

Interview with Stanislav Fedorchuk (S.V.), Interviewer: Interviewer: Vitalii Ovcharenko (V.O.).

Place of record: Kyiv.

V.O.: Please tell about yourself. What stage do you consider the most important in your life?

**Influences**

Place of birth

S.V.: I was born in Donetsk, in the family of teachers. I studied at the Donetsk National University. Among the important stages in my life I would name participation in the civil disobedience action “Ukraine Without Kuchma”, in the civil campaign “For Truth”, and, of course, being a member of the youth nationalistic congress. It is work to find violations in the Donetsk region in the Committee of the Voters of Ukraine, where I was the head of the monitoring group. And, of course, the Euromaidan in 2014. These are the main milestones that formed me as a person with opinions and in some way have helped me develop a tactic and a strategy of cooperation with civil movements and individual civil activists.

Donetsk

Donetsk  
National  
University

**History**

V.O.: Which topics were discussed at your home? What did your family discuss in the Soviet times?

S.V.: They almost did not talk about politics at home, despite the fact that my grandfather would always watch the news on UT-1 [*state TV channel*] and on the general Soviet TV channel – news at 8.00 pm and at 9.00 pm. My grandfather also subscribed to over 20 print publications, from socio-political to professional: on literature, philology etc. So we cannot say that the family was outside the process. Same about my father... Basically, since I was 6 years old, I had access to all the press that was printed, because my father could not go to the market and not bring new morning newspapers. He could forget to buy something at the market, but not the morning newspapers. The first, more or less, open conversations in my presence took place in the 1980-1990s, when my father started going to western Ukraine and Kyiv. When he started

**Influences**

## Influences

### Ukraine music

communicating with the Rukh people, and when he was nominated as one of the candidates, who was recommended by Rukh to the City Council of Donetsk. Of course, the conversations were about Ukrainian history. At that time there was a popular music band called “Ne zhuryts” (“Don’t be sad”), which toured all over Ukraine with educational campaigns, and my father half-legally brought the cassette that had Christmas songs on one side, and riflemen songs on the other side, which was a crazy revolt for Donetsk, but we listened to them. At the same time the first school books on history of Ukraine with non-Soviet approach were published, the first foreign editions that started to emerge slowly, and so we had conversations not just with my grandparents. They were quite the partisans, because my grandfather worked at the department of the Ukrainian literature, and my grandmother worked as a teacher of the Ukrainian language and literature. So they knew a lot even before the iron curtain fell, because they were the witnesses of this 20<sup>th</sup> century after all. They saw what was happening to Ukraine, to the language, and to society. My father survived Famine (Holodomor) in 1932-33 and famine in 1946-47, and he remembered it very well. So he did not have any illusions. My grandfather lived till the age of 80, he died in 2004, a few days before the second tour of the presidential elections, and he worried so much that Yanukovich could come to power, because he believed that his coming to power might mean the end of Ukraine as an independent country. Well, I guess he was not mistaken. The only thing my grandfather regretted and repeated all the time was that he was forced to waste so many years of his life, to do what he did not want to, in order to save his own life and the life of his family and not fall into the hands of the authorities, to not go east from Donetsk... The thing is that my grandfather after his graduation from the university lived in Kyiv, and after he let one of Sosyura’s poems slip into the school book on Ukrainian literature intended for all of Ukraine, a crazy campaign against him as a bourgeois nationalist was launched. So my grandfather had to simply flee to the Donetsk region and work in teaching and not in the academic research as he always wanted. So the expert on Ukrainian historical novel (he wrote a PhD on that, which was one of the first works in Ukraine on literature after the war) had to deal with ‘Leniniana’ in the Ukrainian literature. This burned him for all of his life.

## History

Holodomor in  
1932-33 and in  
1946-47

V.O.: Could you please tell me what examples from the Ukrainian history inspired you the most?

S.V.: Of course, it is the activity of the Sich Riflemen. The formation of the unit of the Sich Riflemen. The person of Yevhen Konovalets. Of course, battles for Kyiv. Battles for Arsenal. Formation of the Kosh of Sloboda Ukraine. When I learned that Petlyura, as a matter of fact, had many people from the East, and they were all volunteers who went to defend Kyiv from Bolsheviks. Later it was the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the activity of the organization of Ukrainian nationalists. My father was a historian; therefore there never was a lack of historical literature in our house. And then around 1992 I could get a hold of diaspora publications, reprinted editions of 1917, 1920, 1930s, and it was great when you could feel the real spirit of the epoch. Despite the fact that I used to know a lot about the Cossack times, the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had a bigger impact on me than history of the 19<sup>th</sup> or the 18<sup>th</sup> or even the 16<sup>th</sup> century. I was drawn to every example where Ukrainians showed discipline and mutual respect, and where they achieved the result thanks to it. When they had a common goal and a wish to realize it in some forms that were not secular. Not to till the soil around themselves and plant a cherry tree, and that was it.

## History

Activity of Sich Riflemen

Yevhen Konovalets

Activity of UIA

Cossack

V.O.: Was there a difference between official history of Ukraine and the discussions at your home and among friends?

S.V.: Of course. Since 1991 I had discussions with my history teachers in all schools. It happened so that at first I studied at school #32 for workers and villagers, near the Donetsk metallurgical plant, and then at school #14 near the Donetsk city administrations. The school was, as a matter of fact, for the rich kids, for children of officials. I was a sore thumb there, in all senses. Later I studied in the lyceum of the Donetsk National University. Despite that there were specialists of different level (for example, my teacher was a Candidate of Sciences), they were still people who did not have the same views as me or people whose historical and philosophical perception of the world and the past did not match mine. If at school #23 there was some carefully-worded criticism of the Soviet Union, with caution that it might come back, then at

## Influences

School

## History

Cossack

school#14 my teacher was a profound communist, who in my presence tried to restrain her Ukrainophobia and open rejection of the rights of Ukrainians to have some independent life. She had a negative opinion of the personalities of any of our liberation struggle, from Khmelnytsky to Mazepa, Vygovsky etc. At the lyceum (around 1995-1996) the teacher was a candidate of science, who was in love with Dmytro Tabachnyk, with the era of Skoropadsky, with this white renaissance in Kyiv that tried to impose on the students the idea that Ukraine had only one version of success, that is when the Russians rule and some hetman who explains to the locals, “Guys, you have me, forget that the administration is occupational”. My first academic work was dedicated to political portrait of Symon Petlyura.

V.O.: What was your family’s milieu during the Soviet times? What were the people you communicated with interested in?

