

Interview with Aleksandra Hnatiuk (AH). Interviewer: Iwona Reichardt. Place of record: Warsaw.

IR: OK, let us start our interview. I will now just ask the first question: do you agree to participate in the research project and allow us to use information from this interview in further academic endeavours?

AH: Yes, I agree. Aleksandra Hnatiuk, we are in Warsaw. December 9th 2016.

IR: Thank you. The interview is being conducted by Iwona Reichardt. I would like to start this interview with a short biographical information about you. If you could introduce yourself and say a few words: which part of Ukraine do you come from, what was your childhood like, maybe not the very early one, but...

AH: You will be surprised. It amuses me but somehow everybody thinks that I was born in Ukraine while I was born in Warsaw. I was born in Warsaw and got all my education here; I got all my academic degrees here and it's been only ten years since I have been living in Ukraine. Of course this is quite a large experience but nobody... I just cannot understand why everybody thinks that I was born in Ukraine, if this is a widely available information.

IR: True, but indeed there is such a common gossip that you are a Ukrainian living in Warsaw, right?

AH: You know this shows how people see others as in Ukraine everybody thinks that I am Polish. So it is a bit of a strange situation as I am a Ukrainian of a Polish culture and let's say this was my choice. This is how it was; my mother was a Polish woman from Lviv, my father was a Ukrainian from the Chełm land, meaning the Polish part, because this area is on today's Poland's territory, so the identity here, whether Polish or Ukrainian is ok. Should we go according to the tradition then I would be on my mother's side – according to this 19th or even the one used before the Second World War tradition – regarded as a Pole, while my choice is such that I am both Polish and Ukrainian and nobody force me to do otherwise.

IR: And for the last ten years you have been living between Warsaw and Kyiv, yes?

AH: Yes, yes, yes, but my home is here. We are talking in my house. My husband is also from Warsaw.

IR: OK, so [in our research] we can treat you as an observer of the events, yes?

AH: Yes, yes. Of course.

IR: OK, so if we could start with....

AH: As a participant I can talk about 2013-2014 as then I was there for almost the whole time, apart from those moments when I was in Warsaw and worked, as I had lectures at that time, so it was not like that that I was only in Kyiv, but I was coming to Warsaw, to lecture.

IR: And here you were also explaining to Poles what was taking place in Kyiv, yes?

AH: Yes, yes.

IR: But you observed and analysed all three of these revolutions?

AH: Of course.

IR: OK, so starting with the Revolution on Granite, was it for you a surprise, the explosion of these protests? Or even the fact that they took place? What was, at that time, the state of knowledge regarding these protests? Were they known among the analysts? As I have come across an opinion that information about them in the beginning was very limited and not many people overall knew that they took place. Was it like this indeed? How do you remember this moment before the revolution and was its eruption a surprise for you?

AH: Maybe let me start with this it is that seemingly we know little about this topic as indeed the situation where we have a widespread access to information is something completely new. We need to remember that in 1990 there were no cell phones, there was no fast communication, when it comes to press information. I am not even talking about media information, at that time TV, radio – they all worked much slower. Streams emerged not at the first Maidan but the second one. Also, all those technical things have a significant influence on our perception of events, our knowledge about them. And when it comes to me, the first time I went to Ukraine was in June 1988 when I went to Kyiv. This was my private pilgrimage because of the one thousandth anniversary of the baptism of Rus'. I believed that since we were commemorating this anniversary, it would be rather... as it did not take place there and I will go to Kyiv. I really wanted to see those sources, even more as I was then writing my PhD which focused on the religious culture and everything there was very close to me and very important. And this first visit to Lviv made had a huge impact on me. I was once, only once, in the Soviet Union. It was 1983, beginning of the year. Moscow. This was one semester of studies. Obligatory one. We could not avoid it, but I had a very bad perception of Moscow and those imperial... I could feel this imperial oppression. I simply could not take it, neither mentally nor physically. I ended up coming back before the semester was over, after a few weeks literally, even though it was supposed to be a semester. And I did not want to go back, I did not want to go back to the Soviet Union, which of course was problematic for me as I was studying Ukrainian studies. This is how it was, right? But, on the other hand, I could not take it, neither mentally, nor physically. Here, I went for the second time, a bit more mature, to Kyiv and based on an absolutely thought-out decision, that I am going to see the roots of the Ukrainian Christianity. And not only, not only did I participate in those unofficial ceremonies, which were organised at that time, and which were organised by the Ukrainian Cultural Club led by Yevhen Sverstiuk for whom it was a very important part of identity – religiousness. So when he then published this amazing text “Our Mother is the Church of Christ”. I translated this text

