



Programme of the 3R Symposium: Revolution, War and their Consequences.



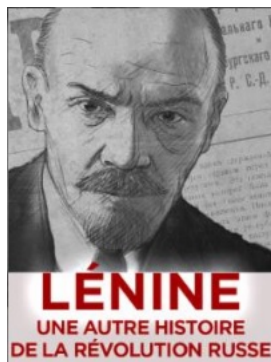
The detailed programme of the 3R Symposium on “Revolution, War and their consequences” will take place on 16-17 March 2018 is now available. Find out more [here](#).

“Cyborgs” – Premiere in Poland



The premiere of the “Cyborgs” movie will be organised within the framework of the 3R Symposium. Find out more [here](#).

“Between Russian Empires” – programme update.



The debate on the consequences of the Russian Revolution will take place on 15 March 2018. Find out more [here](#).

3R publication – special issue of *New Europe*.



A special issue of *New Europe: The Natolin Review* on the topics related to the Three Revolutions project has been published. Find out more [here](#).

## Programme of the 3R Symposium: Revolution, War and their Consequences.



3R Symposium: Revolution, War and their Consequences will take place on 16-17 March 2018 at the Natolin campus of the College of Europe. Please find the preliminary programme of the symposium below.

### 16 March 2018, Friday

10:00 am – 12:30 pm

Welcome

**Ewa Ośniecka-Tamecka**, Vice-Rector of College of Europe  
Opening remarks

**François Hollande**, former President of the Republic of France  
**Arsenii Yatsenyuk**, former Prime Minister of Ukraine  
**Sviatoslav Shevchuk**, Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church

*Short video introduction*

### **I Discussion: International consequences of the 2014 Revolution of Dignity**

Introduction: **Dan Fried**, the State Department's Coordinator for Sanctions Policy, former US Ambassador to Poland

**Adam Daniel Rotfeld**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland  
**Borys Tarasyuk**, Deputy Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. Former minister of foreign affairs.  
**Danylo Lubkivsky**, former Deputy Foreign Minister of Ukraine  
**Kataryna Wolczuk**, Professor of East European Politics, University of Birmingham  
**Igor Gretskiy**, St. Petersburg State University  
Chairperson: Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, Georges Mink, Paweł Kowal

12:30 pm – 2:30 pm lunch

2:30 pm – 4:00 pm

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

(International and legal aspects, Ukrainian policy towards Crimea, the Crimean Tatars)

**Introductory remarks: Refat Chubarov**, chairman of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar, **Ślawomir Dębski**

*Short video introduction*

**Lily Hyde**, writer and journalist specializing in Crimea

**Alexander Jankowski**, editor Ktym Realii, Radio Svoboda

**Piotr Bajor**, Professor, Jagiellonian University

Gulnara Bekirova, historian (tbc)

Ilmi Umerov, Ukrainian activist (tbc)

Chairperson: Kateryna Pryshchepa, Adam Reichardt, Tobias Schumacher (tbc)

4:00 pm – 5:00 pm

**Poster Session**

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

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

**Ostap Kushnir**, *Ukraine After 2014*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5:30 pm – 7:00 pm

### III Discussion: Military consequences of the war in eastern Ukraine

Introduction: **Mykhailo Koval**, first Deputy Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine and former Minister of Defence of Ukraine

*Short video introduction*

**Stefan Hedlund**, Professor of East European Studies at Uppsala University

**Hryhoriy Perepelytsya**, Ukrainian foreign policy expert

**Marian Staszewski**, political analyst at OSCE ODIHR

**Bogusław Pacek**, Maj. Gen. Former Rector-Commander of Academy of National Defence in Warsaw

**Glen Grant**, Lt. Colonel of British Army, Riga Business School

*Short video introduction*

Discussion with direct witnesses of the war:

**Władysław Kuczyński**, Polish activist

**Vitalii Ovcharenko**, Ukrainian activist

**Marcin Ogdowski**, Polish journalist

**Bianka Zalewska**, Polish journalist

Commentary: **Dorota Merecz-Kot**, researcher on the issue of war trauma, Nofer Institute of Occupational Medicine

