

ПОМАРАНЧЕВА РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ ЯК КОМУНІКАЦІЙНА ПРОБЛЕМА



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(Виступ 15 січня 2005 року на науковій
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Феномен української т.зв. «помаранчевої» революції вже знаходить багато тлумачень у світі — згідно з різноманітними методологіями, смаками і традиціями. Я пропоную поглянути на нього передусім не за аналогами, а із середини, долускаючи його ідейну неповторність та самостійність. Досліджуючи той групу, з якого він вийшов, ми зможемо відповідно залучати різноманітну методологічну аргументацію. Чи є моя точка зору незаангажованою? В буквальному сенсі слова — ні. Не тому, що моя доповідь не є науковою. Напаки, я намагався представити на ваш суд саме науковий виступ. І не тому, що між двома кандидатами на пост Президента України в виборах Віктора Ющенка. Насправді, в певному розумінні, українці не мали жодного вибору, окрім Ющенка. Але до цього питання ми повернемося пізніше.

Отже, найперше — це стиль. Увечері 21 листопада (день другого туру виборів) у прес-центрі штабу Віктора Ющенка, який розміщувався в Національному університеті «Києво-Могилянська академія», відбувся показ моди «помаранчевого стилю» («Помаранчева вечірка» була організована дирекцією Національного тижня прет-а-порте «Сезони моди» — ред.). Вероні одяг, куртки, блузки, шарфи і шаліки оранжевого кольору демонструвалися на подумі перед відкритою журналістською публікою. Після цього — концерт популярних виконавців. Віктор Ющенко пізніше багато разів повторював на Майдані слова про «елігантну революцію». До певної міри ця фраза стала ключовою. Однак

демонстрація стилю-2004 не була першою. Був до речі пригадати інший показ моди, організований «Нашою Україною» у стилі «етно», який відбувся в Музеї національного мистецтва через перемогу після перемоги на парламентських виборах у 2002 році. На тлі приватної фольклорної виставки українського автентичного одягу, яка належала Вікторів Ющенку, свої колекції представляли модні українські дизайнери. Тоді також йшлося про новий стиль у політиці й потребу зміни стилю української влади.

Слід зазначити, що, незважаючи на інформаційну блокаду, в якій перебувала тоді «Наша Україна» разом з іншими опозиційними силами, сюжет про показ моди з Музею національного мистецтва потрапив до новинних блоків всеукраїнських телевізійних каналів — вкрає картина з мінімумом політичної інтерпретації. Однак представлення нового стилю в умовах ідеологічного харосу тих років така відбулося. Семантика стилю одягу-поведінки-політики чітко символізувала для масової свідомості потребу і можливість якісних змін у суспільно-політичному та культурному житті України. Пізніше вкрає помаранчеве відмовлення нового політичного стилю від старого на президентських виборах 2004 року вже вибрало в себе всі сподівання на гідне життя, яке сформувалося в українському суспільстві. Помаранчева революція жила нам надзвичайно високу політичну культуру українського суспільства — набагато вищу, ніж могли собі уявити аналітики та експерти. Тут нам знову треба повернутися назад — десь до 2000-2001 років, до того часу, коли Віктор Ющенко очолював український уряд, що намагався провести не якусь революцію, а нормальну економічну політику і тому вважався небезпечним для режиму Леоніда Кучми.

На мій погляд, тоді відбувався процес формування нових українських політичних лідерів. Не самі провідники, так би мовити, прийшли до народу і вірили його очолити, а навпаки, це сталося значною мірою через зворотний зв'язок. Тобто українці спочатку створили собі ідеали національних лідерів, а вже потім почали їх приміряти до реальних людей — насперек до Віктора Ющенка і Юлії Тимошенко. Цей процес часто був дуже непростим і болітним. Українці



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