almost immediately, it was much later published by “Więź” which took quite some time, this reaching to the Polish reader it took a long time. Of course we had our own problems and the breakthrough moment of 1988 and 1989 was very dramatic in Poland; at that time on everybody’s minds were strikes, inability to reach an agreement with the authorities, huge pressures, in other words: in 1988 and 1989 there were some more binding talks and in February there was finally the Round Table. And after that it was as if an avalanche started. Of course it was not clear, but already in May it was not even clear what would be its consequences, but already in June there was a euphoria, right? Of course I am talking about this to draw attention to.... Poles were more occupied with themselves than with observing what was taking place in their neighbours’ states and it was not easy to get to the readers with a message that something was changing in Ukraine. And for me that – that is why I said about this huge impression, and that I felt terrible in Moscow, and there I was simply from the first sight in love with this city, in this space and it was all amazing to me even though Lenin was still standing at this Maidan then, but it was my beloved place. The most wonderful, even though this is a sociorealist architecture, everything was Soviet, but for me it was somehow the most wonderful place and it was amazing indeed. Plus meetings with people. And here of course opposition groups, related, in part, with the Catholic, Greek-Catholic Church. Thus, it was underground Church, in the catacombs, some people were related to the dissidents, let’s put it this way, Oles Shevchenko, Yevhen Sverstiuk with whom I actually had the closest contact at that time, when it come to Kyiv. It was later when I discovered more. And of course between 1988 and 1990, and this is the most important, and I should probably start with that, that openin.... That the border ceased to be locked up. Meaning, for the first time I could go, with an invitation, before it had to be my sister, father or somebody from a close family for me to be able to pay a visit. And since 1988 we could get an invitation from a friend and just go with this invitation. Of course I took advantage of this right away even though I had a small child and.... I just simply wanted to see this country, which I was professionally focused on and which is very important and very close to, a very close point of reference, as since my childhood I was convinced that I was both a Pole and a Ukrainian, and I defined it in different ways, of course at that time I thought that I was a Ukrainian citizen of Poland, now I think that I am a Pole and a Ukrainian and it does not bother me in anything at all. And I am against assigning me any other identity. But returning to this breakthrough moment, meaning this similar to Solidarity carnival, there were numerous demonstrations, already in 1988, already during this demonstration, a demonstration of not only religious ceremonies, as these were not the first non-registered meetings, at that time there were already demonstrations in Lviv. This was the first, the first larger demonstration of a religious nature, which took place at Saint Volodymyr monument. Right now I cannot give you a specific date, whether it was June 14th or something like that, of 1988. However, I returned later in 1989 and it made such an impression on me, to such an extent that in

1988 I applied for a scholarship and went to Ukraine for two months. Starting in September 1989, actually on the day when the first non-communist government in Poland was formed, I left for Ukraine and spent two months over there. For me this was a very important experience. At that time I met the legendary dissidents, from this group related to “Ukrainian Visnyk”, meaning Chornovil, in Lviv and Kyiv and this group became a very close group to me. At the same time, I had contacts with the official academic groups, Mykola Zhulynsky, or Ivan Drach or Dmytro Pavlychko – this, as I say, was the time when these people started to show up here. And they also made public appearances. This was the time of the Narodnyi, the National Movement for Reconstruction in Ukraine. This period, autumn 1989, was for such an initiation when it comes to Ukraine.

IR: At that time you participated in numerous meetings. What did these discussions focus on?

AH: I many different meetings. These discussions, of course, focused around independence. There were also discussions on the gaining of legal status of Greek-Catholic Church and was also at the first mass where the priest of the Orthodox Church announced that it was time to leave underground and start adhering to Greek Catholicism. And all these of course took place in such an amazing atmosphere at the time, which I would like to stress one more time, there are no cell phones, no internet, so how to inform people when a decision was made at the very last moment? A decision is made at a very last moment maybe because, maybe because such was a spiritual need or maybe it was necessary to surprise the KGB, here we can ask, maybe not me, why it was in such a last minute, when it is hard to inform people, but in addition the dissidents, of course, all those opposition groups, they collectively did not have phones. And those who had they had them bugged. So obviously in such a context sharing information about something is extremely difficult, of course the whole press, all media, were under the control of the authorities, and the only one, the breaking down of this monopoly, was of course thanks to samizdat, but at that time, we are talking about 1988-1989, there was still no access to printers, yes? Back in 1988 everything was transported to Tallinn, all this samizdat, and it was printed there and brought back from there. So it was a large logistical operation, which did not bring about speedy results. It was impossible to print out leaflets, there were no one page bulletins, something that is today impossible to imagine that something which can now be done in five minutes would then take five days. And with a risk of very serious consequences. So let's say a bit more difficult than here during the Marshal Law, so the first thing was how to deliver information to people. I found it of course. I was rooted in Lviv to such an extent that after those two or

