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T. Dzyadevych
University of Illinois at Chicago

WORLD/SPACE/PLACE IN SERVICE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY MOBILIZATION: UKRAINIAN CASE¹

Статтю присвячено символізму політичної мови, використовуваної упродовж політичних протестів в Україні у 1990, 2000-2001, 2004 та 2013-14 рр. По-перше, авторка обговорює стратегії, що були використані у гаслах політичних протестів, та доводить, що вони були направлені на досягнення суспільного консенсусу. По-друге, авторка зосереджується на еволюції політичної мови, продукованої впродовж нещодавніх протестів в Україні, а також на тому, як ця мова окреслює простір представлення політичної програми.

Ключові слова: політична мова, політичний протест, революція, Євромайдан.

Статья посвящена символизму политического языка, который использовался во время политических протестов в Украине в 1990, 2000-2001, 2004 и 2013-14 гг. Автор, во-первых, обговаривает стратегии, использованные в лозунгах политических протестов, и показывает, что они были направлены на достижение общественного консенсуса. Во-вторых, внимание автора сосредоточено на эволюции политического языка, производимого в ходе недавних протестов в Украине, а также на том, как этот язык очерчивает пространство представления политической программы.

Ключевые слова: политический язык, политический протест, революция, Евромайдан.

This paper focuses on the political language symbolism used during the political protests in Ukraine (in 1990, 2000-2001, 2004, 2013-14). Firstly, author discusses the strategies used by the slogan writers during the political protests and shows that they were aimed at mobilizing civil consensus. Secondly, author is interested in the evolution of the language produced during the ongoing protest in Ukraine, and how it delineates the space for the expression of political agenda.

Keywords: political language, political protest, revolution, Euromaidan.

Ukraine became an independent state in 1991. It is still a young transitional post-totalitarian state struggling to build a democratic society. Talking about civil society one can mention, on one hand this issue is famous from the ancient Greece [1], on another hand, the intensive dialog between citizens and their governments in any different forms became a marker of civil society understanding in our days. Ken Thompson mentioned in his book: *A central question in the civil society debate, therefore, is what forms of organizations and activities have the potential to bridge the yawning gap between citizens and their governments? The internal dynamics of such organizations, and in particular the nature of «public deliberation» that takes place in them, is seen by careful observers as essential* [3, p. 2]. No doubts, Eastern Europe has some specific traits, because of the mentioned above transitional period [2]. However, from the global perspective, Ukraine is part of the big debate about the civil society developing on the universal scale. Mass protests are a natural part of this process. The essential part of the mass protest is language used by protesters and space they occupy by their actions.

This paper focuses on the political language symbolism and adaptation of the physical space of the country for the political purposes used during the political protests in Ukraine (in 1990, 2000-2001, 2004, 2013-14). The analysis of the protest language dynamics in contemporary Ukraine reveals the organization of the civil right movements as well as observation of changing the mental mapping of the country. Here I am not going to talk about the dynamic after February 2014, because the indirect and direct

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intervention of the foreign agent provided extra-ordinary situation in the country. Such situation requires another type of analyses.

Despite the fact, that after Hayden White, teleology is not popular between historians [4, p. 1540] and there is a tendency to talk about Euromaidan separately, because of the extraordinary meaning of this recent event not only for Ukraine, but also for the whole Eastern European region, I would like to emphasize exactly the process started from the Granite Revolution in 1990.

What we are witnessing from 1989 till nowadays is building up the Ukrainian subjectivity in Deluzian term of the fold, and this fold has own top and down periods. In this fold soul and body meets each other. Here soul is the language, and body is the space of the process. Such approach allows claim for the hermeneutic interpretation, where different patterns are connected with each other not only horizontally in one event, but also vertically, creating the hermeneutic circle, which is repeated some patterns, but is not the same.

From this point of view, events of the Granite Revolution (1990), Kuchmageit of 1999-2000, the Orange Revolution of 2004, and finally Euromaidan of 1913-1914 connected with each other, and every next significant event has something from the previous experience and add something extremely new and important. They are visual markers of this newborn Ukrainian subjectivity.

I would claim that the Granite Revolution, firstly, marked the space, time and main participants. It was the Square of October Revolution, later on named after Square of Independence (Maidan Nezaleznosti), it is October – all main mass protests are beginning in fall, students are the main actors. It was connected to the student revolutions covered the Central and Eastern Europe. It started from the march, which traced the governmental quarter and ended up at the main square. This route protesters repeat any time they are going to the protest. During the march people had small yellow and blue flags. In that time, it was not the flag of Ukraine. Language of the event was simple, approachable, and transparent.

The political demands to the Soviet regime were:

*Resignation of Soviet Premier and establishment of multi-party elections.

*Abolition of the proposed Union Treaty.