S.V.: What I remember was the communication network that my grandparents had. Neither my father nor my mother has ever had such a communication network. Not only because of the age, but because of some peculiarities. First, there was a system of state and non-state holidays that were always celebrated. There was a table with delicacies saved for months in order to treat guests. There were many high school teachers in that circle, especially of the grandfather. He was friends with professors of math, physics and chemistry. There were surgeons and neurosurgeons among his friends. One of his closest friends was the dean of the chemistry faculty, his fellow from the Khmelnytsky region. The discussions could be about any subject you can imagine. Moreover, there was always a tradition to sing Ukrainian folk songs at the table. My grandfather’s repertoire was incredibly vast. He was very fond of folklore and folk songs. Once it turned out that my grandfather was able to sing Ukrainian folk songs without repeating himself for four long days, for a dare. He also knew Georgian and other songs. The environment was such that one could sing along those songs and keep the conversation. We can say that it was that small layer of middle class that was not a part of the nomenclature elite, but it was different in some internal freedom even in the Soviet times. Despite that there were, of course, some

people who were nostalgic about the Soviet Union in that crowd, even the disagreements that happened with them around that table have never developed into any global conflict. Everyone agreed to differ, and it did not become a reason for some discord.

V.O.: Have you evacuated the photographs from the Soviet times?

S.V.: Unfortunately, no, I didn't. I have a huge photography archive, probably around 60 kg, with photographs of my grand-grandfather and grand-grandmother... But it all stayed there. Of course, I dream to conduct a special operation for that one day...

V.O.: Who were your grand-grandparents?

S.V.: My paternal grand-grandfather was a villager, he went to fight in the First World War, and returned as a junior officer. He got in touch with Bolsheviks, and started to build a mine in the Luhansk region. In 1937 when the waves of repression started, they did not dare sending him to Siberia or shoot down, considering how respected he was among the workers. That was why he was sent to the construction of Mykytivka quicksilver mine, where he encountered the war. He refused to be evacuated and died as a partisan from the hands of the Gestapo, he was buried alive in Bakhmut in November or December of 1941. As far as I understand from what I have heard from my grandmother, he was a Ukrainian communist, his house was always filled with the sound of the Ukrainian language, so he spoke Ukrainian too, being originally from the Kherson region. The grand-grandmother also was from the Kherson region, she was a villager and later a housewife. My maternal grandparents were also villagers, and almost all of their children received higher education (probably, except my grandfather, he had a secondary and vocational education). One of their daughters was married to aviation general, a Hero of the Soviet Union, and lived in Moscow.

V.O.: Did you communicate with the priests during the USSR times? Please tell me about their impact.

S.V.: I know one thing: my grandmother, without even telling the grandfather, baptized my father in church. As for communication with the priests. I went to school when I was 6. My school #23 has a joint fence with the church, the same church that is now the residence of Donetsk and Mariupol metropolitan bishop of Moscow Patriarchate. Since our first grade we caused troubles in the church yard, stealing candles from time to time, but no one has ever reprimanded us for that – “Children are children”. But when I was in my second or third grade, my grandmother, my mother’s mother, started taking me to church. Of course, I was not forced to say the prayers or anything like that, but she would light the candles and say some prayers, and I started to understand that the church was something really serious, that it was not just some building where the candles burn and some paintings hang. Then my grandmother started telling me what the church was. Nevertheless, some religious education in my life has started for real much later. Despite that my father was, in fact, a religious scholar for 20 years of his life during the Soviet times, so we had many books about different religions of the world at home. I was given an unprecedented opportunity to decide for myself what faith to choose and do it when I was at the age of reason. That was why I got baptized when I was 16, and for me it was a completely conscious choice – what kind of church, what kind of baptizing and so on.

**Influences**

Church

V.O.: Please tell us why people in Soviet times united in independent communities.

**History**

Totalitarian  
Regime

S.V.: To live in a totalitarian society means to suffer a little from the lack of air. From the lack of intellectual air, moral air, when all the time you must constrain yourself, self-censor yourself, you must fight your own opinion. I guess, those little communities that emerged in Soviet times and are emerging now, do so because people are looking for interlocutors. They look for the

ways to release that energy that you cannot share with those who ride the tram with you and those who work with you. I believe that in some way those were the first small fires of resistance that people could afford, knowing about the Gulag, the prisons, knowing that it was possible to die without any trace. In my opinion, that was a very small air passage that allowed them to feel their own self and restore human dignity within the borders of totalitarian system.

V.O.: What books from the 1988-1992 period do you remember? Maybe, of the opposition, or self-published (*samizdat*), or from diaspora?

S.V.: I best remember the books that my father brought from the Rukh meetings. Not only books. Amazing self-made pins. A Ukrainian flag. I saw so many materials it was made from! From oilcloth, from two cut-out stripes, a yellow one and a blue one. Now it seems so easy, you just go and buy a Ukrainian flag. But at that time it was something incredible! What is that, to hold a Ukrainian flag in your hands? Then those small Rukh awards: “Freedom or death!” with a moustached Cossack, with a Cossack cross. Of course, my father brought historical calendars too. Historical calendar of a big A1 size, where you have the birthday of Bandera, the birthday of Petlyura, the Day of Heroes marked. As for the books, of course, the book “History of Ukraine” by Ivan Krypnyakevych, which was one of the first published after Ukraine gained independence; the two volumes of Ukrainian history by Dmytro Doroshenko, reprinted editions on history of Zaporizhia Cossacks by Yavornytsky in three volumes; it is, no doubt, a work by Nataliya Polonska that also appeared in the beginning of the 1990s. Of course, it is also fiction that became available. In 1993 – beginning of 1994 I received the edition of “Kholodny Yar” by Horlis-Horsky. It was incredible to read about Ukrainians who fought against the Bolshevik order, how they destroyed the Checkists, how they ruled on their own land. It was written, obviously, in a fictional way, but that was certainly inspiring. It showed an example that, as it turns out, when the majority have the enemy, you should not always lay down your arms and surrender. Also, of course, it is the book titled “The Ukrainian Insurgent Army” by Pavlo Mirchuk. Despite the fact that it was quite rough, or at times tried to be a collection of the

#### History

S. Petlyura

S. Bandera

I. Krypnyakevych

documents, it was still interesting to read it. You could see how the insurgents, in a smaller number, fought with the bigger number of the Germans, Gestapo members, fought against the Checkists, tried to set their own insurgent republics, and all of that was incredible, because you understood that it turned out that you lived in the world, where so many things were hidden from you. No doubt, of course, “The Gulag Archipelago” by Solzhenitsyn had a great impact on me. But also the books by Bahryanyy, which I had read probably in the foreign diaspora publications earlier than they were published in Ukraine. Of course, it is also “Tiger Catchers”, “The Garden of Gethsemane”. It is, of course, his play “Morituri”. Also the works of Semen Pidhayny, “Ukrainian Intelligence in Solovki”. It seems that everybody knows about Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, but long before Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn the Ukrainian political prisoners created their own union of political prisoners of Solovki and the Gulag, and Semen Pidhayny was the head of it. It turns out that they started collecting that information immediately after the war, and they were at least 15-20 years ahead of Solzhenitsyn. But the whole world knows Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn for some reason, and not Semen Pidhayny. And I believe that it was our big mistake that we still stay under the influence of the ‘Russian world’ even in the areas where we have our own alternatives, which are not worse in any way, or maybe they are even better.

