

Ukraine—Between Poland and Russia

By Nicholas D. Czubyj

The three years of struggle and attempted negotiations between Poland and the Soviet Union over the readjustment of their frontiers were concluded by a two-fold decision. Thanks to Moscow, Poland was given a government which readily consented to give up both the Western Ukraine and White Ruthenia, territories occupied by Poland after the First World War; now they become parts of the Soviet Union. On the motion of Viacheslav Molotov, the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Ukraine was accepted as a member of the world organization, the United Nations.

The first event means that after six hundred years, Poland has withdrawn her claim to an extensive tract of land which she ruled at times as far east as the River Dnieper and beyond. Polish ambitions to control the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian lands and to assimilate these two peoples culturally in order to make them an ethnographic Polish entity, with some exceptions of course, failed.

The second event would appear to mean that Ukraine has been recognized as a sovereign nation by Moscow, which for the last five hundred years has sought to annihilate the Ukrainian nation. The very same Stalin and Molotov, who from 1917 to 1939 had exerted themselves to extirpate the Ukrainian nationhood and sovereignty, who had conquered Ukraine with the aid of the Red Army, and who had exterminated millions of Ukrainians, now apparently proclaimed Ukrainian sovereignty. After reducing Ukraine to a mere province of the centralized Soviet Empire, the Kremlin affirmed Ukrainian independence and demanded that the world recognize it as a fact.

These two events do not herald any Golden Age for Eastern Europe. They represent the settlement of historic disputes by force. It must also be added that more recent developments are shrouded in an almost impenetrable censorship. The only clear facts are that, first, the present Polish government backed by Russia does not represent the majority

of the Polish people, and that, secondly, the Ukrainian people are not a self-governing nation—the Kremlin considers Ukraine its own province to be ruled by its own agents.

These facts mean that after centuries of struggle, Russia has emerged as the single all-powerful ruler over Ukraine and Poland. In the interest of her Soviet Empire, Russia alone has decided and settled the historical strife between herself and Poland over the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian lands, whose desires for independence have been ignored.

The Polish-Russian border conflict and its present solution may become the final phase of the six-centuries-old Polish-Ukrainian struggle for the Ukrainian territory that has now been lost by Poland, probably forever. Though the sovereignty of the Ukrainian people over these vast tracts of land is only nominal, yet the fact remains that this Ukrainian ethnographic territory has been reunited in one domain under Russian supremacy, in the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

Before the Second World War, the Poles were preparing a celebration in memory of the six hundredth anniversary of the annexation of Western Ukraine with its Capital Lviv (Lwow), in 1340, by King Casimir the Great. But by 1940, Poland had suffered a tragic national defeat in the course of which she lost all territory, including Western Ukraine. The Polish King, Casimir the Great, conquered Ukraine because it had been weakened and ravaged by continuous barbaric Asiatic incursions; at the same time, he completely abandoned the aboriginal Polish terrain to the inroads of the Teutons. This subsequently resulted in the Germanization of Western Poland. While Poland attempted to subjugate and Polonize the extensive Ukrainian provinces during the past six hundred years, her own original lands, the cradle of Poland, were thoroughly denationalized. Now Stalin has turned the wheel of history and advised the Poles to reoccupy this territory as far west as the Rivers Oder and Neisse.

One cannot help doubting whether Poland will be able to digest this region which has been 95-100% Germanized. Instead, this attempt may precipitate an uninterrupted German-Polish strife with Poland always relying on Russia for aid and, therefore, politically dependent upon her forever.

The purpose of this essay is to survey Polish-Ukrainian as well as Russian-Ukrainian relations over the centuries. These relations may be summarized as a struggle of the Ukrainian people against Polish and

Russian plans of denationalization and annihilation. By six hundred years of effort to reassert and to rehabilitate themselves in the face of enormous odds, the Ukrainians preserved their nation.

Kiev and Moscow

Herder in his travels through Ukraine called her the second Hellas. Similar impressions were expressed by foreign travellers, because the country and the inhabitants of Ukraine strikingly recalled the ancient Hellenes. The sunny, beautiful and agreeable climate lures travellers no less than the colorful landscape of sea, steppe and forest. The beauty of nature and an early and close intimacy with Greek civilization through the Greek colonies along the Black Sea awakened in the inhabitants of Ukraine lofty artistic tendencies, a poetical and happy disposition, a sense of humor, and aspirations which have been retained in spite of the tragic history of Ukraine. The Ukrainian smiles amidst his tears. The artistic nature of the Ukrainian displays itself in his native garb, in the ornamentation of his articles of everyday use, in the tidy maintenance of his ever-whitewashed home surrounded by its garden and orchard. The poetical nature of the Ukrainian expresses itself in melodious folk songs and colorful ritual on all the occasions of life, birth, marriage, burial, Christmas, Easter, New Year's, etc. The Ukrainian is very hospitable and pleasant, yet wary in speech.

The long struggle of the Ukrainian people with the barbarians developed within them the sense of human dignity, chivalry, warfare and a fanatic love of their native land and liberty, even though they did not long enjoy it. "*L'Ukraine a toujours aspiré à la liberté.*" "Ukraine has always aspired to liberty," wrote Voltaire about the Ukrainians in his *History of Charles XII* (1731).

Long years under the domination of Poland and Russia have completely done away with the Ukrainian propertied class. Few civilized nations have undergone such class eliminations as the Ukrainians. The Ukrainians have no feudal lords or capitalists and the overwhelming majority of the people are peasants. The Ukrainian appears as a democrat by nature in contrast to the aristocratic inclinations of the Poles and the autocratic inclinations of the Russians. The Ukrainian is an extreme individualist and this is an evil sharply evinced in the organization of Ukrainian community life. Many sociologists and historians have considered these opposed dispositions of the Ukrainians and

Russians. Worthy of special notice is *The Two Rus-Nations* by Mikola Kostomariw, the foremost nineteenth-century Ukrainian historian. No one, however, has more accurately perceived the contrast between the spirit of Ukraine and of Russia, Kiev and Moscow than the Russian poet, Alexei Tolstoy of the nineteenth century.

