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What does it mean  
to be *European*  
through history?

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## THE UKRAINE IN EUROPE (10TH - 20TH CENTURY) - HISTORICAL-PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAY

Due to the historical circumstances in modern Europe there can be distinctly presented several ethnic opposition: Irish - English, French - German, Hungarian - Romanian, Serbian - Croatian, Ukrainian - Russian. Besides, nearly all European state nations there have been rather significant flashes of intolerance towards the manner and way of life of some ethnic entities (s.g. Jews, the Romany), representatives of other confessions (religious wars between the Protestants & Catholics in different countries). Some global opposition are also familiar to the European continent: Christians - Moslems (the crusades, Turkish aggression), or Germanic nations - Slavs (Drang nach Osten: 1410, Grünwald, World Wars I & II).

Since the end of the 9th century (under 822 the first Prince of the Kievan Rus - Oleg - was mentioned), the Ukraine has undergone many withstanding of the international character:

- The pagan Rus (Rus is the ancient ethnicity of Ukrainians) - Khozars (Judaists).
- Rus - Byzantine-Greeks (Christians) in the 10th century, (which had led to the Baptism of Rus-Ukraine in 988 by Prince Volodymyr the Great (the Golden Sun).
- Ruthenians - Turkic steppe (Petchenigi, Kumans, Mongol-Tartars) - in the 11 - 13th century.
- Orthodox Ruthenians - Catholic Poles - Moslem Crimean Tartars in the 14 - 17th century.

In the middle of the 17th century there appeared a stable ethno-psychological and political incompatibility between the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) and Muscovites (Russians) which has been smouldering in Eastern Europe for more than three centuries. Thus, we will look through the course of events that became historic form the point of view of the latest opposition and concept. These events became historic indirectly for the West European nations, but have not been explored to the need extent by historians.

### **Ukraine and the eastern gate of Europe**

Since the early Medievalism, the Eastern and Southern Slavs secured the Eastern borders of the continent. This task has been fulfilled by them (the gradual rout of the Golden Horde, Ottoman Empire). One should bear in mind that since Kievan Rus appeared at the convenient geopolitical base (East-European Plain - fertile forests and steppes convenient for large scaled migrations) only one nation has come into Europe peacefully - and that is in 896, when seven manuscript Hungarian tribes found their second Fatherland in Europe. Sometimes, though, Mongol-Tartars were coming through the Ukrainian width. They would have reached the "last sea" if their rears had been more trustworthy. It is interesting that the ancient Ukrainians had not allowed anybody to go through their land further to East. The colonial inclinations of the Germanic tribes have been broken against the Ruthenian rear. In the 16-17th century the Cossack Ukraine had locked the South as well - the Crimean Khandom. The Ukrainian people have lost their important territories, have suffered huge losses, urged to forget their independence for several centuries because of the hostile neighbours. Existing at the dangerous edge of Western Europe and Eastern Asia, the medieval Ukraine succeeded greatly at the international arena (Prince Yaroslav the Wise - 1016-1054) thanks to the system of dynastic marriages, it became "the European "father-in-law." The Galitzian-Volhynian Kingdom was established when Prince Danylo became the King on the Pope's order. In that time the Moscow Princes conferred the titles of Czars and Emperors upon themselves according to their own will only.

### **Ukraine as the Russians "window on Europe"**

The Soviet history had been teaching the young generations that Kievan Rus had been the cradle of three fraternal nations - the Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians. These were the attempts to reconcile the polar views of a Russian scientist M. Pogodin and a Ukrainian historian M. Hrushevsky. The geographical factor - the inherited territory - as an external trait has been considered.

The idea that Peter the Great (1689-1725) had been the famous "westernizer" of Russia embraced the whole space inhabited by Eastern Slavs and it had been ignored that the terms 'Rus', 'Russia' had been taken by the Muscovites in 1713 (till that time the official name of Peter's state had been - Moscovia). Russia had taken illegally the right to use the Kievan historical heritage, had disoriented the world's opinion with the stolen name - maybe, the latter fact took place with

the help of Ukrainians - the Czar's advisers, because until that time the name 'Rus' had been associated only with the Ukraine.