three weeks of my stay there I knew where the least protected Xerox place was and I knew what to do and whom to deliver the brochures to so they were distributed. In other words, I played a bit of a role of a messenger, right? As it turned out that in these groups nobody knew how to do it fast. It was November, or end of October, of 1989, maybe the 16th or 17th of November when Vasyl Stus' ashes were moved from this anonymous grave in Perm to Kyiv. This was also a huge massive demonstration which attracted people from the whole Ukraine, from Borispol to Kyiv's centre, in the evening, there was this demonstration. Later, on the next day, there was the second burial, a terribly freezing cold day, for sure not a typical November. As if it was to remind us the conditions which Stus had to endure. His closest circles included Oleksandr Tychyi and Lytvyn at that time. So it was a huge demonstration. Also in October there was a huge demonstration in Kyiv. At the moment I cannot remember whether it was exactly at the end of September or early October; it seems to me early October, but I can be wrong. It took place by the Stadium, at that time the Republican Stadium, today the Olympic Stadium. These were massive gatherings; meaning they attracted not two or three thousand people, but around ten thousand. And I also remember my anger caused by the speech of Leonid Kravchuk, and even in the worst nightmare I could not imagine in the autumn of 1989 that in five years this man will be a departing president of Ukraine. And he very quickly grew into a leader, even though at that time he was a chairman, not a chairman but the head of the Central Committee division for propaganda, meaning in the area aimed at fighting ideological enemies and it was not without a reason that Kravchuk was described as someone who knew how to evade things, who was like a slobbering fish. So this whole revolution of his and this takeover of the democratic rhetoric of the dissidents, which took place right before independence, meaning in 1991, was the most skilful ideological operation carried out by Leonid Kravchuk. But let me return one more time to the period of storm and attack, meaning it was absolutely clear to me, when I returned in 1989, that the Soviet Union will NOT SURVIVE and that it was its end. On the other hand, it was still holding tight. I was coming back to Poland maybe on the 20th or 21st of November – I did not know anything about the Velvet Revolution, I did not know anything about the collapse of the Wall... nothing. Of course those who had radio receivers, who had TV sets, maybe could read something out, but the information blockage of this kind was there.... I was simply deeply shocked, but... of course – euphoria – but my husband could not believe that I knew nothing. And of course we had no telephone here at that time, we had no contact, nor... In other words, I simply returned to a different world and what was an incredible experience for me. And this is how my life experience with Ukraine started and it lasts until today. In 1990 I was in Ukraine in June, and I was not there at the time when the students started the hunger strike. I was in Poland then and I can talk only what it looked like from this perspective. All in all, I was getting quite blurry information and in fact I could only depend on the phone calls that, more or less, once a week, I was making to my friends.

IR: And how do you assess these protests, to what extent, as we are taking, they were a surprise, as there were problems with information, right? So until the very last moment many people did not know... And yet they [the protests] were so important that we call them a Revolution on Granite. Were, in your opinion, indeed a revolution? Where they a breakthrough compared to earlier demonstrations?

AH: I think that one of the reasons to call it a Revolution on Granite was the thinking to change the political system, meaning forcing out the most hated prime minister. And, considering this aspect, we can talk about it [the protest – editor] as a revolution. In regards to massive participation of course not...

IR: Not, because it was small...

AH: It was, compared to the mass protests in which I participated in the autumn in Lviv or in autumn in Kyiv, in autumn of 1989, or in 1990 in Lviv where there was a demonstration of tens of thousands of people and which demanded to legalise the Greek Catholic Church – this was a revolution! And indeed this was achieved. This was an amazing turnover. Meaning the Church, which had been – by force – deprived the legal status, the Church – which in the opinion of many – was a church of the martyrs became a Church that people were fighting for. This was a revolution, this was a conquest of places, yes, meaning the takeovers of places which were earlier repossessed by the Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate. All these were accompanied by a huge tension and a huge counter-propaganda, meaning: “forgive us those belligerent Catholics want to take away our churches” as in the meantime some kind of Orthodox community was formed and it was convinced that its faith was the real faith. Of course we are not going to discuss faith here as everyone has a right to a choice of faith but we need to remember of what happened before, about the ways in which your father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, parish priest were forced to denounce their faith. Thus, there was a huge tension and indeed this was a... revolutionary event. When it comes to the takeover of power, it took place in the spring of 1990 on the territory of Galicia, yes? The first who got this power was the legendary Viachislav Charnovil and it was him who made this hole in the wall. The path was completely different than the Polish one. The Poles succeeded right away, I am not saying right away as 1989 lasted for a while but at the moment when the breakthrough took place to those

