რევოლუციური პროცესები ხავერდოვანი და ხავერდოვანი რევოლუციები
(არის თუ არა უნდა კარგად დახვედრებული ქართული?)

ბარბაძე სოფიო
საქართველოს უნივერსიტეტი

ხავერდოვანი რევოლუცია საკმაოდ ახალი ცნებაა. მისი მთავარი მახასიათებელი ,,ხავერდოვანება“ ანუ არა-ძალადობრივი ხასიათი, სწორედ ეს განასხვავებს ხავერდოვანი რევოლუციებს ტრადიციულსანი - მხოლოდ ძალაუფლებისათვის ძალადობრივი ნიშანი ბარბაძეში. ამით გამომდინარე ხადიანი მომფანიჭები რომალთა ხასიათში მცდელობა - ესპარტას, სატერიზმის და პოლტრანის იუბელმინიტების გამოვლენა, ხავერ- დოვანოს პირველ შესაძლომოვნოვნოვნო დაცვა რევოლუციაში. ამით გამომდინარე ხადიანი მომფანიჭები ჰქონდა ჰქონდა რევო- ლუციის დაპირველი მნიშვნელოვნო რევოლუციის პირველმა განხილვა ამერიკის, ინგლისის, ფრანგის და რუსის რევო- ლუციათა საერთო მახასიათებლების დასაფუძვანი მიზნით. ამით გამომდინარე ხადიანი მომფანიჭები არა უნდა კარგად დახვედრებული ქართული მქონე რევო- ლუციათა საერთო მახასიათებლებად - ესპარტას, სატერიზმშის, პოლტრანის, ჰქონდა ჰქონდა რევო- ლუციის პირველმა განხილვა ამერიკის, ინგლისის, ფრანგის და რუსის რევო- ლუციათა საერთო მახასიათებლებად - ესპარტას, სატერიზმშის, პოლტრანის, ჰქონდა ჰქონდა რევო-
A common explanation of the term “revolution” is the following: “revolution is the sudden, violent, and drastic substitution of one group governing a territorial political entity for another group formerly excluded from the government, and an ensuing assault on state and society for the purpose of radically transforming society” (Snyder, 1999). From the first sight it is clear that the “colour revolution” definitely does not fit into these criteria: none of the colour revolutions were violent, none resulted (or aimed at) radically changing the existing society. However the roots of colour revolution go to the traditional revolution. A revolution has re-shaped itself to adapt to the changing environment. A colour revolution is a product of 21st century, influenced by various aspects of globalization (political, economic, cultural, financial, military, information technologies, etc.). Let’s proceed onwards to determine how a concept of “revolution” evolved through time and what has remained unchanged from the 17th century up to now.

Before moving on to the main issue- investigation of the similarities between revolutionary processes of traditional and modern revolutions it would be appropriate to define the term “revolutionary process” itself. According to Crane Brinton, the term can be summarized as the following: financial breakdown of the existing (authoritarian) system, followed by organization of discontented groups to remedy the breakdown, followed by “revolutionary demands on the part of these organized discontented, demands which if granted would mean the virtual abdication of those governing, attempted use of force by the government, its failure, and the attainment of power by the revolutionists” (Brinton, 1938). The next step of the revolutionary process is attainment of power by the revolutionaries- a formerly unanimous group which is beginning to dissolve into competing sub-groups. As the author puts it- “These revolutionists have hitherto been acting as an organized and nearly unanimous group, but with the attainment of power it is clear that they are not united. The group which dominates these first stages we call the moderates… power passes by violent … methods from Right to Left”. This is the way it happened with the traditional revolutions. Now let’s go on to find out what the revolutionary process is like for the modern “colour revolutions”.
Phases of the Revolutionary Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crisis 1</th>
<th>Fall of Old Regime 2</th>
<th>Honeymoon 3</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Dual Power</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Radial Party Rule</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Thermidor</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td></td>
<td>End of Revolution</td>
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Fig. 1

