author of among others "Les révolutions de velours". Current he is professor in ISC Paris Business School.

Bogumiła Berdychowska is an expert on Polish-Ukrainian relations and publicist, 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. Member of Polish – Ukrainian dialogue forum.

Stanley Bill is a lecturer in Polish Studies at the University of Cambridge. He focuses largely on 20th century Polish literature and culture with particular interests in Polish-Ukrainian relations, religion, secularization theory and postcolonial interpretations of cultural history. His latest book is "The Splintering of a Myth: Polish Romantic Ideology in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries." Forthcoming in *A History of Polish Literature and Culture: New Perspectives on the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries*

Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski is the chairholder of the European Civilization Chair at the College of Europe 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.

Oleksandr Chalyi is a former First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and State Secretary for European Integration and Foreign Policy Advisor to the President of Ukraine. Currently, Chalyi serves as the President of Grant Thornton (Ukraine). In 2014 he was named a member of the OSCE Panel of Eminent Persons.

Alexander Chernenko is a Ukrainian journalist and chairman of the Election Committee of Ukraine. He has experience monitoring of election campaigns in Ukraine and 10 other countries. He worked as a journalist and political

observer in many Ukrainian media. Deputy for Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada.

Taras Chornovil is a Ukrainian politician. From 2004 to 2008 he was a member of the Party of Regions. From 2000 to 2012 he served as a member in Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada. He was founder of the People's Movement of Ukraine. He was involved in a number of social initiatives and opposition organizations among others Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth.

Agnieszka Cianciara is a deputy director of the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences and a lecturer at Collegium Civitas. Her research areas include European integration, especially the political system of the European Union, EU foreign policy with a particular focus on the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership.

Pat Cox is an Irish politician. He was the president of the European Parliament from 2002 to 2004 and served as a member of the European Parliament from 1989 to 2004. From June 2012 to November 2015 Cox, along with Aleksander Kwaśniewski, led a European Parliament monitoring mission to Ukraine. Since January 2015 he has been the president of the Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe.

Oles Doniy is a Ukrainian politician and cultural activist. He took part in the Revolution on Granite which contributed to the fall of Vitaly Masol. He was also a deputy of Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada.

Mychajlo Dymyd PhD (Eastern Canon Law at Pontifical Oriental Institute). Born 1959 (Belgium). Professor at the Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv, Ukraine. Co-founder and first rector (1995-00) of the Lviv Theological Academy (Ukrainian Catholic University). Founding editor of the canonical issues journal «Metron» (Ukrainian), from 2003 and on. Active participant of the Revolution of dignity (2013–2014). Author of the book: Kaminnia Maidanu, Lviv: Svichado 2014.

Adam Eberhardt is executive director of the Centre for Eastern Studies. He holds doctoral degree in Political Science from University

of Warsaw. In the past he served as Head of the Research Office of the Polish Institute of International Affairs and he was correspondent of the Polish Press Agency in Moscow.

Volodymyr Filenko is a Ukrainian politician. Participant of the Granite revolution. He was a national deputy of Ukraine in 1990-1994, 1998-2006, and since 2007 until the present. From 1990 to 1991 he was the head of the Democratic Platform fraction in Ukraine's Parliament and the first deputy of the National Council. Since 1999 he has been the deputy of the Reform and Order Party and a member of the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc in the parliament.

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. The Orange Revolution: A Challenge for the Russian Orthodox Church in 2007.

Stefan Gullgren is a Swedish diplomat. He currently serves as the 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.

Ilgar Gurbanov is a Research Fellow in the Centre for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Mr. Gurbanov is in charge of research and consultation on EU affairs (including ENP and EaP), energy and national security, and security issues in the South Caucasus countries. Mr. Gurbanov is a graduate with MA degree from the College of Europe on EU International Relations and Diplomacy Studies. He is also a regular columnist on energy affairs for The Jamestown Foundation.

Rebecca Harms is a German politician and member of the European Parliament. She was a former deputy of chairman of Greens/European

Free Alliance. During the 2013/2014 Euromaidan Revolution, Harms made a number of statements supporting Ukraine. Harms was a member of the European Parliament's monitoring mission during the Ukrainian parliamentary elections in 2014.