Alexei Tolstoy observed that upon the ruins of the old *Rus'* State, there arose two distinct intellectual types of people. He explained that *Rus'* has its roots in European culture. In one *Rus'* (Ukraine), the ideas of goodness, honor and freedom are understood as they are in the West. But there is another *Rus'*, the Russia of dark forests, the Russia of the Taiga, the animal Russia, the fanatic Russia, the Mongol Tartar Russia, which made despotism and fanaticism its ideal. Aware of this duality of his country, the poet tried to find a living incarnation of each *Rus'* and he found them in the different attitudes of Kiev and Moscow to the Tartar rule. Where the Kiev tradition still lived, there was an open fight against the Tartars. Kiev was subjected. Moscow preferred to bow before the conqueror in order to live, and Moscow survived. In this very process of accommodation under the Tartars, *Kholopstvo* (a slave mentality) developed in the Russian character. But the Kievians, whether rulers or ruled, are full of the sense of their personal dignity. They prize the ideals of honor and freedom above everything.¹

In a word, the Ukrainians in mentality and past history belong to Europe, the Russians to Asia. The process of linking Russia and Asia with ever closer bonds, especially of an economic character, continues on a large scale in the Soviet Union, while the Ukrainians of today affirm that the main characteristic distinguishing the Ukrainians from the Russians, is their present—and past—intellectual unity with Western Europe.

Kiev as the Metropolis of Eastern Europe

In the first half of the ninth century the first historical state of the Ukraine appears. The country went by the old Ukrainian name of

¹ The Russian reactionary historian Basil Shulgin in his article "Kiev, Mother of Russian Towns" (*The Slavonic and Eastern European Review*, Vol. XIX, 1939, 1940), quoted these subtle words of Tolstoy, but he failed to derive the right conclusion from them. Nevertheless, even Shulgin noted that while "Kiev was a part of Europe, Moscow long remained a negation of Europe."

Rus'.² The organizing factor of this new Slavonic kingdom was the Ukrainian tribe *Rus'*, whose city, Kiev, at the crossroads of the two main commercial routes of Eastern Europe, became the center of the new kingdom. The first route, named "The Varangian Route to Greece," went northward from Constantinople, along the Black Sea, up the Dnieper and then to the Baltic Sea. The other route, led from Bagdad, the capital of the Arabian world, across the Caspian Sea and thence along the lower Volga and on to the West, following the limits of the steppe and forest zones, that is approximately along the Kiev meridian, westward to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Germany. These two routes, linking together the highest civilizations of that time, the Byzantine and Arabian, crossed at Kiev. Thus, Kiev, already the metropolis of a great Eastern European kingdom, became the meeting place of the Eastern and Western Christian world as well as of Mohammedan culture.

The Ukrainian realm was not then an ethnical unit. The south was predominantly of Slav origin in race and language, but the north was colonized mostly by tribes of Finn-Turkish descent in race and language, alien to the Ukrainian south. The chronicler Nestor explicitly opposed *Rus'* proper, that is the south, to the North, the territories of the later Russian or Muscovite nation. These northern colonial provinces of Kievan *Rus'* were governed by Princes of the Rurik Dynasty, with the aid of administrators sent up from the south. With these administrative officers and the merchants and missionaries of the new Christian Faith, there came also the Ukrainian civilization of *Rus'*. Literature and learning developed in the official and literary Church-Slavonic language. In this way, these provinces of the Kievan metropolis gradually came under the influence of *Rus'* culture. The process here is very similar to the Romanization of the Roman provinces of the ancient Roman Empire.

The bond of these northern provinces with Kiev was weakened by the assaults of the Asiatic hordes who pressed the Ukrainian people back from the Black Sea and severed the immediate contact of Kiev with the Arabic world by land, and with Byzantium by water. The dependency of the provinces upon the metropolis of Kiev was practically disrupted. There remained only the moral and social bonds, a common

² Cf. "The Meaning of 'Russia' and 'Ukraine'" by Nicholas D. Czubytyj. *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (Vol. I, 4, September, 1945).

ecclesiastical metropolis, and above all, the rich culture of Kiev, which developed after the introduction of Christianity from Byzantium (988). Ukraine-Rus' then really became part of the Eastern Church, though Kiev never followed Byzantium blindly, but on the contrary, intently observed the ways of the entire Christian world. Western influences was transmitted by means of German merchants and Varangian warriors.

The Ukrainian state of this time thought of itself as a part of the Western Christian community (*Communitas Christiana*). It did not break away even in 1054, when Byzantium formally severed all relations with Rome and the Christian world was divided in two, the Western Church with the Pope at its head and the Eastern under the four patriarchs. Maintaining active relations with Western Europe, Ukraine, nevertheless, richly profited from the culture of Byzantium. In Ukraine, the churches were built in the Byzantine style. A special institute was opened in Kiev by Prince Jaroslaw the Wise (1019-1054) to undertake the colossal task of translating into the Ukrainianized Church-Slavonic language the best works of Byzantine literature. Cathedral schools sprang up in Ukraine, education spread, especially into the cities. Monasteries were founded, the most notable of which was the Cave Monastery at Kiev, and these became the centers of spiritual growth and material culture. Original works of literature were produced, such as the renowned *Chronicle of Nestor* and the epic poem *The Song of Ihor's Armament*.

Relations with Poland, even in this early period of Ukrainian history, were embittered by differences of culture. The Polish chronicler, Vincent Kadlubek, when mentioning Poland's Eastern neighbors, the Ukrainians, invariably affixed to them the attribute *impius* (*infidelis*). However, he was attacked in like manner by Ukrainian zealots of Eastern Christianity. When a monk of the Kievan Cave Monastery portrayed his temptations, he said he was enticed by the devil who assumed the form of a Pole (*Lakh*).