elections in 1989 – there was a takeover of power, not a complete one, clearly – our prime minister, your president, security services, key areas, etc. and we will play this game for over year and it was in 1990 when we had our president – Wałęsa, right? And we had our first problems. But when it comes to the situation in Ukraine – in the spring of 1990 the opposition, for the first time, gets power, the local one, yes? And this is the first time when Chornovil comes to Poland. We managed to organise this trip for him. Earlier, already in 1989, we managed to organize a visit of one of the most important oppositionists – Bohdan Horyn. But it was Chornovil who was a symbol and not Bohdan Horyn who was not very famous and also did not have the charisma that Chornovil had; 17 years in prison, in Gulag, this made a huge impression both on Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuroń. Until today I remember those conversations as I was a leader of this endeavour; he actually lived in my house as some of my Ukrainian friends were scared to host him: it was kind of an awkward situation as I had no telephone, no... my only strength was that I had a car, but I also had a four-year old child so logistically it was a bit complicated but we managed...

IR: Do you think that his visit was a breakthrough in the Polish thinking?

AH: Yes, of course. Those direct contacts with the opposition had a breakthrough meaning, 1989-1990, and later a spectacular meeting in April 1990 in Jabłonna. A meeting of Ukrainian oppositionists and Polish core of the opposition. And since that time we can talk about building the bridges of agreement. We can see those connecting threads, the community of fate, all this was very important. There was chemistry.

IR: Would you say that this is this moment when the Giedroyc doctrine starts to be implemented and becomes the foundation of our foreign policy?

AH: It starts to have a clear framework, a real one, and is not just an idea, as before of course there was some care for the minority, all these important things already took place and there were meetings organised here in Lublin and there were also meetings in Warsaw. So, all in all, things were taking place when it comes to a Ukrainian minority. From time to time there were also some artists coming with a visit. This

means that this communist monopoly was broken down. And what was important was that this scare that when the Soviet Union falls down and Poland becomes independent, then right away “one atomic bomb and we are returning to Lviv” as it was sang back then. Even in 1989 there were such fears among some Ukrainians from Galicia and they were very much alive. This was comparable to the relief that we felt when there was a meeting in Krzyżowa, the ratification of the treaty was only in 1990. So there were such moments when uncertainty was in the air what will happen next, how things will work with those Germans, there was no certainty. Like for decades Poles were being terrified with the thought that the Soviet Union was our warranty, the warranty of our border on the Oder and the Neisse, it was similar in regards to Ukraine, especially about Lviv. For some reason nobody cared about Volhynia. Nobody had in mind such kinds of associations, while Lviv – oh here there always was a problem. Also the slow and lengthy building of this capital of mutual trust took place at such small steps, and both on those higher levels, where contacts are established and there is the signing of a consular agreement when Skubiszewski is signing an agreement with Zlemka. And for all that there was a need for political will, something which was not so obvious. This, for sure, was not so obvious; that it will happen, on the top. On the bottom, however, on the former opposition side, there was shared friendship. There were terrible things too. Like the arrival of Adam Michnik to a Rukh convention in September 1989 and he was very well received there, it was wonderful, with the exception that at this convention you could see the emblems of Przemyśl and Chełm. This was one step away from a scandal, seriously.

IR: Until today we have plenty of those... uncompleted...Do you think that this influence, this democratising Poland had on democratising Ukraine to the extent that it contributed to those revolutions, for example: did the Orange Revolution take anything from Polish experiences? Or no?

AH: No, there were no direct transfers. Of course it was an important point of reference. But there was no direct transfer, or taking examples for the Solidarity's activity – no. Simply put it, the border was too tight. What could get through was more, let's say it this way, leaked. The culture was get through more, but when it comes to the models of political behaviour, protest models, these were of course strictly Ukrainian even though since 1989 the youth started to exchange. I already at that time worked at the university, but my students – at that time they could go for a semester programme in Kyiv, and not only do an obligatory semester in Moscow – so my students were engaged in that, at times without limits – meaning they would not graduate, yes? And smuggle, distribute...in other words: all that was taking place, the scale was just

much smaller. Ukraine is twice as large as Poland and those changes took place differently there. Of course the path to independence was different, much more difficult.