V.O.: Have you heard about the Revolution on Granite when it was happening?

**Revolution on the Granite**

**Actors**

S.V.: I heard about Revolution on Granite only from the media and also a little bit from my father, because I was still too young. I remember how the radio broadcasted the chronicles that the students gathered demanding the resignation of Vitaly Masol’s government, they demanded independence of Ukraine. I had a feeling at that time that they were such big dreamers... Independence like that, right away? I believed that, maybe, at first we should get a strong autonomy and then demand independence.

Students

**Motivation**

Resignation of Vitaly Masol’s government

Political independence

V.O.: Did you participate in “Ukraine Without Kuchma”?



S.V.: Yes, as a simple participant. I arrived by suburban trains, usual trains, the cheapest class. By the way, I met the participants of Revolution on Granite there. It was the place where I met Oleksiy Doniy, as well as Lviv activists from the Ukrainian Student Union. In a way I understood that “Ukraine Without Kuchma” was one of the reincarnations of the Revolution on Granite. Because in any case, “Ukraine Without Kuchma” cannot be considered a purely oppositional protest. Because those demands that “Ukraine Without Kuchma” had were very system-related. “Ukraine Without Kuchma” happened not only because the journalist Georgiy Gongadze was killed. Not only because the freedom of speech was reduced and it was harder to breathe in the country. But primarily because we did not see Ukraine and the Ukrainian government as such. We, as people from Donetsk, who went there, had our own feeling of this situation. Maybe, it was more painful than for people from Kyiv or Lviv, because we could see that they had much more developed civil society that in some way affected the government. We were the common soldiers of that revolution.

## History

“Ukraine without Kuchma”

Killing of G. Gongadze

V.O.: Did many people come from Donetsk?

S.V.: We tried not to gather in big groups, so that it would be difficult to find us. Because it was really dangerous, and the Security Service of Ukraine came straight to the lectures and asked if you went and why, and who was there with you and so on.

V.O.: Are those people from Donetsk engaged in the civil movement now, or not anymore?

S.V.: Some of them don’t even live in Ukraine anymore, they emigrated, some of them help with donations for the things we do, sad and fun... But most of them, probably, not anymore.

V.O.: Could you please tell me about the course of the Orange Revolution and what was the most important in this revolution?

S.V.: Fortunately, still in 2003 it became clear to me that it was necessary to do some system work that would not be possibly scrapped by some bastards from some institutions. I consciously did not become a member of “Nasha Ukrayina” (“*Our Ukraine*”), despite the offers. Despite that I had experience in political work, analytical work experience, as a sociologist, a campaigner, and so on, a member of a commission too. I knew that I had to search for some configuration where you could be above the struggle, in order to really stand on the legal side, and when I was offered to deal with the violations in the Committee of Voters of Ukraine, I was very happy. We had a system of observers, in almost every constituency, who provided information consistently. We classified it and checked what law provisions were violated. This work was done not only on the election day, but during the whole course of election campaign. So that collection of violations that we collected played a very interesting role in the new history of Ukraine. Because when the headquarters of “Nasha Ukrayina” (“*Our Ukraine*”) together with BYuT (*Yulia Tymoshenko’s Block*) lost, according to the official version, the violations in all the constituencies, besides one, #42, where Anton Klymenko was the campaign head, it turned out that 90% of all the violations, published in order to expose the falsification of the elections in Donetsk region, in the records of the Supreme Court were the violations collected by the employees of Committee of Voters of Ukraine. Moreover, I managed to personally bring those violations to Kyiv. Dmytro Tkachenko, who had just returned from the US, met me in Kyiv, and it was basically the two of us, without security guards, who brought them to the office of the Committee of Voters of Ukraine in Kyiv, and there they were later transferred to the Supreme Court.

As for the course of the Orange Revolution, I’d like to tell you that as soon as we passed those violations, we stayed for about two weeks in Kyiv, nearly without any sleep, getting warm next

## Orange Revolution

### Activity

Member of  
Committee of  
Voters of Ukraine

### Actors

“Nasha Ukrayina”  
“BYuT”

### Motivation

Violation of  
election law

### Actors

Dmytro Tkachenko

### Actors

V. Yushchenko  
R. Achmetov  
V. Yanukovich  
V. Kolesnikov  
S. Yefremov

to those barrels. The most important for me was certainly not Yushchenko's victory, but the chance to show that we are able to live according to law. The chance to prove that injustice can be overturned in a decent way. And, to be honest, I had great expectations personally, as a common participant of this revolution, that the Donetsk region, the Luhansk region, Eastern Ukraine in general, would finally become the priority. That Kyiv would not make yet another deal with local mafia, with Akhmetov, Yanukovych, Kolesnikov, Yefremov and so on. And we would finally see that Ukrainian education, Ukrainian culture, Ukrainian law, Ukrainian courts start functioning here, and not just someone's pocket institutions, which can easily do anything whatever the heads of the Party of Regions tell, because they are the 'owners of the factories and the ships'! They are the owners of our souls! And when around 2005 I could see that big scale recoup was going on, when I saw that, in fact, all those people who were guilty in those violations, who were a part of the mafia, who built their capitals on a crazy amount of blood, human victims etc, returned back to politics, to economy, to the front pages of newspapers and magazines, it was a hard psychological strike for me. Because I could understand that a huge number of honest people, who put everything at stake when they became commission members in "Nasha Ukrayina" ("Our Ukraine"), in Yuliya Tymoshenko's Block... Those people were beaten up, they were humiliated. Those people were fired from their jobs. The most interesting was that when Yushchenko came to power, they were not restored at their jobs. No one told them, "Thank you for being citizens. For being brave and courageous. For not drifting with the stream".

V.O.: Why do you think people joined the protest, went to the revolution?