The Tartar invasion of Eastern Europe (1240) played a decisive role in the complete estrangement of the Muscovite (great Russian) people from Ukraine-Rus'. This became evident in their different attitudes to the Tartars. The Princes of Suzdal-Vladymir, who ruled in the territories inhabited by the Great-Russians, humbled themselves before the Tartar hordes and for 200 years attempted to cooperate with their

conquerors, with whose help they sought to acquire other lands for themselves. Ukraine resisted the Tartars and, as a result, Kiev (1240) lay in complete ruins and the center of the political and cultural life in Ukraine was transferred to the Western region. The Western-Ukrainian or the Galicia-Volynian State with its capital, Halych, later Lviv, continued the ideals and political ends of ancient Kiev, and under King Danylo prepared to use all its strength for defense against the Tartars.

This role of Ukraine was appreciated in the West. Pope John XXII, on the death of the Western Ukrainian Princes, Leo II and Andrew (1323), both probably slain in a battle with Tartars, expressed his grief and termed their lands "the front line of Christendom, (*antemurale Christianitatis*)."

In the field of culture, these close relations of Ukraine with the West may be seen in the fact that the Latin language was introduced into Ukraine and, in the first half of the fourteenth century, became the second language in the courts of Western Ukrainian rulers.

The Polish Invasion of Ukraine

By the middle of the fourteenth century, Ukraine, weakened by the struggle against the Tartars, fell a prey to its neighbors, Poland and Lithuania. The Ukrainian nation ceased to exist as an independent state for the ensuing three centuries. The Poles, under King Casimir the Great, profited by this and overran Ukraine when the Western-Ukrainian branch of the Rurik Dynasty died out (1340).

Poland occupied one part of Ukraine and Lithuania another. While the Polish occupation did not find general favor, the Lithuanian occupation had a character of friendliness and emancipation. The Lithuanian state, still pagan and on a lower level of civilization, soon absorbed Ukrainian culture, together with its Eastern Christianity. The Ukrainians did not regard the Lithuanian princes, who were Ukrainian in culture, as alien. Those Ukrainian lands which of themselves entered into union with the Lithuanian state or which were reconquered from the Tartars were included by Lithuania as parts of the Lithuanian federation with no alteration in their state government. The Ukrainianized Church-Slavonic language, the literary language of Ukraine, was the official language of the entire Lithuanian state for several centuries.

It appeared that in the Lithuanian state, Ukraine would find the continuance of its own state. The union of Lithuania and Poland (1386), however, disrupted this process of cultural conquest by the

conquered Ukraine. The intervention of Poland in Ukraine in the middle of the 14th century had great influence, not only on the future destiny of Ukraine and Poland, but also on the history of all Eastern Europe. Poland described her expansion towards the east, as "the Polish Mission in the East" because she cloaked her political aggression on the rich Ukrainian lands as a religious mission to propagate in the East Catholicism of the Latin Rite, which was foreign to the 350-year old history of Ukrainian Christian culture. As a result, there began in the Ukrainian lands a battle, political, cultural and economic, between the subject Ukrainian population and the invading Poles.

In its *political* aspect, the occupying Polish government attempted to adopt a policy of complete unification of all Ukrainian lands with Poland through the promulgation of Polish legal institutions. Political leadership was entrusted to alien-colonists from Poland. On the Ukrainian lands, Poland adopted a policy of negation towards the national aspirations of the Ukrainian people, who cherished in themselves the living traditions of an independent nation. Two centuries after the Polish-Lithuanian Union (1386), Polish policy secured important results in the Union of Lublin (1569) by which all Ukrainian lands were excluded from the Lithuanian state and included directly under the unified government of Poland.

The aim of Polish *cultural policy* in Ukraine was to Polonize the Ukrainian nation in order to appropriate permanently, as part of Poland, the rich lands of Ukraine. To accomplish this, the Polish government, which at that time stood on a lower level of culture than the Ukrainian nation, ventured on a hazardous undertaking. Nevertheless, Poland entered upon her program and continued it until our times under the name of "the Polish Catholic Mission in the East." This undertaking would have been unpromising at the outset, had not Poland had the powerful backing of the neighboring countries of Roman Catholic Europe, which considered the Polish mission in Ukraine only from a religious viewpoint.

The ethnical boundary of the Polish and Ukrainian nations coincided with the line of religious demarcation between the Christian countries of the Eastern Rite, and the countries of the Western or Latin Rite. At that time, it was also the dividing line between the Eastern and Western Church, between the power of the Papacy and that of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who in 1054, seceded from Rome and took

with him parts of the Slavic world. Until the beginning of the twelfth century, however, Ukraine did not break with the Papacy, in spite of her Eastern Rite and despite the former hierarchic dependence on Byzantium. Consequently, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the relations of Ukraine with Constantinople were at one time broken, at another resumed, depending upon internal conditions in the Ukraine. The Rome-Byzantine feud was then considered in the Ukraine as a religious administrative quarrel rather than a religious-dogmatic one. The relations of Ukraine with the Western-European *Communitas Christiana* did not permit the ultimate break between Ukraine and Rome.

During the beginning of the Polish occupation of Ukraine, the relations between Rome and the Polish-occupied lands of Ukraine were broken and consequently, in Poland and the neighboring Roman Catholic countries, Hungary and Germany, Ukraine was looked upon as a "land of schismatics and infidels," who should be converted forcibly to the Latin Rite. Zealous cooperation with the Polish mission was rendered by the Magyar and German colonists in Ukraine, who, in turn, received support from their countrymen at home.