One fact has been ignored - in 1482, two years after the Rus has completely stepped into the Vassal duties for the Golden Horde, the Novgorod Republic had been destroyed. This Republic of a European type was a direct offspring of the Old-Ruthenian Home Mood. This was how the Muscovites not had only locked "the windows on Europe," but also started their expansion to Europe has stopped a first-rate state concerning its economic, political and cultural potential, a state à la Ganza, Venice. But then Moscovia was much more interested in the East than in Europe. So, it started "collecting" the Golden Horde's heritage that was closer to it. The Novgorod population that had begun to transform into a nation, was treated in a really Asian way - the survived were inhabited throughout Moscovia (Stalin repeated this in the classic way in 1933 - he made Ukraine to starve out through deportations - the result was 10 million victims).

Another fact that has been ignored was that the fate of the Russian "window on Europe" (the Baltic Area with St. Petersburg risen in fact on the skeletons of the Ukrainian Cossacks) was decided at Poltava in 1709 when Karl XII and his ally Hetman Ivan Mazeppa was destructively defeated.

One shall appreciate the great possibilities of Muscovites as hoax-makers. In 1654 Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky signed the Treaty on Military and Political collaboration with the Moscovian Czar Alexei Romanov which (the treaty) became later the mythical Act on reunion of Ukraine with Russia (Rus-Ukraine with Moscovia). Thus, 1654 has become the beginning of intellectual expansion of Ukrainians towards the state of "the older brother" who was of Asian spirit. In the second half of the 18th century the Ukrainians started being substituted by French and Germans. Peter the Great's tutor was a Carpathian Ruthenian I. Zeikan, and his Chief Advisor - F. Prokopovytsch. The first University in Ukraine was founded in 1627 (Kiev Mohylian Academy), then in 1664 Lviv University was founded, and the first Russian University - in 1755 in Moscow. On losing the last symbols of her statehood (in 1775 Catherine the second liquated the Zaporizhya Sich (the Cossack Army - "the spiritual Christian republic" - K. Marx), Ukraine stated decaying spiritually and fast. But the century of Rus-Ukraine's worked in joining the rapidly growing Empire. The European mentality had not been lost in vain. It was the beginning of Europeanizing of the Asian-type province of former Kievan Rus. It was due to Ukrainians that the Russian mentality turned towards the West. This has been an explanation of today's peaceful Ukrainian-Russian "divorce" in contrast to the Yugoslavian variant. One should bear in mind, too that the incorporation of

Ukraine and the entry of the Ukrainian nation into the Empire's was a reason of the economy. - The chief bread - producing areas of the end of the 18th to 20th century have been mastered and inhabited by Ukrainians - Kuban, Northern Kazakhstan, Far East - "Green nail").

### **"Byzantinism" has ruled Ukraine**

When Moscovia was just beginning to rise up, Rus-Ukraine willy-nilly gave up her chance to ensure her ideological future. In 1596 in Brest-Litovsk the Uniate Church (Greek-Catholic, byzantine-rite Catholic, i.e. Papal, Church) arose. In the 19th century thanks to the pre-Western world outlook it would be the source of the Ukrainian Renaissance. Under the conditions of Moscow's brutal offence onto the Ukrainian soul only the displacement of the religious feelings' (then the factor's of national identity) was able to save Ukraine. The Orthodox clergymen betrayed the interests of the nation having acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate. It was not by accident that Eastern Galitzia as a part of Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy of a Western Type became the Ukraine's Peigmont.

### **Collapse of the Russian pan-slavism with the help of Ukrainians**

After October coup d'état Finland, Poland, the Baltics as Alaska earlier was relieved easily, but not Ukraine which has become the starting point of the Russian Bolshevik strategy of expansion. V. Lenin wrote a thick essay "On Ukraine" which later became the Bible of the trials against "the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." In September 1939 the Bolsheviks received from A. Hitler the cherished land - Eastern Galitzia, which has become the Trojan Horse for the communism and Russia. The Kremlin has committed two errors concerning the Galitzian Ukrainians: 1) The total repression's and deportations in 1939-1941 and 1944-1953 against the Organization of Ukrainian nationalists and the Ukrainian Rebellion army and through them the passive majority as well; 2) The relief of thousands of survived Galitzians from Siberia according to the Khrushchev's amnesty in 1958 - till Gorbachev's arrival they managed to bring up the generation of the Ukrainian spirit. This generation was strengthened the relieved by Gorbachev Ukrainian nationalists. The Western Ukrainians in 1989-1991 "occupied" Eastern Ukraine to struggle for her independence in a civilized way. The prominent event of the 20th century has occurred (Z. Bżezinski): Ukraine has buried the Empire which was born by Ukraine.