

MAPPING THE COLOR REVOLUTIONS

Special issue of the journal *Totalitarianism and Democracy*
(Dresden)

Deadline: December 10, 2007.

Abstracts (500 words) should be sent by 10 December 2007 to the addresses below. Selected authors will be notified by 15 December and the deadline for submission of the final paper (8000 words) will be 20 April, 2008.

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Given the enthusiasm and volume of submissions for the special issue of the journal *Totalitarianism and Democracy* devoted to the 'Color Revolutions', we are planning to expand the scope of the research and edit a book mapping the Color Revolutions that have so far occurred, and trying to identify similar movements that may also act as a catalyst for regime change. The provisional title is *Mapping the »Color Revolutions«: The March of Civic Activism and Political Transformation from Europe to Asia*.

Our geographical focus is not limited to former communist states, as a number of countries like Iran, Lebanon and Burma have also witnessed increasing civil activism and the emergence of groups employing non-violent methods to protest against the status quo. For this reason we wish to integrate the material already selected and receive further proposals for articles focusing on different aspects of those 'color movements'. We encourage any submission, but welcome in particular papers with a geographical focus on

- Slovakia (especially the OK campaign in 1998)
- Belarus
- Azerbaijan
- Armenia
- Russia
- Moldova
- Kazakhstan
- Tajikistan
- Turkmenistan.

Submissions dealing with previous protest movements (e.g. Solidarność in Poland, the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia, protests in the Baltic states and the Granite Revolution in Ukraine) are also be welcomed, so long as they can show how such movements have contributed to the current wave of 'Color Revolutions'.

The original Call for Papers for *Mapping the »Color Revolutions«: The March of Civic Activism and Political Transformation from Europe to Asia*:

Since 1998 the Eurasian geopolitical landscape has been affected by what have been labeled the 'Color Revolutions', which refers to a number of socio-political transformations attempted, but not necessarily achieved, in a number of countries, namely: Slovakia (1998), Serbia (2000), Belarus (2001 and 2006), Georgia (2003), Ukraine (2004), Kyrgyzstan (2005) and immediately suppressed in Russia, Uzbekistan (2005), Azerbaijan (2005), and Kazakhstan (2005). Those events certainly have some elements in common with the second wave of revolutions, which occurred in Germany, Poland, the Czech Republic, and the Baltic Countries in 1989, but they also possess some completely new features, like the growing use of the Internet, the use of humor and art to deliver their message, and the significant involvement of grassroots NGOs.

In some cases these 'revolutions' have led to a radical political and social change in the country, in other cases not. It is our belief that the 'people' factor is decisive in determining the nature of a revolution and popular attitudes are crucial for a successful movement. However, it is up to leaders to create the conditions for people to become aware and motivate them to act. How is it possible to create the conditions necessary for a revolution to occur and to be successful?

To answer this question one should go beyond the vision that sees economic and logistic support to the opposition as the main elements of a successful revolution. Likewise the opinion that 'people stood up and fought for democracy' should be examined and analyses should try to understand the relative importance of external aid and popular attitudes in determining the 'success' of a revolution. A revolution is 'successful' if it leads to a substantial change in the country. The easiest indicator of this change is a political one, however a social change might also be employed as an indicator of success, when it is measurable.

All the opposition movements made use of protest techniques developed over the years and often based on Gene Sharp's theory of power (1973) and his guidebook ›from dictatorship to democracy‹. Some theoretical questions we want to answer are: Why did the use of revolutionary tools not lead to the same result throughout the post-communist space? Is it because those tools were used correctly in some cases and incorrectly in others? Or because ›geography‹ matters? What was the role of the ruling elite in preventing the development of civil society and stymieing protests? And to what degree was the role of the political opposition, external actors and NGO networking important? Is there a saturation point for the ›color revolutions‹ after which all attempts to use such techniques will be futile? Or is it the case that some ›revolutions‹ were not attempted in the right place or at the right moment?

By exploring the above questions and drawing from the experiences of these ›revolutions‹, we seek to spell out a theory of ›color revolutions‹ that can provide some common points for all the social changes that have occurred between 1998-2006. To do this, we welcome theory-generating contributions that focus on a country as case study or propose a comparative analysis of a number of countries.

Contributions should analyze one or more elements that have to be encountered when ›organizing a revolution‹. In particular we might divide the topics in the following way (the list is not exhaustive and potential contributors are welcome to discuss with the editors a possible focus):

a) Ideology and a theoretical framework

- The role of previous waves of revolutions
- The reference texts of a revolution
- The role of Gene Sharp's ›theory of power‹, ›from dictatorship to democracy‹ and other ideological sources

b) The will to set up a revolutionary apparatus

- The work of the Einstein Foundation in Eurasia
- The role of foreign and domestic intelligence forces
- The legacy of previous protest movements
- Democratic ideology in regional contexts
- Existence of a team of revolution makers at national and international level that has been operating in Eurasia and is extending its field of action to other regions

c) Fundraising

- Relations with foreign foundations
- Domestic fundraising: contact with local businessmen
- Door to door fundraising: gathering goods other than money (labor force, commodities, ideas, services, ideological and physical support)

d) Training of activists

- Contact with other successful protest movements
- Relations with foreign foundations
- Domestic trainings of activists

e) Coordination and cooperation of forces

- Relations between the political and NGO forces before, during and after the political crisis
- Networking between domestic NGOs
- Relations between the political forces, national based and grassroots NGOs

f) Containing the influence of hostile actors

- The role of external forces such as the EU, Russia and USA and their influence on civil society
- Coping with an hostile environment and limiting the influence of the current regime
- Alliances of the opposition and civil society with some major personalities of the ruling elite that subsequently support the protest movements

g) Involving and motivating people

The People's attitude, in a comparative historical and/or geographical perspective
Communication between the leaders and people to motive them
The relations between NGOs and »ordinary« people
Communication between active and passive strata of the population

h) Capacity to choose time and modality to carry out the revolution

The logistics of a revolution
How to prepare scenarios (optimistic and pessimistic) of a revolution
The right time to carry out a revolution