A faction under the leadership of Poland declared that the "schismatic" and illegal Ukrainian hierarchy should be replaced by a new Catholic hierarchy. Indeed, in Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine (1375), a Roman Catholic metropolis of the Latin Rite was erected, and in all the cities of Western Ukraine, Peremysl, Cholm, Volodimir-Volynsky, wherever there were orthodox bishops, bishops of the Latin rite were appointed. A mass founding of monasteries and the opening of parishes were begun for the prospective faithful, because, as yet, their number was comparatively small in Ukraine. The Germans of the towns comprised the majority of the Roman Catholics, therefore the first Roman Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv was a Lviv-German, Matthew. Bishops were appointed from among the Poles or the Ukrainian converts.

The search for the faithful was then commenced, because the Ukrainians boycotted the new religious hierarchy and considered it an intrusion forced upon them by an alien conqueror. Gradually, the Catholics of the Latin Rite were identified with the Poles and this interpretation has persisted to the present day. The consequence of such a forceful propaganda for Catholicism of the Latin rite by Poland was fatal to Catholicism in Ukraine, which hitherto had been favorably disposed to

it. Ukraine now acknowledged the Orthodox faith, the "Christian Faith of the Greek Law" as the faith of her forefathers, which had to be defended to their last drop of blood, as the bulwark of Ukrainian Nationality. The struggle for Orthodoxy now became identical with the struggle for Ukrainian nationality.

Without doubt, Polish propaganda, conducted in all possible ways, attained some success. The number of the Roman Catholic faithful began to increase. The faithful were recruited from the convert-opportunists of Ukrainian descent, or from the German and Polish colonists, who in increasing numbers migrated into Ukraine. The Germans were usually tradesmen and merchants, while the Poles were feudal landowners. That is why the larger Ukrainian cities, especially Lviv, took on a German character, and among the large landowners there were constantly more Poles. The Poles made their greatest gains among the Ukrainian nobility who, because of political ambitions, accepted the Latin Rite and were Polonized.

In like manner, the Ukrainian townspeople were exposed to daily discrimination by the town administration, which was monopolized by the Catholics of the Latin Rite. Lviv with its city administration, at first predominantly German and later Polish, set an example for the other cities of Western Ukraine in discriminating against Ukrainian townspeople. In Rome, special notice was taken of this natural religious struggle, and utilizing the moment when the Turks threatened Constantinople, the Apostolic See brought about a general union of the Ukrainian church at the Council of Florence in 1439, with the assistance of the Kievan Metropolitan Isidore. This was a step of paramount importance to Ukraine, for Ukraine became the representative of Catholicism in the Eastern Rite in Eastern Europe, differing from Muscovite Orthodoxy and the Catholicism of the Latin Rite propagated by Poland. The Council of Florence rendered the "Polish Catholic Mission in the East" purposeless.

Hardly had Constantinople, called the "Second Rome," fallen to the Turks, when Moscow assumed the leadership of the Orthodox as the "Third Rome." The Orthodox church of Muscovy, for centuries estranged from Europe, was far different from the Orthodox church in Ukraine. Yet, there existed the great danger that the Ukrainian orthodox, persecuted by Poland, might turn towards Moscow. In historical perspective, we can see that the time was ripening for the Muscovite-

Polish struggle for the Ukrainian lands. At that time, however, the plans of the Council of Florence in Ukraine were against the political interests of both Poland and Moscow, and therefore by a joint understanding, the Poles and Russians did away with the Ukrainian Church Union made at the Council of Florence. The Metropolitan Isidore of Kiev, the originator of this Union, was exiled from his ecclesiastical province and deposed by the Polish-Russian settlement (1449). The Polish Catholic Mission in Ukraine was resumed and also the new Orthodox mission of Moscow commenced. In consequence of the fall of Constantinople, Ukraine began to decline culturally.

Fifteenth century humanism, to which Orthodox Ukraine had no immediate access, increased Polish culture notably. The balance of cultures between Ukraine and Poland now leaned heavily in favor of Poland, and, as a result, the desertion of the Ukrainian nobility to the Latin Rite and Polonization became alarming. In the West, the Reformation came, and in its wake the Catholic Counter-Reformation, with the energetic propaganda of the newly-formed Jesuit Order. The Reformation spread to Ukraine and found favorable ground among the Ukrainian nobility. This attracted the Jesuits from Western Europe into Ukraine, and they, with the aid of their Polish colleges, entered the struggle against Protestantism in Ukraine and against Orthodoxy as well. Protestantism was swiftly eradicated in Ukraine by the Jesuits. Simultaneously, however, these same Jesuit colleges converted the orthodox youth of the Ukrainian nobility to Latin Catholicism.

Means had to be sought to save the Ukrainian nation. This could only be accomplished by a modern humanistic form of education and a direct approach to the Western Catholic world, free of the intermediacy of the Polish Mission in the East. The Ukrainian townsfolk and the nobility which had not yet been Polonized, made attempts to advance the standard of learning while the thought of reuniting again with the Catholic Church came from the Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchy itself, 150 years after the failure of the Church union of Florence.

The most powerful magnate in Ukraine, Prince Constantine Ostrohsy established in Ostroh a modern school, a so-called Academy (1580). The townspeople of Lviv, organized into church fraternities, founded a city school associated with the Stauropigian Brotherhood in Lviv (1586). These schools became the models and nurseries of many schools in Ukraine and helped to advance learning.

The thought of reviving the union attempted by the Council of

Florence came from the ranks of the Ukrainian Orthodox Episcopate, and its most ardent propagator was Bishop Ipatiy Potiy, who soon became the Metropolitan of Kiev. The thought of a religious union of Ukraine with Rome was ardently supported by the Jesuits of non-Polish and Polish extraction (Possevino, Skarga and others). Towards this proposed union the Polish hierarchy at first took a favorable stand, believing that the Church union would pave the way for Latinization and Polonization. Later, however, realizing that the Union was another form of a Ukrainian Catholic religion in opposition to the Polonizing culture, the Polish hierarchy became an enemy of the Union and favored the propaganda of Latin Catholicism in Ukraine as before.