Stefan Hedlund is a Swedish academic, an expert on Soviet/Russian studies, and 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 a *"Putin's Energy Agenda: The Contradictions of Russia's Resource Wealth"*

Marcel van Herpen director of Cicero Foundation. Expert specializing in Russia, Eastern Europe and post-Soviet states. He is the author of three books on Putin's Russia, which were translated in different languages and a frequent media contributor (*Forbes*, the *National Interest*, *Project Syndicate*, the *Moscow Times*, *Japan Times*, and *New Eastern Europe*).

Jérôme Heurtaux is a professor of political science at Université Paris Dauphine. He is an author of several books and articles about democratic transition process in Poland. He also conducts several researches about "Arab Spring". His author *"Introduction à l'Europe postcommuniste"*, Bruxelles, De Boeck".

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 teaches also at the University of Warsaw and the National University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

Iwona Hofman is a professor of humanities and the head of the Department of Journalism and Research Laboratory of the Literary Institute in Paris. She is also a professor at the University of St. Cyril and Methodius in Trnava and an expert with the Taras Shevchenko National University in Kyiv. She is the dean of the Faculty of Political Science Maria Curie-Skłodowska University.

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.

Markiyan Ivashchyshyn is a Ukrainian public, political and cultural activist. He was one of the leaders of the Revolution on Granite. He has been the director of the Art Association Dzyga since 1993. Founder of PORA civic youth organization.

Balázs Jarabik is a nonresident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, where his research focuses on Eastern and Central Europe with a particular focus on Ukraine. He was a civic activist in Slovakia in the 1990s and later co-founded the Bratislava-based Pontis Foundation's international development projects in the Balkans and the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Anatoliy Kinakh is a Ukrainian politician and honorary professor at the Mykolaiv Government Humanitarian University. Kinakh is a former deputy in the Verkhovna Rada and was a Prime Minister between 2001 and 2002 and served several times as Deputy Prime Minister. He was an active participant in the Orange Revolution in 2004.

Vakhtang Kipiani is a Ukrainian journalist, essayist and historian. He is the editor in chief of „Історична правда” (*Istorychna pravda*). Its a part of "Українська правда" publishing about historical topics.

Jacek Kluczkowski is a Polish diplomat, civil servant and journalist. From 2005 to 2010 he was the Polish Ambassador to Ukraine and from 2011 to 2015 the Polish Ambassador to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. He also served as an advisor to President Aleksander Kwaśniewski and was the head of the team of advisors to Prime Minister Marek Belka.

Mykola Knyazhitskiy is a Ukrainian journalist, chairman of the editorial board of the channel TVi and member of Ukraine's Verkhovna Ra-

da where he serves as the chairman of the Committee on Culture and Spirituality.

Andriy Kohut is a Director of Archive of security service of Ukraine. He graduated a historical faculty of Lviv University. Prior he served as a Director of the Centre for Research liberation movement.

Paweł Kowal is a postdoctoral fellow at the Chair of European History and Civilization at the College of Europe (Natolin) where he co-leads, together with Professor Georges Mink, the Three Ukrainian Revolutions 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.

Valeria Korablyova is currently a Visiting Fellow of FIAL Open Society Foundations Global Dialogues Project at the University of Warsaw. Her research interests include the EuroMaidan, the EU project of 'Europe', and post-Communist transformations in Ukraine and East Central Europe. Her latest book *Social Meanings of Ideology* (Kyiv University, 2014) covers ideological transformations of European modernity.

Volodymyr Kravchenko is the director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta. His areas of research include Ukraine, the history of the Russian Empire and regional and border studies.

Jan Kubik is the director of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College of London. He focuses on the interplay between power (politics) and culture, protest politics and social movements, as well as post-communist transformations. Professor Kubik researches politics and culture comparatively, but the principal source of his observations and data are Poland and East Central Europe.

Aleksandra Kuczyńska-Zonik Ph.D., political scientist and archeologist; assistant professor at the Institute of East-Central Europe (IESW). Her research interests include: history and contemporaneity of socio-political relations

in the post-Soviet space, politics and security in East-Central Europe, Russia's soft power, Russian diaspora in the Baltic states, nation and nationalism, Soviet historical memory.

Ostap Kushnir Researcher and Lecturer in International Relations, European Geopolitics, European Regionalisation, Central and Eastern European Affairs. Specialist in Mass Communication and Mass Information. Administrative Assistant at Lazarski University, Warsaw, Poland. Specialist in establishing international business and academic cooperation.

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.

