

## CONTENTS

### 3 OPINION

Andreas Kappeler

**It isn't internal problems, but external intervention that poses the greatest threat to Ukraine**

### 4 IN THE NEWS

#### UKRAINE

Nicolas Hayoz, Denis Dafflon

**7 Euromaidan: Different Perspectives on an Epochal Revolution**

Andriy Portnov, Tetiana Portnova

**9 The Dynamics of the Ukrainian "Eurorevolution"**

Olexiy Haran, Petro Burkovskiy

**13 Before and after Euromaidan: European Values vs. pro-Russian Attitudes**

Anton Shekhovtsov

**17 The Ukrainian Far-Right before and since the Revolution**

Yuriy Shveda

**20 The Revolution of Dignity in the Context of Social Theory of Revolutions**

Oleksandr Fisun, Anton Avksentiev

**23 Euromaidan in South-Eastern Ukraine**

Viktor Stepanenko

**26 Ukraine's Farewell to post-Soviet Politics**

Mykola Riabchuk, Andrej N. Lushnycky

**29 Ukraine's Third Attempt**

Yaroslav Pylynskyi

**32 Revolution in Ukraine 2014: New Challenges for the World**

Sergiy Feduniak

**36 The Ukrainian Revolution in International Context**

Maryana Hnyp

**39 The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church on the Maidan**

Konstantin Sigov

**42 Ukraine's Freedom and the Light of the Maidan**

### PROJECT REPORT

Regula Spalinger, Ella Polyakova

**46 Human Rights Activists Under New Pressures**



### Dear Reader

*On 25 May Petro Poroshenko was elected Ukrainian president. The election of the millionaire "Chocolate King" was universally expected. The surprise was that Poroshenko was able to achieve a majority in the election's first round. This resounding victory is an expression of the Ukrainian people's hopes for an end to the power vacuum at the top of their state's political system and that Poroshenko might be able to protect Ukraine's unity and independence in the face of Russian aggression and the escalating violence in the east of the country.*

*Ukraine now has a head of state whose legitimacy is rooted in democratic processes. The interim government established following the fall of the previous president, Viktor Yanukovych, came to power through a revolutionary act – the mass protests on Kyiv's Independence Square and other Ukrainian cities: in short, after the Maidan. All the authors invited to contribute to the present edition of RGOW share the view that the recent events in Ukraine amount to a revolution in the tradition of the political upheaval of 1989/90. We made a conscious decision to place the emphasis on voices from within Ukraine in order to present their experiences and analysis of the Maidan. (For more on the conception of this edition, see the introduction by Denis Dafflon and Nicolas Hayoz.)*

*Most of the contributions were completed before the presidential elections, but in many respects they outline the considerable challenges facing Poroshenko: first and foremost divisions within the country must be overcome, divisions that do not lie between East and West or between Ukrainians or Ukrainian-speakers and Russians or Russian-speakers, but between opposing values; while reactionary factions cling to post-Soviet paternalist structures, the Maidan demonstrators hope for fundamentally new politics based on the rule of law and free from corruption. It remains to be seen whether the oligarch Poroshenko is the right man for such a new start. The present edition was produced in cooperation with the research network "Academic Swiss Caucasus Net" (ASCN). We would like to thank the network's coordinators for their selection of the authors and for their generous financial support. We also extend our thanks to John Heath for translating and editing the English versions of these papers.*

Stefan Kube, Chief editor