*Crisis and fall of the Old Regime*: Traditional Revolutions

Usually, any revolution begins with the problems in the pre-revolutionary regime. These problems include a wide range of issues from financial to economic to social. For example, according to the historians, the main causes of the French Revolution could be summarised as follows: the *financial problems* - France was heavily indebted because Luis XV fought many wars, while his successor Luis XVI gave support to the American colonists (during the American Revolution) what nearly exhausted the economy and brought France to the verge of bankruptcy. The *economic problems* of the pre-revolutionary France included pervasive famine accompanied by rising prices on food. The *social problems* are generally associated with the Enlightenment philosophy - the new generation of the ruling class began to assume that the privileges enjoyed by them were unjust and redundant. These were the intellectuals who alienated themselves from the government which was in fact representing interests of the ruling class. In short “the ruling class became politically inept” (Brinton, 1938). Another social problem included the fact that the opportunities were not open to young talented individuals from middle and low classes. These were the persons which took active part in the revolution.

Same trends could be observed during the American Revolution: the so-well-known “no taxation without representation” and the Boston Tea Party manifested the standing economic, financial and social problems in the American society.

The social repressions and striking inequality, together with bad labour conditions and struggle for re-distribution of agricultural land culminated in the Russian Revolution in 1917.

The fall of the old regime is preceded by the government’s decision to response the revolutionists by using security forces and its failure to do so: during the Russian revolution the army which was sent to confront revolutionaries refused to march against its own people and joined the manifestants. In France and in England the monarch failed to employ effective anti-revolutionary strategies due to various reasons ranging from political ineptness to the lack of military training.
Crisis and fall of the Old Regime—Modern Revolutions

After the fall of the Soviet Union, Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan [as well as other Post-Soviet states] had suffered substantial declines in GNP and a large proportion of the population lived in poverty. (Lane, 2009). The distribution of wealth and income was drastically unequal, especially in comparison to the relatively egalitarian wealth-distribution under the socialist system. Social problems were well demonstrated in the decline of life expectancy rate: in 2000-2005 life expectancy in Georgia had declined from 74 to 70, while in the Ukraine from 68 to 67 years and in Kyrgyzstan from 67 to 65. (Kazakhstan was an exception from a common rule: here life expectancy has increased by 2 years and reached 66 years). (Lane 2009) Below are some statistics, which will give us a general idea about the social and economic conditions in 2000-2005 in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan (together with some other developing states).

Life Expectancy 2000, 2005

![Life Expectancy Chart]

Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics.

GDP PER CAPITA (PPP US$) RANK MINUS HDI RANK, 2000, 2005

![GDP and HDI Chart]

Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics.
If the idea of Enlightenment (and later socialism) was the engine of the traditional revolutions, *democratization, economic development and integration to Western institutions* (EU and NATO) served as an ideological basis for the colour revolutions. The Georgian elite and the population were unanimous in their support for pro-Western foreign policy, as a guarantee of national security and economic development. Even during the referendum held in 2008 — long after the Rose Revolution, 77% of Georgians voted in favour of NATO membership (Table No1).

The *initiators of the colour revolutions* (as well as during the traditional revolutions) were the young generation (students and young generation of politicians often supported from their “ideological counterparts” from the West). The Kyrgyz youth movement KELKEL (renaissance) together with various NGOs was actively involved in street protests and suffered severe repressions; Ukrainian Youth leadership was also actively confronting the existing regime. “Western-sponsored civil society organizations have been used positively in support of the “Orange” tendency. The Ukrainian youth movement PORA (It’s time), for example, supported by the Westminster Foundation, brought in Serbian agitators to train 200 activists to organize the events that have later become known as the Orange revolution” (Lane, 2009). One can easily trace similarities between PORA and the Georgian youth movement KMARA (It’s enough) which was active before and during the “Rose Revolution”. (Similarities are found in the activities as well as in the names of the two movements.)