The religious union of the Ukrainian church with Rome was accomplished at the Council of Brest (1596). It was the work of Ukrainian progressives who, in this way, sought, on the one hand, to bring Ukrainian culture into contact with the West, and, on the other, to check the pressure of the Latin Catholics on Ukraine, because this latter only meant Polonization.

The hopes of these Ukrainians were not entirely fulfilled. It is true that the Ukrainian church united to Rome found ardent support in the Vatican, but this did not stem the pressure of Latin Catholicism which continued to battle with those of the Orthodox faith and with the Uniates. This divided the Ukrainians into two factions, those for and those against the union with Rome. In Ukraine, a religious struggle flamed up which advanced learning, but, at the same time, split the Ukrainian nation into two contending parties. The Orthodox faction increasingly sought the aid of Moscow, which had become a considerable power, while the Uniates turned to Poland.

The Polish *Drang nach Osten*, likewise, had a deep economic-social basis. The annexation of the rich and fertile Ukrainian lands to Poland, together with the political cultural aims of the Polish state, was intended to appease the economic demands of the Polish nobility, who at this period assumed control of the Polish state and turned it into a feudal republic with the king as its nominal head (*Rzeczpospolita Szlachecka*).

The impoverished Polish nobility now left their barren Polish lands and swarmed into Ukraine, where they received large grants of land formerly belonging to the erstwhile Ukrainian state or confiscated from the Ukrainian nobility who had defended the political independence of their country. The number of Polish landowners rapidly increased and

insignificant nobles of the Polish kingdom, the so-called *Vlodyki* became magnates. Polish monasteries of the Latin Rite and cathedrals acquired the wealth taken away from the Ukrainian Orthodox Bishops. The Polonized German-Catholic element gradually gained control of the administration of the city of Lviv and economically ousted the Ukrainian townspeople from all offices in their trade and commerce.

Polish landowners, imitating conditions in Poland, introduced into Ukraine serfdom among the peasants, something previously unknown there. The Ukrainian masses were plunged into ever deeper economic serfdom until by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were fettered to the land (*glebae adscripti*). As the Ukrainian nobility renounced their nationality and were Polonized, the Ukrainian people were transformed into a people of peasants and of impoverished townspeople. Polish-Ukrainian relations took on the character of a sharp economic-social struggle which became more acute with the growth of the Ukrainian *Kozaks*.

Ukraine, an Independent Nation — Second Ukrainian State

The eastern boundary of the Polish republic was never strictly defined or guarded. The endless eastern Ukrainian steppes themselves became the protection, when there was no aggressive neighbor from the east or south. But such a neighbor appeared in the latter half of the fifteenth century. It was the Crimean Tartar horde, which, under the protectorate of the Turkish Sultan, began to make armed raids on Ukraine and in a terrible way devastated the Ukrainian lands. All the southeastern Ukrainian steppe-land became depopulated, and farther west, the western Ukrainian lands were in danger from the Tartars who razed and plundered everything, enslaved the people and disposed of them on the slave markets of Kafa in the Crimea. The Polish-Lithuanian administration was incapable of providing a defense for these rich Ukrainian lands. On the contrary, the burdens of serfdom imposed by the Polish landowners at this particular time fell ever more heavily upon the Ukrainian masses. Of necessity, the Ukrainian people organized in self-defense to guard their native lands.

Above the Dnieper on the Ukrainian steppes, in places of safety and natural defense, groups of the bolder Ukrainian people banded themselves together. Always eager for adventure, they put to use the rich wealth of the virgin lands and also preyed upon the Tartars return-

ing home from plundering in Ukraine. These bold Ukrainians organized themselves into army divisions and were steadily increased by refugees from the peasant serfs.

The first organizer of these men, in the middle of the sixteenth century, was the Ukrainian nobleman Prince Dmytro Vishnevetsky. On the Isle of Khorytzia on the Dnieper, he erected a fortified camp *Zaporozska Sitch* (in about 1540), as a fortress against the Tartars. Because the administration there was strictly democratic and fraternal, the *Sitch* rapidly became well populated. A strict rule was enforced and members had to remain unmarried as long as they were in the *Sitch*. In this manner, the Ukrainian *Kozak* came into being, and later developed into a large army of national defense. The *Kozaks* actually put an end to the Tartar invasions and, at the same time, came to the aid of the socially enslaved peasants. Acting in defense of the Ukrainian masses, they endeared themselves to the entire nation.

Behind the powerful protection of the Ukrainian *Kozaks* in the steppes, the Polish nobility edged ever deeper into the Ukrainian lands, and began to found new settlements to impose serfdom upon the *Kozaks* and their families. This brought forth a series of Polish-Ukrainian wars and ended in the great revolutionary uprising of the Ukrainian people under Bohdan Khmelnytsky against Poland in 1648. The revolution of Bohdan Khmelnytsky did away with Polish rule in Eastern Ukraine and brought about the formation of an independent Ukrainian State in the eastern part of Ukraine on both sides of the Dnieper River.

The Russian Invasion of Ukraine

The revolution of Bohdan Khmelnytsky against Poland was successful, but it was a hard task to retain the independence of Ukraine. Ukraine sought support against Poland from Sweden and Turkey, but without success. Unable to stand up against Poland which was at continuous war with the young Ukrainian state, Khmelnytsky was forced to accept the protectorate of the Muscovite Tzar over Ukraine (1654). In this manner, a part of Ukraine came under the protectorate of Moscow. This was the beginning of Muscovite domination over Ukraine.

In accepting the protectorate over Ukraine by the so-called Pereyaslaw Treaty, (1654), Ukraine retained the character of a sovereign nation with the right even to conduct foreign policy. In the ensuing

years, however, Moscow began to encroach upon the provisions of this agreement, occupying the country with her armies and curtailing the autonomy of Ukraine.