S.V.: The first and the most important thing was the personality of Yanukovych. Despite that the middle class in Ukraine is rather an imaginary identity and not a real one, still many educated people exist, people who are self-sufficient, who understand that the standard of living is directly correlated with who rules your country, who represents it on the international arena. I believe that in a way those journalist investigations, including those against the Donetsk people, about

## Motivation

Bettering of life

how the Donetsk clan came to power, resulted in people's understanding that this could become a reality at their home, that the Donetsk mafia would come to Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv and Kyiv, and it would brutally break them. Because those people did not have any moral constraints, and it is only the brutal force that they respect. I guess that fear was probably one of the decisive factors, and it raised people [to rebellion]. One more thing was, of course, hoping that with changes in political elite we would have a more rational, more predictable future.

V.O.: Why did you go, personally?

S.V.: In 2004 I was already an 'old revolutionary'. I already knew what the protest was like. I knew what personal participation was. I know what it means to go to a picket in Donetsk with the Ukrainian flag, when there are only two of you or you are alone. When you stand, with journalists in front of you, and people who come close and take a leaflet out of your hands look at you as if you were insane. Not because you demand something impossible. Because you are alone. And I knew that if we didn't support that protest, if we didn't come, didn't manifest our unity, that protest would be possible to break. It was, of course, solidarity with those people who protested against the violations of electoral legislation, protested against beating up of the people.

V.O.: What were the main goals of Orange Revolution?

## Motivation

Restore justice

S.V.: Well, of course, one of the main goals of Orange Revolution was to restore justice. As a general motto that covered everything: activities of local authorities, activities of the police, and, of course, work of the electoral commissions. Because we witnessed in what way it was falsified.

V.O.: What was the role of the richest Ukrainians, and which ones exactly, during the Orange Revolution?

S.V.: Frankly speaking, God saved me from being that close to the ‘big leaders’ or guides, in order for me to see that someone takes money of his own pocket or wallet. I know about one of the entrepreneurs from Donetsk, a person who worked in a very complicated institution, a millionaire at that time, who left everything behind, got into his SUV, literary filled it up with cash, and went to the Maidan. And there he was buying boots, sleeping bags, firewood and food. I guess that person will never give an interview about that. But I know, of course, of the fact that such people existed. Undoubtedly, there were political actors, who paid for the stage, because the stage costs too much, paid for electricity, because it also had to be paid, for the lighting, provided some funds, maybe, for some food etc. But this was what was attractive for me in the Maidan of 2004 and 2014: the input of the citizens was much bigger. In physical value, not in financial. I will never forget how the old ladies when they saw us freezing near the Presidential Administration, took strangers to their home, to take a shower, to eat some hot chicken broth. We could clearly see that for that old woman with her ridiculous pension it was an incredibly heroic deed. And I’d like to say that during the Maidan in 2004 Den and I intentionally avoided common canteens, we tried to spend our own money only, because we knew there were people who really had no money to eat. There were many of them. So I would say that the role of the Kyivites in supporting this protest was probably one of the most significant characteristics, because Kyiv really supported all of us. Kyiv welcomed us, kept us warm, and I still say that even in the times of war, being an internally displaced person, no other city in Ukraine provides me with more psychological comfort than Kyiv does.

**Actors**

Rich people

V.O.: How would you evaluate the involvement of the foreign politicians in conflict resolution in Ukraine, and whose role deserves attention?

S.V.: In fact, Kuchma's regime, even though he was quite kleptocratic and corrupted, still tried in some way to integrate Ukraine with the European political world and economic system. To protect his investments, to protect the future of his children and grandchildren. So the role of *Kwasniewski*, Solana and Adamkus was decisive because they were those untouchable political personalities, who could not be hit over the head with a steel bar and taken to the woods, and even with teeth grinding, they had to be listened to. In my opinion, the fact that there was no massive bloodshed in 2004 was largely the achievement of those European, and also some American, politicians who put political pressure on Kuchma, on Yanukovich's team, explaining that if power is taken in a bloody way, no one is going to recognize it. And in that way, I guess, they hold them down from using the weapon. I think even in 2004 we could have had our Heavenly Hundred, maybe more than one even. Despite that the Armed Forces of Ukraine were unlikely to be used against people, I am sure that "Berkut" would be happy to execute an order to disperse the protesters, without thinking twice.

#### Actors

L. Kuchma  
 O. Kwasniewski  
 H. Solana  
 V. Adamkus

V.O.: Please tell us about the biggest disappointment with the results of Orange Revolution.

S.V.: First of all, it lies on the Orange politicians. Because the way Yushchenko acted, that compromising attitude towards Yanukovich's team and Akhmetov was terrible. I understand that Yushchenko had pressure from the West and Russia, with demands to have some kind of peace treaty with them. But, in my opinion, it was exactly at that time that the bomb was planted, which exploded in 2014. Those people who had to be in prison for real crimes against Ukraine, against the Ukrainian people, against the criminal code and the code of practice, they stayed free. And that gave them the opportunity to not only to rise up, but to return, as Phoenix from the ashes, and continue doing their shady business, white business, continue with politics. Moreover, Yanukovich coming to power was in a way the result of the actions of the Orange team, and not only the super professional technologist Manafort. And of course, the role of mass media, which, in fact, right after the Orange Revolution was over, started to work to the advantage of the Party of Regions and prepare the society for revenge.

#### Outcomes

Absent of fight against oligarchy

#### Actors

Manafort

V.O.: Did the Orange Revolution result in at least partial changes of Ukraine's political system? Did they influence the oligarchs?

S.V.: Of course not. The Orange Revolution is some way, for a very short time, stopped the activity of the biggest clan, which came back in just a year. In order to come to terms with the society, this oligarchic club had to accept the presence of new parties, which actively participated in local elections. Here we can talk about "PORA" – both black and yellow, and the new politicians that were born out of the Orange Revolution, and they were buried by it too, of course. But it is really hard to say that the oligarchs received any kind of irreparable damage.

The political system has certainly changed, because, as a result of an agreement with Yanukovych and the pressure from the West, the Constitution was changed. We became a parliamentary-presidential republic. But let's speak frankly: chaos still rules, as it used to. We still have ministries and state institutions that duplicate their functions and responsibilities; we still do not know who is the adult in this house. Moreover, when Yanukovych came to power, one of my first complaints, which was expressed but not supported neither by political analysts, nor by political circles, was that he staged a constitutional coup d'état, having changed the Constitution to presidential-parliamentary.

V.O.: What was the reason for the protests during Euromaidan?