Aleksander Kwaśniewski is a Polish politician. He served as the President of Poland between 1995 and 2005. After the fall of communism he became the leader of the left-wing Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland. He was an author of the 2002 Riga Initiative, a forum for cooperation between Central European states, aimed at further enlargement of NATO and the European Union. He served as a mediator during the Orange Revolution and from June 2012 to November 2015, along with Pat Cox, led a European Parliament monitoring mission to Ukraine.

Vyacheslav Kyrylenko is a Ukrainian politician. He is the Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine for humanitarian matters, a former Minister of Labor and Social Policy, former party leader of Our Ukraine and former leader of the party For Ukraine!. During his studies at the Taras Shevchenko National University in Kyiv, Kyrylenko was one of the initiators of the Revolution on Granite.

Leonid Litra is a senior research fellow at the Institute of World Policy in Kyiv. He previously served as a deputy director at the Institute for Development and Social Initiatives "Viitorul" in

Chisinau. Leonid writes on democratisation of the post-Soviet area, European integration and frozen conflicts. He is also part of the core team that prepares the "European Integration Index for Eastern Partnership Countries".

Henryk Litwin is a Polish historian and diplomat. In 1991 he was the head of the Consular Agency of Poland in Lviv and in 1993, after its conversion into a consulate general, the first Consul General of Poland in Lviv. From 2010 to 2011 he was the Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and between 2011 and 2016 he was the Polish Ambassador to Ukraine.

Jan Malicki is the head of the Centre for East European Studies at the University of Warsaw. He has an honorable doctorate from the Precarpathian National Vasyl Stefanyk University. He was an anti-communist activist. His main academic interests include Soviet history, transformation in Eastern Europe and its preconditions. He has been a lecturer at the Centre for East European Studies since 1992. Member of Polish-Ukrainian Dialogue Forum

Markiyan Malsky Dean of The Faculty of International Relations of Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Professor, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine. Ambassador of Ukraine to Poland /2010-2014/. Professor of Opole University. Author of numerous scientific works in the field of international relations and regional security

Darya Malyutina is a human geographer who writes about post-Soviet migrants, social networks, ethnography, and ethical dilemmas of qualitative research. She holds a PhD from UCL. Currently, she is a research fellow at New Europe College, Bucharest. She is working on a project on the challenges of production of knowledge on Ukraine in the context of the armed conflict in Donbas.

Myroslav Marynovych is the vice-rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv. He is a human rights activist, a co-founder of Amnesty International Ukraine and a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in 1976.

Ivanna Machitidze received her MA degree in International Relations and European Studies from Central European University (Budapest, Hungary). Dr. Machitidze is currently occupying the position of the International Relations BA Program Coordinator at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Black Sea University (Tbilisi, Georgia). Dr. Machitidze's academic interests are focused on politics of Central and Eastern Europe.

Yuriy Matsiyevsky is Associate Professor of Political Science and the head of the Center for Political Research at Ostroh Academy National University. Yuriy Matsiyevsky received his doctoral degree in political science from Lviv University in 1996 and habilitation from Ivan Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in 2016. Previously he studied at the Graduate School for Social Research, Warsaw, Poland. Since 1999 he has taught at Ostroh Academy National University, Ostroh, Ukraine.

Marcus Meckel is a former foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). In 1989 he initiated the establishment of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in GDR. Following the reunification of Germany he became a member of the Bundestag working on European and German-Polish affairs. Currently he is a member of the Global Panel Foundation board.

Andrey Meleshevich is the current president of the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Since 2014 he has held this position. He is a professor of law since 2005. He has widely published in the fields of European human rights law, institution building in the post-Soviet states, the political consequences of electoral laws and executive-legislative arrangements, political parties, comparative constitutional law and constitutionalism, and philosophy of law.

John Micgiel is an academic researching the modern history and contemporary politics of East Central Europe and Western Europe. He was a lecturer of Columbia University. Former chairman of Kościuszko Foundation. He has commented on European issues and his books include *In the Shadow of the Second Republic*.

Alessandro Milani A historian of Modern Christianity and International Relations by training, his broad research interests concern State(s)-Church(es) relations and ethno-ritual identities in contemporary Central-Eastern Europe. He was a fellow of the Istituto Italiano Studi Storici (Naples, 2008), a senior research associate to the Modern European History Research Institute (Oxford, 2012), and a fellow of the Muzeum Historii Polski in Warsaw

Aliaksandr Milinkevich holds a PhD in physics and mathematics. He was the candidate of the United Democratic Forces in the 2006 presidential election in Belarus and is a laureate of the European Parliament's Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought. He is the chairman of the Belarusian Human Rights and Educational Association "The Movement for Freedom".