Table 1
Conditioning Factors Promoting/Retarding Democracy Promotion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elite Affinity to EU</th>
<th>Predisposition for Change - Consequent on Effects of Transformation</th>
<th>Popular Affinity to NATO ‘The West’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative or N/A</td>
<td>KYRGYZSTAN</td>
<td>RUSSIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divided</td>
<td>UKRAINE, SERBIA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mobilization of Public for Democracy Promotion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The leaders of the existing regime failed to/were reluctant to use force to suppress the rising revolutionary movement. Unlike the relatively harsh antirevolutionary measures employed during the traditional revolutions, measures taken against potential organizers of the “colour revolution” were quite “mild” in nature and included banning the exit polls, occasional repression of the opposition parties and its leaders—especially in Kyrgyzstan.

While the Tulip Revolution, unlike its predecessors—the Rose and the Orange Revolutions, saw some violent clashes between the demonstrators and the police forces (in the Southern cities of Osh and Jalal-Abad) the violence in Kyrgyzstan was spontaneous and unpredictable rather than government-initiated.

From Honeymoon to Dual Power Phase - Traditional Revolutions

“In each revolution a short “honeymoon” Phase follows the fall of the old regime. Honeymoon lasts until the “contradictory elements” among the victorious revolutionaries assert themselves... Power then has a tendency “to go from Right to Center to Left.” (Brinton, 1938) Honeymoon is a short phase which begins with the victory of the revolutionaries who are coming to power. Both the leaders and the public are happy about the results and optimistic about the future. The revolutionary group, which is still unanimous, forms a moderate government.

The Honeymoon is shortly followed by the Phase of dual power, during which the revolutionary group— which has been (at least at the first sight) unanimous in its aspirations, goals and actions, is dispersing into conflicting parties. The thing is that the main aim of all revolutionaries had been to achieve change of power. They had very little time and opportunity to discuss and agree the policies which would be undertaken after the main goal (change of pre-revolutionary regime) had been achieved. The divergence of opinions soon makes itself visible among the revolutionaries. According to Brinton a more radical wing separates itself from the legal moderate government and forms an “illegal” radical government. This process is known as “dual power”.

In England the dual power took the form of “Presbyterian moderates in Parliament and the illegal government of the extremist Independents in the New Model Army.” (Brinton, 1938) In France, Girondin moderates controlled the National Assembly while the Montagnard radical group controlled the network of Jacobins and the Paris commune. In Russia government of the Duma was moderate while the radical, illegal Bolshevik government was a Network of Soviets.

To a number of reasons from lack of organization to failure of effectively opposing radical groups (its former allies) the moderates lose power, which goes to the leftists.
A honeymoon phase marked by unanimity of revolutionaries was characteristic to both Georgian and Ukrainian colour revolutions. The modern “honeymoons” were shortly followed by disagreements mounting between the former revolutionaries. The schism was manifested in mutual allegations, later followed by a part of revolution leaders braking away from their past allies and establishing new opposition movements.

The Georgian Honeymoon lasted from 2003 to 2006- until the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Salome Zurabishvili created a new party- Georgia’s Way; a number of politicians followed Zurabishvili’s way out of the government - including one of the key leaders of the Rose Revolution Nino Burjanadze and a former Prime Minister Zurab Noghaideli.

The Ukrainian honeymoon lasted just several months, before President Viktor Yushchenko dismissed his Prime Minister and the co-author of the Orange Revolution- Yulia Timoshenko from the post of Prime Minister during a live TV address to nation. After leaving her post Timoshenko became a leader of the opposition party All-Ukrainian Union “Fatherland”, she also founded the Yulia Timoshenko Bloc.

While in Georgia and Ukraine the opposition was united at least before and during the revolutions, Kyrgyzstan lacked a united opposition from the very beginning of the Tulip Revolution. It also lacked dominant opposition figures which would lead the popular uprising and which would summarise opposition’s aims and expectations. Before the elections, the opposition parties tried to create a united anti-governmental coalition, however all they could achieve was creation of several and not very well co-ordinated coalitions. Only two prominent figures were visible in the opposition ranks: a former foreign minister Roza Otunbaeva and a former Prime Minister Kurmanbek Bakiyev. (On the 24th of March a large crowd of protesters occupied the building of parliament, a day later Bakiyev was named by the parliament as an acting president.)