S.V.: There were many reasons. First of all, people felt their vulnerability facing the violence machine. Of course, these were the events in Vradiyivka, in Mykolayiv region. When it became clear to people that even after committing a rape, a crime that is not respected even by criminals, as it turned out, you can continue wearing police uniform, continue staying unpunished after

**Revolution of  
Dignity**

**Internal Policy**

Police lawlessness

Arrest

raping someone. It is also, of course, persecution of Ukrainian journalists. It is the beating up, taking the equipment away. The society understands that this new political regime, which is installed by Yanukovych, strives to become universal. That he constructs his system so rationally and casts his nets so deeply that there was no region left without the Donetsk ‘bosses’, where there were no appointed heads of state enterprises who did not know where to bring their money. The country in leaps and bounds was moving towards authoritarianism, towards a construction of an absolute monarchy headed by Yanukovych and his son Oleksandr. And people from different areas who have never been really involved in politics, stood facing the next challenge: to bend before this self-proclaimed naked king or to fight.

V.O.: Was it possible to solve political crisis not with protests on the Maidan, but in a different way?

S.V.: The thing is that we do not have a fully-fledged political system, where competing political forces and independent media exist. We have a rather closed political system, where both the opposition and the government have to compromise, negotiate, and help each other all the time. So there were no political protest speakers who were able to influence the Yanukovych regime. Yanukovych disrespected his opponents, no matter if they were civil or political activists. Moreover, the level of his disrespect was so big that we can say that sooner or later they would become his victims or would be purchased into his property. It is not accidental that so many political forces were frightened so much when ‘the black accounting’ of the Party of Regions was announced. Because, as it turns out, from the point of view of business, the interconnectivity of the opposition and the government at that time was quite high. They still tried to look for big profits using their presence in Verkhovna Rada.

**Internal Policy**

Weakness of  
opposition

V.O.: Were the protest leaders prone to reach an agreement?



S.V.: As I was watching this close to the Maidan's stage, I could see that they were ready to reach an agreement from the very beginning. From the very beginning they were ready to accept the offers of Yanukovych and his team in exchange for early elections, postponement and so on. But the society did not want to wait any more. The society was not ready to tolerate Yanukovych's regime for another half a year or a year. Moreover, the society was able to understand earlier than did the oppositional politicians that Yanukovych was not a negotiator. Yanukovych, and his family, was not a person who would give up power, without trying to pass it to his son or his proxy. Because for Yanukovych he himself was the state, and the fact that he carried out the Ukrainian state budget basically on his own back tells us how much he considered himself the President of Ukraine. He was the president of his own pocket.

V.O.: Was it possible for the protests to end without the bloodshed?

S.V.: Considering the criminal nature of origins of the Donetsk clan, considering that piety that they always felt towards Vladimir Putin's regime, the regime where the jaws are broken, the bones cracked and the blood is spilled, I guess no. The heavy-handed approach was always attractive for them. They have never been shy to be racketeers at their train station market. They could always take a gun out of their raspberry-red blazer, punch in the face and say that it was time to pay interest...

V.O.: What were your responsibilities during the last Maidan?

S.V.: I managed to attend the Euromaidan in Lviv, in Zhytomyr, in Novohrad-Volynsky, in Kyiv and Donetsk. Most of the time I spent at the Euromaidan in Donetsk, of course, where I was one of the members of the working group. It was a body of horizontal power, not a vertical one, where I was responsible for cultural and mass events, partially responsible for campaigning and

#### Activity

Organization of protests in other cities

Planning

Self-defense

propaganda, even though I was involved in everything: safety issues, planning, media issues. In Novohrad-Volynsky I advised the Maidan self-defense, which was created at that time, and in Lviv, Zhytomyr and Kyiv I was a common participant, with or without a flag.

V.O.: Was Maidan really as well organized as everyone believes?

S.V.: To be honest, it is slightly a myth that we all support. Of course, there were the ‘hundreds’. Of course, there were sotnyks [*leaders of the units called a ‘hundred’ – ‘sotnya’*], but each ‘hundred’ was different. The mobilization level was also different. There was a lot of vital lively energy that made people keep their promises, wake up in the middle of the night, stay awake for two or three days, carry those sacks and so on. There were many people that could be called ‘goofs’, people with no character, they had to change. The principle of Maidan’s self-organization, I think, had a bigger weight than Maidan’s organization. And this is what probably makes Maidan unique from the perspective of a social phenomenon. In my opinion, Maidan gave life to the new type of identity of a new political Ukrainian man who was able to not to just sympathize and express solidarity, but to get dressed in the middle of the night, wear knee-caps and a helmet, take a bat or a medical bag, or a bag with sandwiches, and go to the unknown, because it had to be that way. Because some unknown people will be there, and you don’t know them, they aren’t your relatives, but they might need your help. It is a feeling of mutual respect. For people whom you will never be close to, whom you might not see even on the next day or the day after the next day. And I will say that the Maidan of 2014, of course, exceeded the Maidan of 2004 at this.

#### Outcomes

Solidarity of society

V.O.: How would you rate the self-organization of Maidan and which of its parts were the most important?

S.V.: For me it would be the self-defense of Maidan. Those ‘hundreds’ (*sotnyas*) of the self-defense, probably, were the most important, because you only can have a protest when the bulldozers do not wipe it out. When they start to wipe it out with the bulldozers, you start thinking how to defend it, keeping in mind that there are many students, younger people, and older people. Moreover, probably, the best sign of solidarity was the fact that Maidan started to plan its self-defense, after the students were beaten up, after assault attempts in December. When it became clear that we don’t have someone else to protect us, that we cannot rely on the police forces or the Security Service, or anyone else. That we can only rely on ourselves and our hands. Therefore, I believe it was one of the best demonstrations of Maidan’s self-organization, which, in fact, saved it.

#### Events

Beating of students  
in December

V.O.: What was the reaction of your family to your participation?

S.V.: My family knew that there was no other option for me, other than going there. They knew that talking to me about not going was just impossible. My wife was at the 4<sup>th</sup> Maidain from the beginning to the end, so, respectively, for her there also was nothing to discuss. But at that time she was on the last months of her pregnancy and I had to keep her from going to the Donetsk Maidan, but despite that, she managed to escape a couple of times. Eventually, my child was born during Maidan. My father started going to Maidan in December. Obviously, he shared the Maidan values, but I started to realize that he was worried about me. [It happened] when he learnt that I joined the working group, that I left my job and fully devoted myself to Maidan. He knew that the risk level significantly increased, so he decided that he had to give me a little hedge. Since then my father did not miss a single Maidan meeting.

V.O.: Who was your personal enemy, adversary during the protest?

S.V.: To be honest, it was rather unbearable to watch the ugly face of Serhiy Bohachov, who brought the titushkas... I could also name Viktor Yanukovych and Olexander Klymenko, as well as Roman Romanov, the head of the Donetsk police, and Serhiy Bohachov, the city council secretary, and Olexander Lukyanchenko, who was a softie and simply handed my city over to the Russian occupants. I would also mention the head of the Armenian community, and at the same time of the Armenian criminal group. Also Yuriy Yenakievskyy, Rinat Akhmetov, namely, all those who did their best for the Russian aggression to succeed.