Georges Mink is a Director of Research at the Institut 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. Mink is an associate professor at Science Po, Paris (since 1973) and a visiting professor at the College of Europe, Natolin Campus (since 2000).

Mustafa Nayyem is a Ukrainian journalist. Since 2014 he has been a member of Verkhovna Rada. Before his political career, Nayyem worked as press and TV journalist. Nayyem's summons to rally published on Facebook on November 21, 2013 were the start of the Euromaidan protests which led to the overthrow of the Yanukovich government.

Hryhoriy Nemyria is the Chairman of the Committee on Human Rights, National Minorities and Interethnic Relations of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and Deputy Head of the Batkivshchyna Party. In the previous Rada convocation Dr Nemyria chaired the Committee on European Integration. He served as Deputy Prime Minister responsible for European and international integration in the government of PM Tymoshenko (2007- 2010). From 2006-2007, Dr Nemyria was the Deputy Head of the Permanent Parliamentary Delegation to the PACE and the Ukrainian delegation to

the Committee on Parliamentary Cooperation between Ukraine and the EU.

Olena Nikolayenko is an associate professor in the Department of Political Science at Fordham University. Her research interests include comparative democratization, social movements, political behavior, and youth, with a regional focus on Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. In the book *Citizens in the Making in Post-Soviet States* (Routledge 2011), she examined political attitudes of adolescents in Russia and Ukraine. Her current research project focuses on nonviolent youth movements in five post-communist states: Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Serbia, and Ukraine.

Andrzej Nowak is one of Poland's most outstanding authorities on the political history of Central/Eastern Europe, a professor at the Jagiellonian University, a lecturer at universities in the United States and Great Britain, and the author of over thirty books. He is primarily known as a world-class specialist on Russian history, an analyst on its relations with the West, a Sovietologist who is highly appreciated among the specialists, and an insightful interpreter of Russian culture and spirituality.

Katarina Novikova M.A. Phil. Teol. (Pontifical Theological Academy in Krakow – now John Paul II Pontifical University), Postgraduate student of the Institute of Religion Studies of Jagiellonian University of Krakow. Freelancer interpreter and translator of Polish and Italian languages, from 2009 translator and editor of the Ukrainian edition of “Vocabulaire européen des philosophies. Dictionnaire des intraduisibles». Freelancer journalist (web-sites RISU – Religious Information Service of Ukraine and Religions in Ukraine, magazine “Ukrainian Week”).

Cornelius Ochmann is the director of the Foundation on Polish-German Cooperation. He is an expert on European politics, EU-Russia relations, Poland, Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. He is a member of editorial board in “New Eastern Europe”

Olga Onuch is an assistant professor in politics working at the University of Manchester and is an Associate Fellow in politics at Nuffield College at the University of Oxford. Onuch's comparative study of protest politics, political behavior, 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 (Natolin campus). From 2006 to 2007 she was the Undersecretary of State and then Secretary of State (Polish Minister for European Affairs) at the Office for European Integration and acting Chair of the European Committee of the Polish Council of Ministers. She was also actively involved in the preparation of the mandate for the European Commission to negotiate the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with Russia.

Anna Osypchuk is an Associate Professor and Head of Master Programme in the Department of Sociology at National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. After completing her PhD in Sociology there in 2010, she was a Fulbright visiting scholar in the Department of Sociology at Rutgers University, New Jersey (FFDP, 2010-2011). Her research focuses on interplay of agency, cognition, social structures and culture; social and cultural transformations in post-Soviet countries; studies of identities and collective memory, thus spanning sociology, social and political philosophy, anthropology and cultural studies.

Irakli Porchkhidze is a Senior Vice-President of Georgian Institute for Strategic Studies. He is a former First Deputy Minister for Reintegration. He also headed the Georgian delegation in the humanitarian working group of Geneva talks. He previously served as the Deputy Secretary of the National Security Council of Georgia. Earlier he served as the first head of the Civil Registry Agency under the Ministry of Justice.

Vitaly Portnikov is a Ukrainian journalist and media commentator. Since 1989, he works as the analyst of the Nezavisimaya Gazeta, specializing in post-Soviet countries, and cooperates with the Russian and Ukrainian services of Radio Free Europe. He was one of the active participants of the Euromaidan. He was a member of the board of All-Ukrainian movement “Maidan”.