The revolution of Bohdan Khmelnitsky and the separation of a part of Ukraine from Polish rule had another effect—it weakened the power of Poland. The unsolved Ukrainian-Polish conflict was the beginning of the decline of Poland which continued to the end of the eighteenth century. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century Poland was so powerful that the Polish Hetman Zolkiewski was able to defeat Moscow and to enthrone the Polish Prince Wladyslaw in the Kremlin. During the seventeenth century Poland ceased to be a power in eastern Europe and was replaced by Moscow. Ukraine held the balance in Polish-Muscovite relations. As the power of Poland decreased, that of Moscow increased. Finally, Tzar Peter (1689-1725), secured Russian domination in eastern Europe.

Tzar Peter I, the builder of the new Russia, in rebuilding the power of his empire, outlined the course along which it was to develop and increase for centuries. Yet back in the fourteenth century, the Muscovite Prince Ivan Kalyta, (1325-1341), bringing together the Muscovite princedoms under his rule, cherished the idea of uniting all the lands of ancient *Rus'*-Ukraine under his dominion, and thought of himself as the heir of those lands and the representative of the Muscovite branch of the Rurik dynasty which had just died out in Ukraine (1323). Tzar Ivan III Vasilyich (1462-1505) after the fall of Constantinople married Sophia, the last descendant of the Byzantine line of Paleologues and proclaimed Moscow as the Third Rome and the natural protector of all the Orthodox of ancient *Rus'*, who in the future had to unite in one Muscovite nation. This Orthodox nation of Eastern Europe one day must reconquer Constantinople, erect the three-barred cross on the dome of Hagia Sophia and take possession of the Dardanelles. This explains why Moscow was a bitter enemy of the religious union of Ukraine and White Ruthenia with Rome, for Catholicizing of the Eastern Rite meant the strengthening of the natural ancient unity of Ukraine and White Ruthenia with Western Europe, and this would be the chief obstacle to the formation of a single Muscovite nation of all the lands of the ancient Kievan State. Without the occupation of Ukraine, it was impossible to approach Constantinople and the Dardanelles. All these plans at that time were general, and more or less indefinite, and they only obtained their real character along with the

methods of realizing them from Peter the Great. Ukraine was the key to the situation. At that time, Ukraine not only considered itself a separate nation totally different from Muscovy but even detested it as a semi-barbaric Asiatic state. The religious union which first spread only in part of northwestern Ukraine, in the latter half of the 17th century, embraced all of the Western part of Ukraine up to the Dnieper. Two-thirds of the entire Ukrainian nation in the middle of the eighteenth century were Catholics of the Eastern Rite and entirely united in spirit with the West. Even the Ukrainian Orthodox Church had to accept Western education and a pattern of church organization from the Catholic Church. The general plan of Ivan III of the fifteenth century was set forth in detail by Peter the Great and a general outline mapped out for the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

The first step was to Russify the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. And truly, in 1686, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Muscovite Patriarch instead of that of Constantinople. The Russification of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church proceeded at a swift tempo and the Orthodox Church in Ukraine during the last 250 years became the chief factor in the Russification of the Ukrainian nation.

Tzar Peter the Great, acting on the advice of his German collaborators, outlined the whole plan of forming a one-Russian nation of the Muscovites, Ukrainians and White Ruthenians, not only in the political sense of a state, but also in the cultural and ethnical aspects.³ Basic in this regard was the ukase of 1713 which decreed the introduction of the name "Russia" for Muscovia and "Russians" for Muscovites and all the inhabitants of her empire. The purpose of this change of name was purely political, that is, to create the fiction, both at home and abroad, that the ancient Kievan *Rus'* was the predecessor of Muscovia, and all the nations which arose on the ruins of ancient *Rus'*—Ukrainians, Muscovites, and White Ruthenians were but one Russian people. The Ukrainians were ordered to be called Little Russians, the Muscovites Great Russians and White Ruthenians White Russians.

As yet, there were no White Ruthenians in Tzar Peter's empire, and only a small number of Ukrainians, but in his plan, he foresaw that the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian lands would be annexed from Poland by the partition of that country which actually occurred 60 years later.

³ Shelukhin, *Ukraine* (Prague, 1938), p. 194 and others.

For the unity in spirit of the one "Russian people" a national Orthodox faith was necessary and, consequently, he decided to destroy the Uniate Church which already had become the church of almost all the White Ruthenians and the greater part of the Ukrainians.

Tzar Peter made the first assault on Ukraine by a further curtailment of the autonomy of the eastern part of the country which was under the protectorate of Moscow. Muscovite pressure brought about the Ukrainian uprising of Hetman Ivan Mazepa. Mazepa, taking advantage of the prolonged warfare of Tzar Peter the Great with Sweden for the Baltic coast, made a pact with the Swedish King, Charles XII, and invited him to Ukraine to strike at Moscow from the South.

The march of Charles XII in Ukraine ended with the defeat of the Swedes and Ukrainians at Poltava (1709). This battle decided the ultimate fate of Ukraine and Eastern Europe in favor of Russia. Hetman Ivan Mazepa himself had to quit Ukraine and seek refuge in Turkey where he soon died. His followers, called by the Russians "Mazepynzi" for several years after his death, defended the independence of Ukraine and popularized their country's plight in Western Europe, especially in France. The French of the eighteenth century were actually informed of the aspirations of the Ukrainian people to independence, even in the time of Napoleon. His court Historian, Charles L. Lesure, compiled a history of Ukraine entitled *L'Histoire des Cosaques*, a volume of considerable value to Napoleon in planning his invasion of Russia.

The unsuccessful uprising of Hetman Mazepa brought to an end Ukraine's autonomy under Russia. The Battle of Poltava also marked the end of Polish independence, in spite of the fact that her formal partition took place towards the end of the eighteenth century.