#### Actors

O. Klymenko  
S. Bohachhov  
O. Lukyanchenko  
Y. Yenakievskyy  
R. Ahmetov

V.O.: What was the role of religion at the Maidan?

S.V.: In 2013-2014, same as in 2004, the presence of the priests and clergymen from various confessions had a strong solidarizing effect on people. Because, objectively speaking, there were many moments of conflicts, when people felt fear, when people were losing faith, and a lot of misinformation was spread among people. Thus, the presence of people who showed, by means of their personal example, their spiritual ministry and confidence, that we are moving in the right direction, gave more strength to everyone. I cannot image our Donetsk Madan without the priests from the Kyiv Patriarchate, who were praying for Ukraine with us, without the Greek Catholic priests, and ultimately, without the Greek Catholic community that was rather well represented. Also, without the Muslim mufti, Said Ismailov, without the Muslim pastors who came to visit us. Those people were extremely courageous, they told us things, which our local opposition leaders wouldn't dare say.

#### Orange

#### Revolution

#### Revolution of Difnity

#### Emotions

Fear

#### External solidarity

Clergy support

(Muslim, Kyiv  
Patriarchate,  
Greek Catholic)

V.O.: Please tell me about the role of art at the Maidan.

#### Revolution of Dignity

#### Actors

S.V.: The truth is that in Ukraine art, I mean the real art, not the kitsch, like super mass Polyakov style, has always been a counterculture because our authorities would persistently ignore it,

Ukraine artist

which created the reality where you could express yourself anywhere, except Ukraine. Thus, you could see almost all of Ukrainian artists on the Maidan as regular snow-diggers, members of the self-defence, or speakers on the stage. And in this respect they have fulfilled their civic mission perfectly. The only thing was that they received nothing in return. Although, based on their merit to the society, I believe, they should have received not 35% of the Ukrainian broadcasting time, but 50 or 60%. They should have been given the state program and even more than one.

V.O.: Please tell me about the role of history of Ukraine at the Euromaidan.

S.V.: History played its role, because, no matter what, many people realized already at that time, that it was the beginning of the national liberation efforts, and not just some internal revolution to change the political regime. For the people, who were more or less familiar with our history, it was crystal clear that the Ukrainian political regime was to a great extent affiliated with Putin representatives. Thus, by challenging Yanukovich, we automatically challenged Putin. As well as all that imperialistic Russia, which never forgot that “Ukraine is a paradox, which has to be destroyed”. Which has to be put on its knees and proven that it is useless without Russia. That is why, I believe, history played an important role. In addition, all the programs that were conducted at the Maidan: educational, lectures; they, no doubt, had and continue having its impact on the society. Maidan has proved an interesting fact: first, that one cannot build an effective political society without referring to the past. Second, that one cannot build an effective political and civil society without decommunization. Third, the most important and the scariest, that deoccupation from the Russian influence, like informational, military, territorial, is impossible without decommunization. Because, without those who have Lenin in their heads, who live guided by the communist ideas about social, economic and political life, it would not be possible for Putin to take over such a large part of Ukraine.

**History**

Idea of political independence

**History**

Idea of decommunization

V.O.: What was the role of mass media and the internet during Maidan protests?

S.V.: It was incredible. However, I would give the first place to the social networks that were a much bigger and faster source of information about what was really happening. In my opinion, the majority of the all-Ukrainian media switched to the side of the society only once they had realized that the Yanukovich regime was going down. Of course, there were individual journalists who showed civil courage and stance. But we cannot say that about whole editorial offices of the TV channels. Despite the fact that all the editorial workers of the channel might have been on the Maidan.

**Actors**

Ukrainian  
journalist

V.O.: How would you rate the policies of other countries towards Ukraine during the Euromaidan?

**Russia`s Policy**

Informational  
propaganda

S.V.: There is not much to rate. It is rather clear. Russia took Euromaidan as a personal challenge, and the manipulations that it performed in the informational space against Maidan were probably even larger than those performed by Yanukovich and his minions. On the other hand, the European countries showed interest in Ukraine during Euromaidan. However, I wouldn't say that they were too much absorbed by the idea of our freedom, our fight... Well, inside the narrow intellectual circles, for sure. Nevertheless, the European politicians, I believe, started paying attention to Ukraine only after Crimea had been occupied. Only when it became clear that the Yalta system of foreign relations had come to an end. When it started in some way to pose a threat to the interests of their countries directly. To say that the EuroMaidan was very much supported by Europe or the United States... Yes, there were individual politicians who would express their solidarity. However, it was not Kuchma's regime anymore; it was Yanukovich's regime that knew that a retreat could only be to Russia. Respectively, there were no talks neither with the USA, nor with the European Union, nor with the European politicians ... It is just delaying time.

**Western solidarity**

Solidarity from  
individual  
politicians

V.O.: What was the biggest disappointment after the Euromaidan?

S.V.: The biggest disappointment after the Euromaidan has been that once again we allowed the people, who illegally climbed up or took over the stage, to be able to convert it into a restoration of their political ambitions, a restoration of their seats in the Parliament. Maidan was represented by the people starting from correspondent members to the graduate students, students, people of different professions, meaning that it had an enormous human resource, which was once again wasted. There should have been a party created that would be demanding compliance with Maidan demands (there were over 100, and only 10 were implemented), a party, which would have ready a pro-European platform. But instead we saw that various political parties, using the fact that they were at the Maidan and played some role there, they have, in fact, divided the synergy effect and the solidarity effect among themselves, and demonstrated that narrow political interests are bigger than the interests of the whole Ukraine. And this, in fact, led to the reality when those people from the Maidan, who could have started getting involved in all-Ukrainian politics, found themselves outside again. In addition, the current political regime of Poroshenko put a lot of effort to marginalize those people, by sending them to the frontlines, to jail, by making their criticism sound inadequate. That's why, I believe, we are once again witnessing the oligarchic revenge, only this time the Donetsk guys are not given Ukraine as a ransom, but the Zaporizhia region, a part of the Dnipropetrovsk region, a part of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. This way we have again balance between oligarch groups, and this balance crosses out the ideas and the values of Maidan, which, no doubt, was not only a movement against the authoritarian regime of Yanukovych, but also to some extent protest against the oligarchs' rule in Ukraine. Against the oligarchs, who literally monopolized the media, politics, the economy, and who until today believe that Ukrainians in principle are able neither to be the owners, nor the representatives of the middle class.