Andrii Portnov, PhD, historian, Director of the Prisma Ukraïna Program at the Forum Transregionale Studien Berlin, Visiting Professor at the Humboldt University in Berlin (since 2012). Co-founder and co-editor of the Ukrainian intellectual web portal historians.in.ua

Maria Przelomiec is a Polish journalist. She is an editor and anchor of “Studio Wschód” – a television series analyzing the socio-political situations in countries of the former Soviet Union. Between 1990 and 2006 she was the BBC correspondent in Poland. During this time she covered the most important events within the region, contributing not only to radio programs but also publishing articles in several Polish newspapers.

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 (European Interdisciplinary Studies). She is currently enrolled in a PhD program in the Graduate School for Social Research (Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences). Her research focuses on the study of post-Soviet elites and EU eastern policies.

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. Reichardt 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 was member of the editorial boards of *Krytyka*, *New Eastern Europe* and the *Journal of South Eastern Europe*. From 1985 till 1994 Riabchuk worked as an editor of the “Vsesvit” journal dedicated to translations of literature from foreign languages.

Oleh Rybachuk serves as chairman and co-founder of Centre UA, also one of the initiators of the New Citizen Public Campaign and Chairman of the board of the NGO “Suspilnist Foundation”. He has served in several senior government

positions including Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration and Chief of Staff to former Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko.

Andrii Sadovyi is the Mayor of the City of Lviv. He graduated from the Lviv Polytechnic State University in 1995. In 1999 he graduated from the Academy of State Governance under the auspices of the President of Ukraine. He has been engaged in social activity since 1997. He is a founder and chair of the board of the Lviv Development Institute and the head of the Management Council of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi Art and Culture Fund of the Greek Church of Ukraine (2000-2002) as well as a member of the Ukrainian-Polish Cooperation Jury.

James Sherr is an Associate Fellow at the Chatham House and former head of the Russia and Eurasia program (2008-11). He was a member of the Social Studies Faculty of Oxford University from 1993 to 2012; a fellow of the Conflict Studies Research Centre of the UK Ministry of Defence from 1995 to 2008; and director of studies of the Royal United Services Institute (1983-85). He has published extensively on Soviet and Russian military, security and foreign policy, as well as energy security, the Black Sea region and Ukraine's effort to deal with Russia, the West and its own domestic problems.

Ioulia Shukan is an associate professor of Post-Soviet Studies at University Paris Nanterre (France), a researcher at the Institut des sciences sociales du politique (ISP/CNRS) and the Centre d'études des mondes russes, caucasiens et centre-européens (CERCEC/EHESS). Her primary field of research is political sociology. Her current research project is on ordinary citizenship and its practices (protests, hospital volunteering, vigilantism) during the Euromaidan and at the time of armed conflict in Donbas.

Marek Siwiec is a Polish politician. From 2004 to 2014 he was a Member of the European Parliament, serving as its Vice President between January 2007 and June 2009. He also chaired the delegation to the EU-Ukraine Parliamentary Cooperation Committee. He was an observer of

elections in Ukraine in 2006 and 2010. Previously he was the head of the Polish National Security Bureau.

Irina Somer is a Ukrainian journalist. She serves as a head at the Brussels office of UNIAN information agency. Expert in the field of EU policies towards Ukraine. Prior journalist in Ukrinform.

Taras Steckiv is a Ukrainian politician and historian. During the Orange Revolution he served as a commander supervising a block of buildings administration of President Leonid Kuchma in Kyiv. Between February and September 2005 he was president of the Ukrainian public television NTU. In 2006 he became an adviser to President Viktor Yushchenko.

Dietmar Stüdemann is a German diplomat, lawyer and economist. He was the head of the Political Department and the Economic Department of the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin. From 2000 to 2006 he was the German Ambassador in Kyiv. After his retirement he became an adviser to the Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko (2006-2007).

Mykhailo Svystovych is a Ukrainian social activist and member of the "Vidsich" civil movement, editor of the *Maidan* magazine and an economist. He was a participant of the Revolution on Granite. He is one of the founders of Ukrainian Students Union (USS) that conducted the student hunger strikes in 1990.

Sergey Tihipko served as the Deputy Prime Minister (2010-2012) and Minister of Economy (1995-2000) of Ukraine. Between 2002 and 2004 he chaired the National Bank of Ukraine. In 2004 he led the presidential campaign of Viktor Yanukovich.