Chairperson: Georges Mink, Paweł Kowal

7:00 pm – 8:45 pm

### Discussion IV: Social consequences of the war in eastern Ukraine

*(Social mobilisation in face of war, labour market, people's mobility, internal migration, emigration)*

Introduction: **Bogumiła Berdychowska**, **Yaroslav Hrytsak**

Expert discussion:

**Mikhailo Cherenkov**, former Provost of the Christian University in Donetsk

**Aleksandra Hnatiuk**, Professor, University of Warsaw/ National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

**Kálmán Mizsei**, Professor, Central European University, former head of mission at the European Union Advisory Mission on Civilian Security Sector Reform in Ukraine

**Daniel Szeligowski**, Analyst, Polish Institute of International Affairs

**Natalia Zubar**, Director Maidan Monitoring

**Ihor Rushchenko**, Professor, Kharkiv University

**Andreas Umland**, Senior Research Fellow at Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation

Chairperson: Adam Reichardt, Paweł Kowal

8:45 pm dinner

**17 March 2018, Saturday**

10:00 am – 12:00 am

Introductory remarks: **Mykola Knyazhitskiy, Serhii Plokhii**

**Discussion V: Memory and justice at a time of transformation**

**Nikita Petrov**, Memorial's Scientific Research Centre

**Igor Lyubashenko**, University of Social Sciences and Humanities

**Gayle Lonergan**, Research Fellow, University of Oxford

**Andriy Kohut**, Director of the Sectoral state archive of the Security Service of Ukraine

**Oleksandr Hrytsenko**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for cultural research of the National Academy of Arts of Ukraine

**Tomasz Stryjek**, Polish Academy of Sciences

**Andriy Meleshevych**, President of the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

Chairperson: Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, Andriy Tyushka

12.00 pm coffee break

12.15 pm-1.30 pm

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

Introductory remarks: **Oksana Zabuzhko**

Discussion:

**Olga Onuch**, Lecturer, University of Manchester

**Mykola Riabchuk**, Writer, essayist, Ukrainian PEN Club

**Andrzej Szeptycki**, Professor, University of Warsaw

**Taras Voznyak**, Ukrainian writer, Director of the Lviv National Art Gallery

Chairperson: Paweł Kowal, Kateryna Pryshchepa

1:30 pm – 2:30 pm Lunch

2:30 pm – 3:45 pm

**Final discussion: Information warfare**

Introductory remarks: Yuriy Stets, Minister of Information Policy of Ukraine (tbc)

**Marcel Van Herpen**, Director of the Cicero Foundation

**Kateryna Kruk**, activist, European Values Think Tank

**Taras Kuzio**, non-resident fellow Alberta University

**Yevhen Mahda**, Ukrainian political commentator

**Maria Górska**, journalist, Espresso TV

Chairperson: Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, Adam Reichardt

Conclusions: Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, Georges Mink

3:45 pm – 6:00 pm

Screening of the film “Cyborgs”

Discussion: **Ivanna Diadiura, Akhtem Seitablayev**

Moderator: **Nedim Useinov, Pawel Kowal**

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## “Cyborgs” – Premiere in Poland

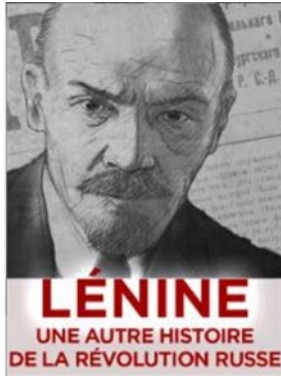


The 3R team is delighted to invite you for the first screening of the Ukrainian movie “Cyborgs” in Poland, which will conclude the 3R Symposium and will take place at the Natolin campus of the College of Europe on 17 March 2018.

The movie is based on the real events and presents the story of Ukrainian military volunteers, who fought at the Donetsk Airport. The screening will be followed by a discussion with the film’s producer Ivanna Diarjura and the film’s editor Ahtem Sentablayev.