*A law ensuring Ukrainian military conscripts only delivered military service within Ukraine.

*Nationalization of Communist Party property.

Slogans of that students' hunger strike were similar: The slogans of that time were: «No Crime Regime!», «No Union Treaty!», «Ukrainian Soldiers Back Home!» and simple «I am on Hunger».

I would like to emphasize, that on this stage slogans had mostly negative connotation, and the main stress was «No!»

Even it was the students' strike; there was the attempt to unite different social strata, and the crucial moment happened when the workers from the next-door factory «Arsenal» joined the strike. It was the beginning of the end of the USSR and the start of the newborn Ukrainian independent state. Ukraine received a new symbolic and new topography. Here I think is relivable to mention, that in Ukrainian language there are two words for square: 'площа' and 'майдан'. The first one is common Slavic word, maidan is from Turk, and does not exist in Russian. So for the main square became more preferable to use maidan, which create additional symbolic distance to Russian context.

The beginning of the civil society movement bring upon also the strict doxy, in the American roots of that protest. This 'American stigma' follows up all significant phases of Ukrainian protest, which deprives Ukraine from the subjectivity in the eyes of opponents.

The next stage of the civil rights movement happened on the end of 2000 against of that time president Leonid Kuchma in person, but also against the usurpation of power by immoral people in general. Protests of that time might be define as amateur, spontaneous, grass-root. Main slogans of that time were sharp and meaningful: «Ганьба!» (*Shame!*) and «Кучма, геть!» (*Kuchma, out!*), «Україна без Кучми!» (*Ukraine without Kuchma!*) As you see, it was negative message, and no tendency for the positive connotation and unity. Main actors were political activists who grew up from the hunger strike. Yuriy Lutsenko, Volodymyr Chemerys, Olexandr Doniy were main leaders of this movement. They started from 1990 and then became leaders of the Orange revolution. The crowd presented mostly Kyivians and people from the Western regions of Ukraine.

First, Independent Square in Kyiv became the center of the protest actions. Then the city administration, controlled by the state Government, closed it for the mass access under the official pretext of decorating it for the New Year. Later they announced that closed for reconstruction. Power deprived people of the symbolic place of the fight for their civic rights. So most demonstrations moved to the building of the Parliament, and later, also to the building of the Government and the President's Administration. Demonstrates extended the interior space of the mass protests to the Governmental quarter of the capital.

Besides actions in the downtown, the whole capital of Ukraine transformed into the protest site. Posters and leaflets with the portrait of George Gongadze became a sign of the fall of the year 2000. People found them in their own mailboxes; saw them on the public transport stops. In addition, graffiti with the protest slogans or the silhouette of Gongadze's head covered the walls not only of the main streets and squares of the city, but also in the suburbs. So, to compare to the previous event the physical space of the protest expanded.

Besides using the real city, the Ukrainian protesters started to discover the virtual space for political purposes. The Internet project of the late Gongadze «Українська правда» (*Ukrainian Truth*) <http://www.pravda.com.ua/> and an independent forum <http://maidanua.org/> became the most influential sources for enhancing and sustaining the protest mood. <http://maidanua.org/> became the first virtual platform nowadays termed as an open space.

The president campaign of 2004 polarized Ukraine. This polarization visualized by dividing Ukraine in the two parts: East and West, differentiated by their choice in the elections. The country covered by the two colors – orange and blue. Organizations like «Україна за чесні вибори» («*Ukraine for the honest elections*»), «Пора», («*It is time*») united around the candidate for the president Victor Yushchenko and created the orange bloc. The official slogan of that campaign was the short and positive «Так!» («*Yes!*»).

To compare with previous protest experience the protest language for directed on consolidation. The main slogan «Yes!» and orange optimistic color gave a constructive message to the audience. Supportive slogans like «Схід і Захід разом!» (*East and West Together!*), «Міліція з народом!» (*Militia with people!*), «Україна за Ющенко!» (*Ukraine for Yushchenko!*), «Разом нас багато!» (*Together we are many!*) created a positive and optimistic mood. Messages directed for consolidation of Eastern and Western regions of Ukraine, their inhabitants and authorities. Slogans' authors tried to avoid negation. For example, willing to prevent manipulation with people's voices they used the constructive message «*Ukraine for the honest election!*» instead of using the formula with negative connotation: «*Україна проти маніпуляцій!*» (*Ukraine against manipulations!*).

Besides the traditional posters, graffiti, leaflets, brochures with slogans, and political agenda, those campaigns were remarkable for theatrical carnival approach in the propaganda. Orange scarves, hats, gloves, big and small flags with slogans «Yes!», «*It's time*», ribbons, orange color in clothing and even oranges were prominently present in the public space. However, the main events during the Orange revolution took place in the capital and in the Western part of the country. Eastern part came out with pro-power movement, which was simulacrum of the democratic movement in many aspects. Using the opposite blue and white colors. The main message: «For stability», meant «No changes», and anti-Western rhetoric.