Jan Tombiński is the EU Ambassador to The Holy See. From 2001 to 2007 he headed the Polish Embassy in France. After that he was appointed as the Permanent Representative of Poland in the EU. In the years 2007-2012 he served as Poland's permanent representative at the European Union in France and later (2012-2016) as the EU Ambassador to Ukraine.

Andreas Umland is a political scientist and historian specializing in Ukrainian and Russian history. He holds degrees from Stanford University, Oxford, Cambridge and Free University of Berlin. Umland is a Senior Fellow at the Institute for EuroAtlantic Cooperation in Kyiv and has taught at the National University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the Taras Shevchenko National University and Oxford University.

Iryna Vannykova Former Press Secretary of the President of Ukraine Victor Yushchenko. She graduated a National University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy, and Diplomat Academy of Ukraine. In 2013 She was elected chairman of the political council of the party „Our Ukraine”. Currently she works in TV NewsOne.

Iryna Vereshchuk is a former Mayor of Rava-Ruska (2010-2015). Since January 2016 she has been the president of the International Center for Black Sea-Baltic research and consensus practices. She was an active participant of the Euromaidan.

Andrew Wilson is a professor in Ukrainian Studies at University College London. His most recent book *Ukraine Crisis: What the West Needs to Know* was published by Yale University Press in 2014. A fourth, updated, edition of *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* was published in 2015. His other books include *Belarus: The Last European Dictatorship* (2011), and *Ukraine's Orange Revolution* (2005).

Kateryna Wolczuk specialises in East European politics. Currently she is researching relations between the EU and the post-Soviet countries within the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership. She is also conducting research on Russia's role in the "shared neighbourhood" and any potential impact for the EU's role and policies in the post-Soviet space. Her interests also included Polish-Ukrainian relations in the context of EU enlargement and relations between Ukraine and the enlarged EU.

Viktor Yushchenko is a Ukrainian politician who was the third President of Ukraine. As an informal leader of the Ukrainian opposition coalition, he

was one of the two main candidates in the 2004 Ukrainian presidential election. Before his election as president, Yushchenko already had a career in Ukrainian politics. In 1993, he became governor of the National Bank of Ukraine. Between 1999 and 2001 he was the country's Prime Minister. After his dismissal as Prime Minister, Yushchenko went into opposition to President Leonid Kuchma and founded the Our Ukraine bloc.

Oksana Zabuzhko is a leading Ukrainian novelist, poet, essayist and public intellectual. She is a graduate of the Department of Philosophy of Kyiv Shevchenko University (1982). After having completed her post-graduate studies there, she obtained her 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. Zabuzhko's works have been widely translated in Central and Eastern Europe and she has won many literary awards.

Nataliya Zubar Chair of an international NGO with HQ in Kharkiv, Ukraine, Maidan Monitoring Information Center, that focuses on life-long education, conflicts management, human security, organization of multi-stakeholders dialogues on controversial issues, freedom of information. Print media journalist and software engineer since 1982. Online media editor since 2000 at the website Maidan.org.ua that was a cradle of citizen journalism in Ukraine. Coordinator of online awareness campaigns since 2006.



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 and leave the College of Europe's mark on it. To achieve this, throughout 2016 we plan to interview 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.

Our team 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 USA and Canada. During a series of conferences, increasing in scope and scale, we shall develop and assess effective research tools, reflect on the state of the art, and, finally, to take part in the debate on the meaning and impact of popular protests on contemporary Ukraine.



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,
The 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
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Georges Mink and Paweł Kowal, Principal investigators of the 3R Project

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Scientific Council

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- Prof. **Volodomyr Kravchenko** is the director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta.
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- Mrs **Ewa Ośniecka-Tamecka** since 2007 is the Vice-Rector of the College of Europe, Natolin .
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- Prof. **Andrew Wilson** is 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 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 Sanguszko, who was himself a Polish aristocrat, patriot, political and social activist. Soon after Natalia's death Sanguszko took part in the November Uprising against Russia in 1830. After the fall of the Uprising the Russian court revoked his noble status, confiscated all his property (one of the largest fortunes in the region) and exiled him to Siberia.

Sanguszko 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 Sanguszko spent fifteen years at Siberia. His life is the subject of "Prince Roman" (1910), one of Joseph Conrad's short stories.

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.

Wincenty Kasprzycki

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