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## “Between Russian Empires” – programme update.



On 15 March 2018, the European Civilization Chair will host the debate: "Between Russian Empires. One hundred years on". The debate will be dedicated to the centennial of the Russian revolution and the ending of WWI. The debate will concentrate on the totalitarian legacy of the revolution and will analyze its consequences for Russian imperialism.

Among the debate participants will be Professor Michel Dobry, Dr Gayle Lonergan, Dr Nikita Petrov, Professor Serhii Plokhii, Professor Francoise Thom and Dr Marcel Van Herpen.

The debate will be followed by the screening of a documentary on the Russian revolution entitled "Lenin, another story of the Russian Revolution" by Professor Michel Dobry, Professor Marc Ferro and Mr Cédric Tourbe.

This event is open to the public. In order to register please send an e-mail to: [3r.natolin@coleurope.eu](mailto:3r.natolin@coleurope.eu).

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## 3R publication – special issue of *New Europe*.



A recently published special issue of *New Europe: The Natolin Review* comprises 4 articles on 3R-related topics:

- Mykola Riabchuk “First consequences of the three unfinished revolutions in Ukraine and one undeclared war”,
- Paweł Kowal “Oligarchy and revolution (1991-2014). Ukrainian case study”
- Igor Gretskiy “Researching Ukrainian Orange Revolution in Russia and in the West”
- Mykhailo Cherenkov, “Media, religion and politics in Ukraine: the history of the Bloody Pastor”

Mykola Riabchuk argues that Euromaidan and the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war discredited the ideas of Eurasian integration and “the Russian world” in the eyes of Ukrainian public opinion, and thus led to a substantial shift in the distribution of public support for two major civilization projects that Ukraine faced. The author notes that there was, however, no corresponding shift in values is yet perceptible and that it would require a more long-term transformation of amalgams of worldviews, beliefs, habits and behavioural patterns. Paweł Kowal’s article distinguishes four phases of the Ukrainian oligarchy’s development. In the first phase, the author suggests that the *perestroika* reforms and the Soviet investment map facilitated the accumulation of capital in the hands of a relatively small group of the wealthiest citizens. The second phase, which lasted between 1994 and 2004, was characterized by President Kuchma’s concentration of presidential and governing party’s power at the expense of developing a multi-party system. Additionally, Dr. Kowal points out that Kuchma proved unable to effectively root out corruption and develop a robust administrative system while strengthening the oligarchs’ power via both a transfer of economic management responsibilities and privatization process, which was often favourable to oligarchs associated with his circles. Kuchma’s system, which, especially towards its end, took an authoritarian trajectory, faced the Orange Revolution, which was moderately favourable to the group of hitherto less powerful oligarchs, it led to a long-term institutional crisis that ended with the election of Yanukovich as the new President in 2010. During the final phase, Yanukovich attempted to either match the most significant oligarchs or gain a dominant position, but his failure to accomplish that coincided with his demise. Dr. Kowal concludes with a handful of policy recommendations that could contribute to developing Ukrainian middle class and the democratic system. In his contribution, Igor Gretskiy offers a classification of major Western and Russian interpretations of the Orange Revolution. The author distinguished between five Western strands of interpretations, i.e. those based on theory of democratization, modular effect conception, patriarchal political model, socio-economic structuralism, and geopolitics as well as two Russian ones – an internalist view and geopolitical conspirology. Dr. Gretskiy concluded that the number of Western interpretations and the lack of cohesiveness of the most popular, democratization theory, implies that the research on the essence of the Orange Revolution is not yet accomplished whilst the Russian academic debate is highly charged politically and suffers from both deeply-rooted anti-Americanism of the political elites reflected by many Russian scholars, which prevent the qualitative fact-based

academic analysis of the causes and elements of the Orange revolution from taking place. In the last article of the special issue, Mykhailo Cherenkov traces a comparative evolution of public images of Oleksandr Turchynov in Ukrainian and Russian media to illustrate the social importance of role played by a political actor's religious background in both societies. We encourage the readers to further explore the special issue, which may be found online [here](#).

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