The main participants were young people. Students of the National University «Kyiv Mohyla University» and the Catholic University in Lviv were in the vanguard of this event. Connection with the world was also extremely important. Support from the outside of the country bring the notion of the world scale significance of the struggle. Orange revolution followed the revolution in Georgia, which makes it a part of the global process of de-Sovietization, Accordingly, the Orange revolution brought the importance of the mass consolidation around the positive message and taught a creative approach of the space mapping, discovering the role of synesthesia in the delivering the target message. It also showed the necessity to work not only in the center, but also on the margins of the city, country. It was

the time of the professional politicians who learned how to use the grass-roots movements for the own political purposes. The role of the telecommunication increased several times compared to 2000. To deliver the message not only to their own people but also to the audience abroad became one of the most important agenda. In the same time, the division on East and West was still present. The broad consolidation around universal values did not happened.

Euromaidan started as usual in Ukraine in October 2013. There were several stages of the event. It was the longest Ukrainian protest from November 2013 till the end of February 2014. It was the most global protest in Ukraine. On the one hand it consolidated all previous Ukrainian experience, on the other hand became the part of the global protest movement similar to Occupy! Taksim Square in Istanbul or Bolotnaya Square in Moscow.

The role of social networking, Facebook, Twitter, Internet television became the organic part of the process and the main toll of mass mobilization. The main agents were young people, and not only student of Kyiv Mohyla Academy and Catholic University in Lviv, but first almost all students in Kyiv, and then students from other regions. Also their parents, who experienced the Revolution on the Granite. One of the main slogan was «Ми захищаємо наших дітей» (We are protecting our children).

Talking about Euromaidan, one may talk about Deluzian rhizome. The whole country was engaged in the protest process gradually adding new and new agents to the protest. The first phase was about pro-European, and gave the title to this movement. The country covered by some pickets with the pro-European slogans. The marker of those pickets was using the EU symbolic: colors of the EU flag match with the Ukrainian flag in order to create a strong visual effect. The main slogan was «Україна – це Європа!» (Ukraine is Europe!) Other slogans mostly had the same positive constructive message: «Наш дім – Європа!» (Our home is Europe!), «Україні – європейське майбутнє» (European future for Ukraine).

When agreement with the European Union was not sign up, and the power started to use violence, the main rhetoric of the protest changed. People declared they could not stand the criminal power anymore: «Out the Criminal Power!», «Criminal to the Prison!» Europe from the political place became a symbolic space of human values. This change of discourse reflected the language of protest. People started deliver messages in different languages. English, Polish, Russian became the main languages for International audience. Besides of Ukrainian historical context, the context of European revolution of 1968 actualized. In the main protest camp were representatives from different countries who supported the struggle. The network of *maidans* covered the whole world, and almost every country had own *maidan*. The second phase of the protest was remarkable by the extending the space controlled by protesters. To the traditional squares and streets, people added the buildings of the Labor Union, the City Hall, the Palace of Art and Culture. Physical presence on the Maidan became the performative act of the protest. The quantity claimed for the quality of the protest.

Farewell with the USSR became an act of the smashing Lenin's monument. This symbolic act of the liberalization from the Soviet past invoked a huge discussion not only inside the country, but also abroad, especially in Russia. The wave of Leninapad (Lenin smashing) symbolically spread over the country. The same as occupation of the city halls in the regions became the act of changing the space of the protest. It visualized, when Sumy, Dnipropetrovsk, Poltava joined the movement.

The broken up moment was after mass killing at the Hrushevsky Street. February 18th was the biggest massacre on the Hrushevsky Street. About hundred people died, they received the honorable title Nebesna Sotnia (The Heaven Hundred). The Heaven Hundred mobilized people and in three days Yanukovych disappeared. It became one of the last points in the people struggle against his regime.

Eurorevolution in Ukraine demonstrates the new stage of the civil society mobilization. This stage is the multiple polylogs inside the country and outside. Simultaneous delivery of messages via different medium as contemporary (social networks, youtube, on-line TV) as well as traditional (self-made posters, booklets, speeches and songs). In was overlapping with different forms of activities beginning from the grass-root movements to the professional politicians' actions. Euromaidan accumulated all previous

forms of protests and developed them in the purpose to produce universal and comprehensible to different social strata message. It united people around the universal values. Revolution of Dignity signifies about the new episteme of the civil society discourse. It re-shaped the symbolical geography of the country. There is no division on axiological West and East anymore, as well as controversial division on Ukrainian and Russian speakers. People united around values, not around the person or language, or confession. Therefore, it is qualitatively new step in the developing civil society in Ukraine.

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