IR: Cannot be even compared. Meaning; we were never a direct part of the Soviet Union. And now, moving on to the Orange Revolution, again the causes – we know the direct cause, but was there an accumulation in your view of social frustration, and later was there a feeling: we won these elections and they were taken away from us..? How do you assess the causes of the outbreak of this revolution?

AH: Of course things were cumulating, as this social discontent cumulates. For me this is a very.... What I mean it is silly to say that I knew it all, as it was overall quite intuitive, and I remember this moment in January 1990 – maybe I am not mistaken, it was 1990 and not January 1991... please correct me when were people shot to death in Vilnius...?

IR: In 1991.

AH: In 1991 yes? So for me it was a terrible shock and I understood that this system was holding very tight and can still wag its tale, strongly wag. The same with the coup d'état in 1991, in August, on August 19th, when it all started to get really complicated. Of course I cannot say that I was certain but the intuition.. the intuitions were for me quite clear that it could not be maintained and was collapsing. What I am talking about is 1988, but when it come to 2004 I had not doubt that... that there would be victory. I could not get convinced that you could forge the elections to such an extent, that you could be so arrogant and do something like that, that you could prepare parallel servers, I simply had no idea about this technology overall. That you could cheat people so much. And people simply get angry with these kinds of things. Social discontent increases and, what is characteristic, this is not a matter of an economic crisis as was the case in Poland, in 1988, right – simply the bottom of the bottom. And there we bounced back from the bottom; they started to pay salaries; thanks to whom? Thanks to Kuchma! Yes? What I mean is not that I think that it was thanks to Kuchma, but it was under Kuchma when some kind of stabilisation took place in a sense that people finally got salaries, worse ones, but they got them. While earlier it was for example a bag of sugar, or a bag of coal and this is how things were paid. And all these did not cause a social

discontent. But the protest “Ukraine without Kuchma” was very significant. This, what actually had the greatest impact was the murder of Gongadze. It was of course a shock, a social shock but again did not generate such a protest as the imprisonment of Tymoshenko. When it simply...

IR: So when was this moment...?

AH: When is this moment? In my opinion when people are simply feeling that they have been simply brutally cheated. That this is something that cannot be done. Right?

IR: That a certain line, the most fundamental almost, has been crossed?

AH: Yes, yes.

IR: And how do you assess the politicians of this period? For example Yushchenko?

AH: Overall I have a very bad assessment of politicians. In our region we do not have many distinguished ones, politicians who are mission-driven, who have a vision. Dominating are the politicians who are fighting for power, influences, prestige, money.

IR: But there was this fascination; Maidan was shouting: “Yushchenko! Yushchenko!”

AH: OK, but they needed to shout something. They also shouted “Kuchmu het!”. These were those popular slogans from that period of “Ukraine without Kuchma” and the programme, there had to be some kind of positive programme, right? And of course a charismatic leader – I do not know. For sure not. Of course

there was a very well prepared campaign, and this was very important. But again I think that what made a huge impression on the society was the poisoning of Yushchenko.

IR: Exactly.

AH: And this terrible effort that he had to make not to give up, as he is now a person who functions normally, but back then he did not.

IR: He could never become a real leader of the Ukrainians, right? He turned out to be a huge disappointment...

AH: Disappointment without a doubt, but whether he could become a leader? Maybe he could. I have a very bad assessment of Yushchenko and his policies. And also Tymoshenko. And of course I am not only talking about disappointment with the Orange Camp, but also overall the Ukrainian political elite – I have a very bad assessment of it. And if you think that I have a good assessment of the Polish political elite, I would say that I have an even worse opinion of it than that I have about Ukrainian politicians, mainly because they had many more opportunities, more possibilities, they were not suppressed so much. It is a pathetic show, a pathetic show, not politics.

IR: Poland?

AH: Yes.

IR: In your opinion, did the Orange Revolution achieve anything in addition to those direct outcomes?