#### Outcomes

Absence of new people in post-Maidan government

#### Outcomes

Influence of oligarchy on decision making

V.O.: Please tell me about the positive sides of the Euromaidan.

S.V.: The most positive thing about the Euromaidan is that it mobilized many people who were in a state of sleep. Many people who were not aware that they were citizens, who were not aware of being political Ukrainians. Those who, in general, were not involved in any civil or political activity. Many of these people woke up to life. It was the most positive effect. The second positive thing is that we, as a civil society, have proven that we will not tolerate violence, that for us having a democratic government means as much as political freedom. Moreover, in my opinion, the next wave of Ukrainian politicians should remember that. They have to remember that any attempt to usurp power, any attempt to convert the country into their personal pocket, the pocket for their henchmen, their stooges, will result in only one thing – people's uprising.

#### Outcomes

Creation civil society

V.O.: Which moment of the Euromaidan do you consider a breaking point?

#### Events

S.V.: It was the next day after they started killing the Heavenly Hundred, when I realized that the guys would not retreat. I knew that fewer people would come, but those who would come would be the real kamikaze. The worriers of the morning dawn. Those, who are ready to die, who are ready to move forward with the wooden shields. I realized that no matter how many snipers there will be, if it lasts long, it will result in snipers coming also from the other side. Yes, with the hunting weapons, with the sawn-off shotguns, but they will come.

Death of participations

#### Emotions

Fearless

V.O.: Were the earlier revolutionary events of the 20th century or other important events in the history of Ukraine important for the Ukrainians during the protests that happened in waves? Was a historic succession important or not?

S.V.: Absolutely. It is not an accident that the red and black flag appeared. First, let's be honest, most of those first active protesters were, whether we like it or not, members of different civil



movements, organizations, the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth, members of the Youth Club, the Youth Nationalist Congress, former participants and organizers of the Revolution on Granite, the Ukrainian Student Union. Each of these organizations had its own history and has its own historical background. That is why, beyond any doubt, almost always "the first to rave", were the people who were rooted in the Ukrainian past. Those, who knew that they were yet another link in the fight for Ukraine, for its freedom and its people.

V.O.: Which events form the last period of the USSR influenced the outbreaks of the protest in Ukraine after 1991?

S.V.: To be honest, I see the result of the Ukrainian independence as a certain sum of random and non-random events that were partly initiated by individual groups, namely the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, or the Ukrainian People's Front, i.e. groups that were very different in ideological, philosophical and the worldview positions, but they were still bringing this special moment closer. Of course, an important role was played by the OUN-UPA veterans, who after spending 15-20-25 years in prison, started returning home to Ukraine and talking to the younger generation. An extremely important role has been played by the Ukrainian diaspora, which tried to export self-published books, save literature that was destroyed in Ukraine. In the 1990s the diaspora was already actively involved in the restoration of the institutional ties with the Ukrainian lands etc. What I am trying to say is that different events together played the role. For example, the fact that in the US the Ukrainian Olympic Committee was created. It advocated for the idea that because Ukraine is one of the UN founding nations and therefore an independent country, the Ukrainian Olympic team should be independent. The work that they have done was incredible: they met with Ukrainian sportsmen, interviewed them, they talked with world governments, and conducted to some extent crazy, high quality lobbyist work. On the other hand, there were, for example, committees protecting Ukrainian prisoners, where people from all over the world could support imprisoned religious and political activists, demanding their release. Also, of course, the work of Radio Liberty, all that underground listening to the BBC,

## History

Ukrainian  
Helsinki Group

OUN-UPA

Publications by  
the Ukrainian  
diaspora

clandestine listening to Voice of America. I witnessed it myself! My father had a very powerful radio 'Oreanda', which was welded by radio technicians in such a way that he was able to listen to all the forbidden stations. Therefore, I was able to distinguish the call letters of Radio Liberty and Voice of America since I was four years old.

V.O.: Is there oligarchy in Ukraine?

S.V.: Of course there is. Because the country is so big and rich there is still a fight going on for the economic wealth of Ukraine among oligarch groups, they are still competing, also in politics. But the main goal for them is, of course, the economic resources, which Ukraine still has and which will be sufficient for hundreds of years.

V.O.: What was the role of corruption in the outbreaks of the protests? What is the essence of corruption in Ukraine?

S.V.: From the economic point of view, Ukraine is quasi-socialist state, which is trying to support the society without necessary resources. Meaning that it does not have the budget. It does so by a systematic and regular throwing of the society into an enormous economic abyss. Ukrainian politicians are trying to buy the loyalty of the voters by means of the social bribing, foremost the retired people, people with disabilities, different categories of Chernobyl catastrophe liquidators etc. This is achieved through the exploitation of the objects of economic activity. Oligarch clubs are well represented in politics, which allows them to have direct influence on the distribution of the state budget, as well as influence the allocation of governmental contracts. Also on the management of state enterprises, which in fact are being robbed and are their small private businesses, which are unprofitable for the tax office, but for them it's a source of millions and billions.

**Three revolutions**

**Internal policy**

Political  
Corruption

What is the reaction of the society? The society, like any normal society, is trying to oppose to declaring its taxes, its income, even less – its expenses. This is the simplest form of corruption, when people have to receive their salaries in envelopes, simply to survive. Now that the average salary in Ukraine has almost reached the price of the municipal fees for a two-room or three-room apartment, you can only imagine the steps a family has to undertake in order to solve its economic issues. In this case, political and economic corruption is clear. Oligarchs agree among themselves about the ways the state institutions are going to function. In this case one hand washes the other, when a civil servant receives little pay and lives off the preferences provided to him by one of the oligarch groups, which approaches him with requests. This economic dysfunctionality causes that the whole society is to some extent involved in corruption schemes. In order to fight corruption we have to fight the political climate and the institutions that are in charge of eliminating corruption. How can you fight corruption when it is not just the source of income, but also the only possible prerequisite for the functioning in the political or economic system? In my opinion, an anticorruption revolution in Ukraine is still to happen. And it cannot happen without putting limits on the oligarchs. Because the oligarchs will never agree to play a fair game. They are the oligarchs because they consider themselves to be above the law, above the Ukrainian nation, above the Orange revolution or the Revolution on Granite or the Euromaidan. They believe to more superior than the citizens.

#### Internal Policy

Oligarchization of state

V.O.: Could you compare the course and the importance of the subsequent protests in Ukraine after 1991?