In the partitions of Poland, 1772-1795, all the White Ruthenians and an overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian lands came under Russian rule. In them, according to the plans of Peter, the Russian Empire carried out its policy. The Tzarist administration forcibly destroyed eastern Catholicism in the lands of Ukraine and White Ruthenia. In the course of a century, over twelve million Ukrainians and White Ruthenians, during three distinct phases of cruel persecutions, were forced to forsake their faith. Only a small number changed to the Polish Latin Rite, which was tolerated by Russia. The Russian Church, the Russian school and the Russian language in every phase of public life were forced upon Ukraine, and Ukrainian culture was persecuted

as separatism detrimental to the state. Thousands died or were driven into exile, including the greatest poet of the Ukrainian people, Taras Shevchenko. The ultimate was reached in 1863 with the Ukase prohibiting in Russia all forms of Ukrainian national life. Even the printing of the Bible in the Ukrainian language was forbidden. The Ukrainian nation as a separate people officially ceased to exist in Russia. Yet it lived in the hearts of millions unofficially and with dynamic power emerged as a new independent nation in 1917 when the Great Russian Revolution broke out in Russia.

The Piedmont of the Ukrainian Nation

Galicia, a small portion of Ukraine, came under the rule of Austria. Austria, a patchwork of diverse nations, had no special interest in checking the Ukrainian national revival, and consequently the Galician Ukrainians made rapid progress, together with all the nations of Central Europe. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the fiery calls to a national revival, by Ukraine's greatest poet, Taras Shevchenko, and the idealistic political program of the Ukrainian patriots of the so-called confraternity of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in Kiev (1846), who demanded a free Ukrainian republic, were smuggled into Galicia and they became the bywords of the masses there.

During the fiercest persecution of Ukrainian life in Russia, when not one word was allowed to be printed in Ukrainian, Ukrainian writers and learned men brought their works to Galicia to be printed. There, with the help of contributions of Ukrainians in Russia, they founded the Scientific Shevchenko Society, a real Western Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (1878). In a word, Galicia became the living center of the National Ukrainian Renaissance, the veritable Piedmont of Ukraine. A predominant role in the cultural revival of the Western Ukrainians was played by the Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite. Galicia under the rule of Austria, where the Ukrainians and Poles gathered amid the free atmosphere of Austrian constitutional life, might have become the terrain of understanding between these two peoples, patterned on the internal historical horizons and directed against the imperialism of Russia which oppressed both nations. But this did not happen. The Poles were too intently interested in their own history. They always cherished the thought of ruling over the Ukrainian lands as far as the Dneiper, as historical Poland had done formerly, and so

they considered not only Ukrainian Galicia with her Capital, Lviv, Polish territory, but also all the Ukrainian lands of the ancient feudal Polish Republic. The Polish revolutions against Russia in 1830-31 and 1863-64, apart from mere phraseology about a united struggle for liberty against Russia, brought no positive plans for the solution of the historic Polish-Ukrainian contention.

Actually, during the almost 150 years of Austrian rule over a part of Polish and Ukrainian lands, a constant struggle went on between Poles and Ukrainians. This was favorable for Russia and she used it to her advantage. With her Russian rubles she tried to implant a Russo-ophile orientation among the Galician Ukrainians in Austria, and this was often supported by the Poles, in order to weaken the dynamic Ukrainian revival. This was proof of the blindness and lack of a clear historic perspective on the part of the Poles and on the part also of the Ukrainians. Vengeance wreaked itself bitterly on the two nations, as our days bear witness.

The Third Ukrainian State (1917-1923)

The Russian revolution and the fall of the monarchy in 1917 brought perhaps one of the greatest surprises to the world. An unknown and forgotten nation was reborn in the east of Europe—Ukraine. She came to life with a dynamic force, which surpassed the expectations not only of those without, but also of her own leaders. The Russian Revolution began as a social upheaval, but on the outskirts of Russia, settled by a non-Russian population, it became a series of national revolutions. For the future of revolutionary Russia the most significant was the national revolution in Ukraine, whose dynamic force eclipsed the social aspect of the Russian Revolution in this part of the former empire. Within the first ten months of the Revolution, Ukraine attained the formation of an independent democratic republic, proclaimed on January 22, 1918. The fall of Austria liberated Ukrainian Galicia from foreign rule (November, 1918). Galicia soon (January 22, 1919) united with Eastern Ukraine into one united Democratic Ukrainian Republic.

Soviet Russia, supported by an insignificant number of Communists in Ukraine, went to war against the Ukrainian Independent State. She set up a Communist puppet government against the Ukrainian National Government and began her march on Ukraine. Soviet forces at this time were so weak that the concentrated forces of Ukraine could have

easily coped with the Red Russian invasion, if it had not been for the war with the Poles. The Poles also began a war with Ukraine in the Western Ukrainian lands, where the population was predominantly Ukrainian. The Western Ukraine, especially Galicia, at that time presented a veritable island of order among the waves of social revolution, following the first World War in this part of Europe. The well organized army of the Western Ukrainians, permeated with the national spirit, had to wage a bitter struggle with Poland in defense of the land of its fathers, just when the Russian Red forces, largely occupied with the revolutionary chaos, marched on Eastern Ukraine from the north-west.

The Poles, with the aid of an army equipped by the Allies, finally vanquished the Western-Ukrainian army and for twenty years (1919-1939), dominated Western Ukraine. Simultaneously, however, they helped the Russian Bolsheviks to destroy the Ukrainian democratic government. Once again, Ukraine was incorporated into Russia. For twenty years thereafter, all sources of support for an independent Ukraine were barbarously sought out for annihilation. The Poles in 1917 aided the Bolsheviks in rebuilding the empire of Peter the Great, an empire which had been fundamentally weakened by the national revolutions with the Ukrainian revolution in the lead.

The Sad Finale

We see today the finale of these age-old Polish-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Russian relations. Poland has lost the Ukrainian lands once and for all, and, what is more, has lost her own independence and has sunk to the role of a Russian satellite. The Russian Bolsheviks have helped the Ukrainians and Poles to settle their neighborly accounts, and the Kremlin has made up the bill. Never again will Poland be able to raise herself for another *Drang Nach Osten*—Russia has turned the Polish gaze once again to the west; there is plenty of material for Polish-German troubles for another 600 years.