AH: I think that if we look at it from today's perspective it has achieved a great deal. It postponed a verdict. And from what I understand from this situation of 2004 there were attempts, already back then, to place Yanukovych as a Moscow puppet. This was the first failure, the first failure of Moscow and since that time Moscow has been going with such an offensive and since then there have been attempts to assign fascism to the Orange camp. Brown shirts, yes? Black PR. Do you remember grandfather from Wermacht? Imagine please that Yushchenko's father was a prisoner in Auschwitz and Yushchenko was accused of having a father who was a collaborator. Do you know why? Probably because he survived death in a concentration camp. So it was back then when this propaganda war started and with the application of the same weapons which are being used now. Nothing new, no new gun powder was discovered. Moscow trolls existed already there. During the Orange Revolution I was involved in a very vivid correspondence with a wide... not only organising all kinds of letters of support, and all kinds of things here in Poland, but also with my friends from all over the world. And of course in the autumn, in October, when the mood that "nothing will succeed" started to spread, I organised this mass mailing, but it was not bombarding people with a machine gun-like speed, but I simply wrote to everyone individually. I put a lot, a lot, of energy into that to convince people that yes there were chances. And I am not assigning any tribute to myself, I just want to say what happened afterwards. It was visible to such an extent that somebody hacked into my account and cleared out all correspondence from that time. Simply put it, the correspondence from the period of these three revolutionary months ceased to exist. Overall, from October to January, yes? I was simply shocked, but at that time I also saw, for the very first time, what the internet fora work like. That was not the time of Facebook yet. This was not the time of massive, this throwing dirt at each other internet fora, that was not there then. However, a comment underneath a text supporting the Orange, was right away trolled, with lots of negativity, regardless of what I said. Right away, even when there was no one to argue with, there was offensive language just to throw dirt at someone. For me this was shocking. I was, nonetheless, sharing this concern with many different people, with whom I thought I should have shared it, as I believed that Polish security services should start to be active. However, until today Polish security services have not started working effectively to counter-act Moscow-generated trolling. Right now we have a very dangerous situation in our country. And it cannot be this way that only a few volunteers, such as Marcin Rej, are fighting with that. This is a fiasco. This is a progressing fiasco of the Polish state.

IR: It seems that here people assume that if Poles are Russophobes as a society, then they are immune to Russian propaganda.

AH: For sure not.

IR: Indeed, we are now probably seeing it more and more.

AH: But you could see it quite clearly back then. And of course the experience of the Orange Revolution, all those acquaintances, all these actions which we organised back then here in Warsaw... You know with the people who are one generation, as I am one generation older than they are, those contacts stayed until today. With some people I have kept very close contacts. I remember then such a first demonstration, I simply summoned it ad hoc by my electronic contacts, at the university, and since then mass demonstrations started in Warsaw. We walked from the University to the Embassy. We did not ask anybody for anything, everything was kind of crazy....

IR: And this group would later gather during the Euromaidan... just enlarged?

AH: Later no, later there was a new group. New younger people. Those, in the meantime, got married, some of them, like for example Andrzej Szeptycki who at that time got really engaged by going on an observation mission to Kharkiv. We were together a part of one observation mission. He then met his future wife. So yes, it seems to me that for this youth it was an experience of an initiating nature. Something like the 1980 Solidarity was for me, which simply shaped me as a citizen. For them such were these demonstrations.

IR: Many of them said so, for example we would not have the journal *Nowa Europa Wschodnia* if not the Orange Revolution, as Małgosia and Andrzej also went to Kyiv as correspondents of *Tygodnik Powszechny*, also... and they also say that this had formed them. And now, let's me move to the topic that professor Mink would like to research, namely this learning by doing. How do you see this process? Is it only Ukrainian or there are also relations with Poland that are of significance here?

AH: Of course. I do not think that there are such experiences that go beyond one's country but of course there are mainly local experience, as they can only be of massive nature, yes? So of course this youth that was then in their 20s, 18-20 in 2004 and which was demonstrating, protesting in such a vibrant way, we need to remember that it was then when "Razom nas bahato" was created, those wild dances by Ruslana, yes? All of this was accompanied by music. That was not a counterculture, but Ukrainian culture, which was not so accessible. We need to remember what started Yushchenko's career. There were some methods used, which were already present in Ukraine in 1988, when the mass movement started, which was described by Padraic Kenney in his *A Carnival of Revolution*. He writes about the Lev Society (Tovaristvo Leva) – as its members were the key participants of the Revolution on Granite. They are activists who are quite conscious of their goals, but they work with the means that do not generate fear. We are not going to be scared of a nativity play, right? And this is how it starts. It starts with those Easter songs around the Church at Shevchenskyi Hai Park in Lviv. This was the beginning of those open-air actions. Not sitting at home, in closed workshops, but getting out into open space. All this is not dangerous, we sing some songs, and that's it. But later there is suddenly a massive movement of collecting some ethnographic things; the black pottery from Havarechchyna or vyshyvankas. What can you accuse those people of? Nothing. And at the same time this was very important for the identity, for searching these points of reference. And this is an attempt of freeing people from the fear of participating in something shared – this is thanks to the Lev Society. Of course in Kyiv these things are a bit different and people also stop fearing getting to the streets. But in Kyiv it was not of such a mass nature as it was in Lviv when a few hundred people started it in the spring of 1988, and there were thousands manifesting in the defense of the Greek Catholic Church, meaning for its legalization. And these are not the handcuffs, but fear, that was broken down then, and Yushchenko's campaign worked then in the exactly the same way. It starts with a festival, Krajina Mriy, what a name, right? This is a folk festival and takes place in Kyiv at the Spivochne Pole, this is the beginning of Yushchenko's campaign. And of course Yushchenko is a bit crazy about the Trypillian culture, all those vyshyvankas, and so on and so forth. And of course this is out of the conviction, as nobody from the Lev Society nobody would say that they were not interested in it as they were interested, but these are methods of work which attract people, also those who do not like politics, and do not want to participate in some... they do not trust politicians.. Here there is something which blocks immensely all kinds of activity – this is the lack of trust capital. To what extent in Ukraine people do not trust politicians as compared to what is here in Poland. They trust them much, much less...