Summarizing- general characteristics of “leftist” revolutionaries: The people who leave the ranks of the ruling party and join opposition movements have (both in past and now) a common trend to build their arguments on the failures of the revolutionary government. Namely the governments are accused of failing to fulfil promises made during the revolution. However as the history shows us, this sort of failure and accompanying disillusionment is natural to any revolution for several reasons- including the fact that the new government “has to shoulder some of the unpopularity of the government of the old regime” with “the worn-out machinery, [and the worn-out] institutions of the old regime. (Brinton, 1938) Reforms take a lot of time and energy to be drafted, initiated and effectively carried out. The newly shaped opposition frees itself of all obligations taken by the revolutionaries in the pre-revolutionary phase, leaving the burden of responsibility on the shoulders of the government. (In fact, at the time when the promises of better future were made to the society, the leftists were also a part of the revolutionary group).
The radical party came to power in Russia after the October Revolution, same happened in France with the purge of the Girondins and in England with “Pride’s Purge”. The American Revolution was the only exception from the common rule as it never had a radical dictatorship and Reign of Terror, “though in the treatment of Loyalist, in the pressure to support the army, in some of the phases of social life, you can discern ... many of the phenomena of the Terror as it is seen in our three other societies.” (Brinton, 1938)

The time of radical governance is often called “the reign of Terror and Virtue”, as it is characterised on the one hand with foreign and civil wars, abundance of executions and repression; and on the other hand with “organized asceticism” ruling out such “social vices” as gambling, alcoholic drinks and prostitution. In the end “politics becomes as real, as pressing, as unavoidable ... as food and drink,” their “job, and the weather.” (Brinton, 1938)

The Reign of Terror is characterised with centralization of power under one governing body, often accompanied by decline of political participation. One of the policy characteristics is spreading “the gospel of revolution” to other countries. We can take France, Russia and Britain as examples.

Do Radical Parties Come to Power in Modern Revolutions?

After observing current post-revolutionary political events it’s difficult to single out common trends of the colour revolution at this stage. Despite mass anti-governmental protests held in 2007-2009 in Georgia, the opposition failed to come to power. One part of the opposition agreed to enter the government thus returning to the regime of the political dialogue.

The 2010 presidential elections in Ukraine turned out to have the results which no one could expect during and shortly after the Orange Revolution in 2005: the president Viktor Yanukovich was elected through “a fairly transparent process” with the 48.95% majority of the popular vote. Yanukovich, the Prime Minister under the president Leonid Kuchma (a soviet-type dictator) was one of the candidates of the controversial 2004 presidential election which served as a catalyser of the Orange revolution. The key and most popular opposition leader Yulia Timoshenko (often listed among the world’s most influential female leaders) lost elections with 45.47 % of the popular vote. Therefore, a member of the pre-revolutionary government, not the radical wing of former revolutionaries came to power in Ukraine.

The picture is different in Kyrgyzstan: political crisis soon followed after Bakiyev come to power. Series of protests were held in the capital city in 2006 as Bakiyev failed to carry out the promised reforms including eradication of corruption and crime, establishing the rule of law and limiting presidential power by giving more authority to parliament and the prime minister. The protests continued through 2007 with periodic
skirmishes between the protesters and the police forces, until the president agreed to sign documents limiting his powers. One of the opposition leaders was Almazbek Atambayev—a Minister of Industry, Trade and Tourism in 2005 and a Prime Minister in 2007. Atambayev was the main opposition candidate in the 2009 presidential elections, however on the Election Day he withdrew from the contest on the basis of upcoming election fraud. Bakiyev was re-elected by 78% of votes, however the opposition regarded the election illegitimate and mass protests began.