The struggle of Ukraine and Russia has not come to its final end. Red Russia has united all the Ukrainian lands, even Carpatho-Ukraine, which had never been united with Kiev. The Ukrainian problem has been transformed from an international problem into an internal affair of the Russian State now called the Soviet Union, despite the fact that outside of the name, there is no federalism in the Soviet Union.

How will Russia solve the agonizing Ukrainian question? Will it be in the way of Peter the Great, that is, by a denial of the existence of the Ukrainian people, or by a true peace? The 800 year-old history of the Muscovite nation, especially the terroristic rule of the Kremlin over Ukraine in the last 25 years, does not afford us an example of a liberal solution. On the contrary, it gives us ample proof of the attempted extermination of its opponent.

Today, the times of the dynamic independent uprising of Ukraine are too fresh in mind to permit Moscow to take again the road of denial of the separate individuality of the Ukrainian nation as in the days of the Tzars. Therefore, Moscow must masquerade before the world and before the Ukrainian people. Such a masterful masquerade is the introduction of Ukraine as a sovereign nation in the organization of the United Nations and UNRRA, despite the fact that in Ukraine, the Ukrainian nation not only is not a sovereign nation, not only has not even a bit of autonomy, but the sons and daughters of Ukraine are not certain of the day or hour when a new ukase from Kremlin will send them to far-away Siberia or Kazakstan.

At the same time, when the Kremlin-trained representative of a fictitious Ukrainian Soviet Republic, D. Manuisky, is attacking Western imperialists in the name of the rights of colonial peoples, the Ukrainian people are being deprived by the Soviets themselves of even the most elementary human rights. The entire civilized world stands aghast at the sight of the unprecedented religious persecutions of Western Ukrainians by the Soviets, which began in increasing fury with the death of the Metropolitan Andrew Sheptitsky of Lviv in November of 1944.

Groundwork for the persecution was laid by the Soviet government by means of press and radio attacks upon the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its hierarchy. Thereupon, the Kremlin-appointed Patriarch Aleksiy urged the Metropolitan, the bishops and clergy of Western Ukraine to break with the "fascist" Vatican and to recognize the authority of the Moscow patriarchate. At the same time, he proposed the convening of a synod for the purpose of uniting the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church. Monsignor Sheptitsky's successor, Metropolitan Joseph Slipiy, immediately rejected the proposal in no uncertain terms and protested against this interference of a non-Catholic in Catholic affairs. In making this protest, however, he took care to stress his loyalty to the Soviet government. His example was followed by all the Ukrainian bishops. In reply, NKVD agents

raided St. George's Cathedral and arrested Metropolitan Slipiy, his aide, Auxiliary Bishop Mikita Budka, Bishop Gregory Khomyshyn, and Auxiliary Bishop Ivan Latyshevsky of Stanislaviw, and also Bishop Mikola Charnetsky. Subsequently Bishop Romzha of Uzhorod in the Carpatho-Ukraine was also jailed. All of them were then transported to various prisons throughout the USSR. Enroute to one of them, Bishop Khomyshyn died. The arrests of the bishops were followed by similar arrests of hundreds of priests and forcible attempts to make the faithful desert their church and join the Orthodox Church. During this time, over thirty priests were executed by NKVD agents.

Among those whom they arrested, the Soviets managed to find three priests whose resistance broke; for the Moscow Orthodoxy they allowed themselves to become tools of a forced proselytism. These three apostates formed a so-called Initiatory Group for the Unification of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church. The group issued an appeal to the Catholic priests to embrace Orthodoxy as their faith. Simultaneously, it wrote to the Soviet government for official approval of its acts. The approval was quick in coming, and was accompanied by an order establishing the Initiatory Group as the chief ecclesiastical authority in Western Ukraine. Any priest who refused to acknowledge it as such, the order read, was to be immediately reported to the police. Despite all this pressure, however, out of the 2,700 Ukrainian clergymen, only 42 became apostates.

Several days later some two hundred clergymen gathered in St. George's and framed a protest to Molotov against these attempts to force them to desert the faith of their fathers, and also against the usurpation of church property by the Initiatory Group. The protest stressed that all this was against the principles of Stalin's Constitution which granted freedom of religion. For their pains, all the signers of the document soon found themselves in jail and a fresh wave of arrests followed. Among those imprisoned were the entire faculties of the Greek Catholic Theological Academy and the Theological Seminary. The cathedral itself was placed under the care of a Russian Orthodox Bishop, Makariy, who was appointed by the Moscow Patriarch. According to the latest reports, well over 50% of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy is in jail today, while the remainder are being hounded at every step.

The persecution of Western and Carpatho-Ukrainian Catholics has

reached such proportions that the Pope himself issued a special encyclical on the subject, *Orientalis Omnes Ecclesias*, calling the world's attention to it.⁴ Thus, today, Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine are once more the scene of religious persecution, one quite like the religious persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by Tzarist Russia in the past. By this means the Red Tzar, Joseph Stalin, is attempting to denationalize Ukrainians and White Ruthenians and make Great Russians of them all.

These drastic steps of the Kremlin against the Catholic Church illustrate by what methods the unification of the Russian Empire is being realized today. The official Soviet policy emphasized that there is not "one Russian nation" but "one Soviet nation." This one Soviet people actually is identical with the Great Russian people. The Russian language, the Russian Communist party rule over the entire Union; its central machine annihilates all nations who in theory are on equal standing. The Ukrainian nation has lived through various calamities during its thousand-year history, and has thrivingly outlived them. With its vital forces, it will outlive even the Soviet Union.

⁴ Cf. the statement of Cardinal Tisserant, secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Church: "For the Ruthenians the matter is reduced to this dilemma: Either schism or martyrdom; and martyrdom means arrest, deportation into Asia, prison, forced labor, death." (*New York Times*, March 2, 1946).—E.D.