IR: This is a result of an experience, right?

AH: Yes. There is oligarchisation, which is progressing and the oligarchic system was generally created under Kuchma, Kravchuk tried to do something like enfranchising the nomenclature, while he allows for these kinds of games, which enable the oligarchs to enter the scene, those Donetsk and Dniepropetrovsk clans, but this is a separate issue. You are asking about this learning, so let me say this: the Lev Society, Revolution on Granite, these methods of getting people out into public space, encouraging them to manifest feelings, yes? Express feelings that are not necessarily political, but soon they can become political. The same can be said about Krajina Mriy. This was a huge success, with the great, wonderful Oleh Skrypka and his not necessarily most political message, which – at the same time – was very human, this way of reaching people's conscience with absolutely non-political methods. And at the moment when there is this critical moment, yes, that is after the forged elections, when these same people come out to Maidan, yes? And something starts here. From the almost empty Maidan, on Monday after the forged elections. And in my opinion of great importance here, in addition to this kind of activity, which attracts people who are politically or socially uninvolved, was the development of non-governmental organisations. All those activities of non-governmental organisations were very important.

IR: And it was between these two revolutions, yes?

AH: No, in 2003-2004. There was already the organisation called 'Pora' and all those, let's call them niche, organization. And it turns out that at a certain point there is a synergy effect and at a key moment the hundreds of thousands of people who are at Maidan had to drink something warm, eat something, heat up...

IR: Yes, there is a need for this organisation..

AH: To go to the bathroom somewhere.. as it is not a space where it is possible overall, for such a large number of people. So there is such a thing that we can call a certain logistic, and it was learned back then. I was simply shocked when I saw how it was being built. I do not want to lie here because I do not

remember if it was November 30th, probably November 30th of 2013, Saturday for sure, before this Sunday demonstration and after the beating on Saturday of those students – I was convinced that if we did not go there together then Sunday would be too late, simply too late. And with this sense of anger, an absolute anger, I simply went there. And there was some kind of a stage, without any special speakers, it was impossible to hear anything, it was at Sophiyski Square, there was nowhere to warm up, I was meeting my friends there and we were just walking around to just warm up. On the next day it was very visible how the crowd got bigger, especially as the evening approached there were more and more people at the Square, but at a certain moment I am descending from there as I realized that I could not stay there any longer, that I had to warm up, I go back home. In the morning I am getting an SMS that my friend is very cold there and she is asking me for help. Of course I go, I go but of course nothing is working, no transportation, so I am going on foot, as it is impossible to take a taxi as there is already a sense of threat, so I am reaching Sophiyski Square on foot and I see that the situation, that the image is completely different. There are tables, there are people who are starting to get organised, and that people from outside Kyiv are arriving in large numbers. Not only Kyiv came. I stand there and cut some sandwiches in a sense that I will not make a cook for masses, but I cannot manage well some quick activities, but I am doing something, I bring something, buy something on my way there... Next to me there is a woman who is also making something, we are both making things, there is my friend there too, she has warmed up by then. In other words: more and more people and nobody is empty-handed. This woman arrived there with two large, three-liter each, jars of warm soup. This food disappears in a second. And helps. At a certain point this woman says that she needs to go. And I feel sad even though we do not know each other. I do not say anything but it is all written on my face. And this woman says she is sorry but is eight months pregnant and she has left her child at home, and this child, as it was almost 8am, will soon wake up and will be very scared. At that moment I thought that I would collapse. We were all bundled up in warm clothes and nobody was looking at other people's stomachs. It would not cross my mind that something like this could happen. So for me this was a moment of reflection but of course in a moment, maybe not in a moment but in an hour or two, this woman's place was replaced by somebody else and suddenly there were a lot of people and I realized that my skillful hands and my whole body was cold and I could go home and quickly eat something hot, as I did not have it so far away. I took my friend, we warmed up, ate something warm and ran back to the demonstration at noon. At Shevchenko. At Shevchenko's monument. You could see then that people did it because such was the need of their hearts. And they knew what had to be done. "Oh I am from Vinnytsia. Here, in Kyiv you don't have such sausages". And a woman on a table. And in the beginning it was of an absolutely chaotic nature, later the youth entered. They had this experience of 2004, and starts to get organised. At that time the term "sotnia" appears. So there are some jokes with these "sotnias" there is for