Clashes between protesters and the police forces resulted in 41 casualties. Finally on the 7th of April president Bakiyev left the capital, while the opposition overran government offices, substituting existing authorities with their candidates. The leader of the opposition and the head of the transitional government became Roza Otunbayeva—Bakiyev’s fellow revolutionary (during the Tulip Revolution) and a former foreign minister of Bakiyev’s government. Before this, Otunbayeva served as a foreign minister and deputy prime minister during Askar Akayev’s government. She later became her country’s ambassador to the United States and Canada, and also served as the Kyrgyz ambassador to the United Kingdom, and deputy head of the United Nations special mission to Georgia (New York Times, 2010). At least at this stage the Tulip Revolution reveals some resemblance with the traditional revolutions. In both cases a group of former revolutionaries overthrows the initial post-revolutionary government. At this moment it’s difficult to argue whether Otunbayeva’s government will prove to be more moderate or more radical then Bakiyev’s one. If somebody will choose to draw historical parallels while making forecasts about Kyrgyzstan’s near future- results will be discouraging.

At this stage of the revolutionary process the main factor distinguishing a traditional and a colour revolution is the following: in two out of three colour revolutions radical opposition did not come to power. Although in Georgia and in Ukraine a part of former-revolutionaries turned to opposition, they failed to overthrow the post-revolutionary government. Furthermore, in Ukraine the main opposition leader Timoshenko lost the elections to the candidate commonly associated with the pre-revolutionary government. In Georgia the post-revolutionary government is still in place, while the opposition demonstrations in the spring and summer 2009 proved unsuccessful. (In the latter case the only parallel from history of revolutions is the American Revolution, which did not go through the “reign of terror” phase.)

At least one feature is characteristic absolutely to all (colour and traditional) revolutions: the drive to “spread the Gospel of revolution” to other states. Some scholars have named the event a “revolutionary wave” which started in Serbia in 2000 Bulldozer Revolution, emerged in Rose Revolution of Georgia in 2003 and later swept the entire post-Soviet space with mixed success. Both Serbian and Georgian revolutionaries have consulted opposition forces of Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan on the non-violent methods of protest.
Thermidorian Phase - Traditional Revolutions

During traditional revolutions the phase of radical rule was always soon replaced by a phase of relaxation of the revolutionary policies. According to Brinton this is a phase of Thermidor, marked with convalescence from the “fever” of the “Reign of Terror,” and relaxing of revolutionary policies. Thermidor was a period that followed the fall of Maximilien Robespierre’s rule in France. In Russia the “New Economic Policy of 1921 can be called “Russia’s Thermidor” and “perhaps the best date for Thermidor in England is Cromwell’s dissolution of the Rump” (Brinton, 1938).

According to the book Thermidorian phase has two characteristic elements:

a) Centralization of power in the hands of a charismatic individual, which begins to rule single-handedly. Cromwell in England, Napoleon in France, Lenin in Russia can be examples.

b) The missionary spirit of spreading revolution is replaced by aggressive nationalism. The leaders begin to create empires: Ireland was reconquered and Jamaica was seized during Cromwell. Napoleon created his European empire. Bolsheviks reconquered the newly independent neighbouring states and created a soviet empire (USSR).

Although American revolution did not result in the reign of terror the 1780’s showed some Thermidorian features in the American society- including increase of crime and frivolity of society.

Radical Rule and Thermidorian Phase - Colour Revolutions

It’s challenging to speak about the Thermidorian phase of the colour revolutions. As long as the change of power in Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan occurred rather recently, we are standing before a choice of two scenarios of future.
Scenario number 1: the new governments will prove to be less democratic and more radical than the former ones (as it happened during English, French and Russian revolutions during the “reign of terror” phase).

Scenario number 2: the colour revolutions will miss the “reign of terror” phase (the term rather owning a debt to history than predicting upcoming massacres, however implying some radicalism and certain degree of political repressions) and will directly turn to the Thermidorian phase with a strong individual concentrating all powers and ruling the country single-handedly (automatically singling out possibility of democratic rule).