#### Orange Revolution

S.V.: Before the Orange Revolution all these protests were rather small in numbers. Even the one on March 9<sup>th</sup>, 2001, when about 20 or 30 thousand people were on the streets in Kyiv, it was still a matter of a few. It was a matter of those who were not afraid. In 2004 we already had a generation that was not infected with the bacillus of the Soviet fear, namely “they will kill me for it”, “they will put me in jail”, “they will take away my business”, “they will expel me from the

#### Emotions

Belief in themselves

## Motivations

Defend civil  
society

university” etc. Despite the fact that it was still happening and was part of the reality in 2004. However, we already had a new generation that was not afraid. Therefore, I believe, that 2004 was the year when the children of Ukrainian Independence came to the streets completely consciously to defend their country and the society.

V.O.: How did people know how to protest?

S.V.: Based on the experience we have, you shall protest only with the people whom you can trust.

V.O.: What about the form of the protest?

## Form of protest

Depend on situation

S.V.: To be honest, the form of the protest, its goals and methods shall be selected in each specific case. There is no perfect protest frame that could be used in Syria, Baghdad, Egypt or in Ukraine. It's always a mix. For example, we used to believe in peaceful protest as a form and a method. And even as a goal - to protest peacefully. But we learnt that to protest peacefully is very costly, when you protest against the violence machine, not limited by the law, not limited by any leverages and limits, except, probably, some foreign politicians, who will come and say that it's not good to beat up students, or it's bad to kill the activists and bury them in the woods. That is the reason I think that until we are convinced that the state of law is built, that the politicians are accountable to the Ukrainian people, I believe, all the future forms of the protest must be based on the clear understanding that we have to protect ourselves. That we can rely neither on our new police, nor on the rebranded Berkut forces, not even on the representatives of the National Guard (I hope they don't get mad at me for saying this).

V.O.: Do you think that the involvement in the previous protests could be a motivation to participate in the next protests?

S.V.: It's like a football. If you started playing and you liked it and you see that it brings results, even if small, it creates a tradition. Of course. Without any doubt. The person does not have to spend all their time at the protests. Of course, we already have "professional revolutionaries", "professional protesters", and "professional titushkas". Ukraine has already these categories of professions. But for me it is very clear that participation in a protest is a conscious choice. As time goes by, you become more professional, you start to understand some things – internal and external. You start to assess your own role and the roles of others in a correct way. And, as a consequence, you start to value those who did not break. This, to a certain extent, forms the environment, which stays with you despite the protests. No matter what happens. Even if there is a war out there, a nuclear winter or another Syrets [*district of Kyiv*] flood.

V.O.: Why people don't come to the protests?

S.V.: In any society, rich or poor, educated or ignorant, the majority of people are the ambivalent mass, which leans towards general trends. Therefore, when this mass notices that some trend becomes powerful, it starts to get interested, starts reading, attending, participating. That is why any successful protest needs, undoubtedly, some signature personalities, who are trusted by at least some part of the society, and who are ready to some extent to take a risk and come to the Maidan with a certain plan. For example, any attempts of the Russian special services to gather the third Maidan in Ukraine, initiate some "Maidan of veterans", or anything else, face resistance of the Ukrainian society. Because there is no agenda behind these speakers. They don't have the moral force that would really motivate the entrepreneurs to close their kiosks and students to miss their classes, and intellectuals to start talking about it for real.

#### Situation

Ambivalent  
society

V.O.: Who were the authorities relying on during the protests and who were the protesters relying on?

S.V.: The protesters can only rely on the Kyivites (if we are talking about non-Kyivites), because if the Kyivites do not support the protest, no matter how justified it is, I am afraid, it will not last long in time or place. The authorities, during the protest, always rely on power institutions, the police. However, most interestingly, our authorities do not have any negotiation concept. Although we went through this crisis so many times, people in power still do not have anyone to conduct negotiations. I mean professional negotiators, who could come out and openly talk to the protesters. To ask them: what is wrong, why are you protesting, how can we help? What are the ways to solve the issue? That is why I believe that the absence of the negotiations institution in Ukraine, as there is no effective communication between the people in power and the protesters, means that protests in Ukraine, including the mass ones, are inevitable. Because until today the authorities did not assume the responsibility for their own people, or this Damocles' sword of changes, which is going to fall sooner or later. Because the society is already tired of waiting. People are tired of deceiving themselves with the hopes for improvements, reforms, the fight against corruption, the renewed army, and the new upgraded police.

#### Inner Policy

Absence of communication system between people and government

V.O.: Who are the protesters, who are these people?

S.V.: Anyone who realized his/her own mission in this process can become a protester. That it is not happening without him/her. I witnessed when people, who could stay at home and relax, became protesters. Everything was fine in their lives. Well, it was relatively fine. Somehow those people believed that something was not fine in Ukraine and that a lot depended on them joining or not. So they would pack, get on the bus, drive 8 or 12 hours to Kyiv in order to spend one or two days and go back to work, work and come back to the Maidan. For me it shows, first of all, a sense of duty to the community, to those people you care for. There can be no other

#### Revolution of Dignity

#### Motivation

Sense of duty

motivation. Because, objectively, political parties failed at the Maidan of 2014. They were a clear minority on Maidan, and even all of their attempts to be leaders, to have some structure, were useless. Maybe they could convince European or American diplomats that they are the face of the Maidan. But I personally don't know any political leader who has a moral authority to say "I am the face of the Maidan". I remember well, how many times they were told to leave Maidan, the stage, and it was done completely consciously. And it was not done by those who wanted to provoke, it was done by people who realized that those political activists were weak, immoral, ready to betray, to step away from the demands of Maidan. That they were ready to bargain, because they needed peace and quiet, they were tired of being cold standing on the square for a couple of hours.

V.O.: What was the role of the recent protests in the evolution of the Ukrainian society?

S.V.: I will repeat myself by saying that we have created a new type of identity. This type is proactive, these people don't wait that the authorities will solve the issues, or someone else will, they try to do it themselves, or search for people who will be trying to push the cart forward. I believe that the volunteer movement is the best answer to the question about the evolution of the Ukrainian society. The volunteer movement in this case accepted the biggest challenge of the war that was millions of displaced people, and in fact started to take care of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian military, volunteers, the wounded, began to look after the Ukrainian home front. This is the evolution that demonstrated that the underground Ukrainian state, the state of our future, exists. These are the people who are ready for self-sacrifice, people who are able to be effective managers, effective workers, effective leaders. In my opinion, sooner or later they will become the base of the new Ukrainian state. I also hope for the new Constitution, a new good division of the branches of power, and, of course, internal balance, which will not allow neither oligarchs, nor separate political or economic scam artists to take power into their hands, and lead the country in the direction they choose.

**Russia's Policy**

War

**Outcomes**

Creation of civil society