example a “couch sotnia” meaning those who sit on a couch and complain that nothing will turn out. But the sotnias are out there and they all have very specific task to protect a certain area, or take the responsibility over the logistics, or transport something, or warm up, yes? As it is terribly cold. Of course medical stuff, masks, as gas is being used. These are all important things.

IR: Professor Hrytsak told us that one of the methods was to put mustard seeds into shoes. It was apparently a method for warming up...

AH: Too bad. Nothing works for me.

IR: But this is such a practical knowledge.

AH: Of course, such fast methods, simple methods are the best.

IR: How often would you go to Maidan?

AH: Everyday.

IR: But with the breaks when you were here in Poland, right? And what about those most difficult moments? The most dramatic ones?

AH: I had this bad luck that then I was here. I left, I understood what was going on there. Actually, you know, it is sad to say but when everything started from the way in which those hooligans, the titushkas,

were acting and how the police was reacting to that.... It was meant to introduce negative emotions, tugging, beating....

IR: Provocations?

AH: Provocations... this was still in November. I realized that everything had to be supported by the authorities as the police did not react at all. And I remember something absolutely terrible. I returned after... I finished handing out Giedroyc Awards at the Embassy and I ran to Maidan, I had a bag with some books, something like that and the police was not reacting to the fact that titushas were beating up a girl and it was the daughter of Mykola Riabchuk and she earlier had told me “You will defend us..”

IR: How...?

AH: Well, I got so angry that I simply started to hit those titushkas with this bag. I was so angry with them... And it turned out that it worked. That is, they did not want a scandal. They did not want a... as they were let's say men in their 20s and here there was a woman in her 50s who was hitting them... what kind of scene was that? Absurd! But I was mad to such an extent, I feel embarrassed of course, but I saw no other possibility but to react; as when the authorities, are watching but not reacting and they are still behaving like this, then you have to do something...

IR: And did you expect that Yanukovych will use force, like the one he used?

AH: Like this one, no. But I was 100% sure that he would use force. At the same time, I described this in quite detail, those impressions of mine, on Facebook. It was then before the beating up of the students – there were two Maidans. At that time I had no illusions that force would be used. Mainly because the behaviour, the way of behaviour, the style in which they were documenting it all – they were perfectly equipped. It was not an accident that the resources spent on security forces increased by four times, while

those allocated to the army did not increase at all. It was not an accident. This suggests that restrictions were being prepared in this way as well as there were efforts made to increase the loyalty of those working in security forces. Of course there were a lot of civilians. There were also those... local activists, meaning those titushkas, yes? And they were guaranteed to go unpunished. Put it this way; it was ensure that a mechanism of the civil war was set up which would have to be radically suppressed. For me this very clear already in the autumn.

IR: And his escape, did it surprise you?

AH: Yes, absolutely. That is, I completely could not understand what he was doing for those four years as it seemed to me as an irrational behaviour. A person who does not want to be hung cannot behave like this..

IR: Indeed, and at the same time the building of this whole protection system around himself... Seemingly he somehow protected himself, yes?

AH: From the moment when he fainted because he was hit with an egg. I understood that overall his psychological portrait was quite clear, yes?

IR: That it was a coward, yes, yes, yes. And the balance sheet of this last Maidan. Is Ukraine complete different now?

AH: I do not know if it is completely different. Much has changed, much has changed, but let me say this: sadness dominates...

IR: Would you compare it with the disappointment with the Orange Revolution?

AH: No. This is something different. Of course there is disappointment, of course there is anger with the authorities, which in no way can undertake a deeper reform, clear out, but especially punish those who are guilty, yes? The lustration process, which was introduced with all this noise, is now simply a failure of this whole process. So of course in this regards things are really bad. But in regards to what has changed in the society you can see that people are not looking around as who did what but are just doing things.

IR: This is probably the biggest positive change, yes?

AH: Yes.

IR: OK. Thank you.

AH: Thank you.