Those who are more optimistic and less involved in the sphere of politics would argue that there is a third scenario, namely: the new governments (which are created after overthrowing the post-revolution government) will keep their promises bringing peace and prosperity to their countries. However even if any revolutionary leader ever had serious intentions to make sweet dreams of one’s nation true, he inevitably sees the impossibility of radical changes after coming to power. After all, any decision-maker knows: there is an enormous difference between rhetoric and realpolitics.

Lasting results of Traditional Revolutions

According to Brinton the long-lasting results of the revolutions are disappointing. After all- if the French revolution did have any noticeable result, it was standardisation of measuring systems. Some antiquated practices were also eliminated in England. In Russia, the Bolsheviks brought industrialization which helped in reviving the bogged-down Russian economy. However attempts at establishing new religions and personal habits came to naught. While revolutions aspired to establish overall peace, brotherhood and equality of men on earth, results of revolutions seemed rather irrelevant. (Brinton, 1938)

Lasting results of Colour Revolutions

What could be the long-lasting results of the colour revolutions? It’s difficult to say. Most probably the revolutions should end some “antiquated” practices lingering from the communistic period, including all-out-corruption at all levels of bureaucratic apparatus and cronyism (most spectacular achievements in this direction being observed in Georgia, according to several independent studies). However even these limited achievements are doubtful when the new governments are lead by conservative leaders who began their political careers in the pre-revolutionary periods. At least no one can deny that both Yanukovich and Otunbaeva were members of pre-revolutionary regimes that brought nothing but stagnation from 1991 to 2005 both in Ukraine and in Kyrgyzstan.
Making Conclusions

After having discussed four traditional and three colour revolutions, we can finally sum up our findings as following: all revolutions, no matter violent or non-violent in character, still have the same historical roots and shared features, namely: all revolutions start with economic, financial and social problems in the pre-revolutionary regimes. Young generations take active part in organizing revolutions. Existing regimes fail to use military forces to suppress the revolutions. After the fall of the old regime the revolutionary group splits into conflicting parties, fight for power begins. In the end (in most cases) the moderate government looses power.

During traditional revolutions power tended to shift from the Right to the Center to the Left. The coloured revolutions showed a different pattern of power shift: from the Right to the Center, back to the Right (originality of the pattern owning a debt to the outside forces, having particular interests in these states).

Probably one more example from history would be appropriate before proceeding on: The Right to the Center to the Left pattern was in mind of Zbigniew Brzezinski (National Security Advisor during presidency of Jimmy Carter) when he insisted to maintain support of Iran’s Shah during the Iranian Revolution. The knowledge of the revolutionary process prompted Brzezinski to foresee that the moderate Iranian government would not survive long. The only way to avoid radicals coming to power in Iran- was preventing occurrence of any revolution at all. However Brzezinski’s advices were not taken into consideration, as a result, radical Iranian government under Aiatola Khomeini soon overthrew the moderates and the USA finally lost its strategic partner in the region.

What we have to bear in mind (and on what Brzezinski’s political assumptions were based) is that a revolution, just like a living organism, goes through several phases of evolution (from birth to maturity to old age). According to the examples discussed, all revolutions followed the same pattern with more or less intensely visible characteristics at this or that phase.

What we also have to bear in mind is that a revolution is not a single event but rather a chain of events. After the first piece of domino looses its balance the fall of the whole set will inevitably follow. The concept of revolution is inseparable from the concept of the domino effect. This domino effect may be manifested into two ways: 1) “Chain reaction” i.e. evolution phases of the revolution follow each another (micro-level of analysis); 2) “Wave of revolution” i.e. spread of revolution from one country to the others (macro level of analysis). The wave of colour revolutions, for example, swept the states of the former Soviet space.

We were able to make comparison between traditional and colour revolutions up to the 5th phase of the revolutionary process. This is because the modern revolutions have occurred rather recently. At this stage we can just make predictions what the 6th and 7th phases of the colour revolutions will look like (and making predictions is rather in the competence of fortune-tellers than of scholars). The only thing we can be sure of is that these phases will occur. One conclusion we can make at the end of the article is that the revolutionary process of the colour revolutions is still proceeding on.
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