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4 / 2014

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THE THIRD BAPTISM OF RUS.
THE PARTICIPATION OF MOSCOW ORTHODOX CHURCH
IN PUTIN'S EXPANSION IN UKRAINE

In his imperial Crimean speech, delivered on 18th March 2014 in the Hall of Order of St. George in the Grand Kremlin Palace, Putin referred to the memory of deceased 999 years earlier prince Vladimir the Great, the Baptist of Kievan Rus¹.

This adored today by Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians sovereign was baptized in the Byzantine Crimea in Kherones (Slavonic name — Korsuń) and after that he christened twelve of his sons and most of the capital city occupants in Kiev on the river Dnieper. The 11th century chronicle entitled *The Russian Primary Chronicle* describes it: “He was baptized in the Church of St. Basil, which stands at Kheron upon a square in the centre of the city, where the Kheronians trade”².

It is doubtful whether Putin has found out about Vladimir the Great's baptism from the mentioned chronicle. About the connections of his namesake with just stolen from Ukraine Crimea he has surely learnt from his Kremlin PRs. On 18th of March 2014 the President of the Russian Federation, expanded by the Crimea, appealed to Russians, Belarusians and Ukrainians: “Everything in the Crimea speaks of our shared history and pride. This is the location of ancient Kherones, where Prince Vladimir was baptized. His spiritual feat of adopting Orthodoxy predetermined the overall basis of the culture, civilization and human values that unite the peoples of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus”³.

This vision of shared history of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, originated by Vladimir's baptism in the Crimea, is today close to both Putin and most of Moscow Orthodoxy hierarchs, led by Patriarch Kiril I Gundyayev.

¹ Researches financed from the scientific resources 2008–2013 as a research project.

² *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*. Transl. by S.H. Cross, O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzar. Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America 1953.

³ The integral text of the speech is placed on the official site of Russian Federation President <<http://www.kremlin.ru/news/20603>> (14.09.2014). All quoted in the article citations come from this site.

Three-slavic Union

Ingenious Putin — in order to use the Orthodox Church and its patriarch for military and propaganda actions in Ukraine and for cementing “Russian idea” in Russia itself — for many years was introducing himself to Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians as a man of “particular faith.” Honest, but unfortunately naïve members of the Orthodox Church are deceived into information concerning his baptism and reformation. He speaks about “fraternal religiousness” of Stalin, shared over millennial history of Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians. All of them — if they are honest after the fashion of Putin — should now unite around “geopolitical Orthodox Church”. It should be added that in this type of “Orthodox Church” one does not have to believe either in Jesus or all the more in The Holy Trinity, does not have to read the Bible or the Church Fathers, or bother oneself about extraterrestrial hell or heaven.

It is enough to announce in 2014 the need of reintegration of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia in the name of the “Orthodox Church” and “Holy Russia”. That is what Putin does in his Kremlin speech, where he also repeats Fyodor Dostoyevsky’s platitudes from *A Writer’s Diary* concerning the gentleness of Great Russians who supposedly have never hurt any other nation:

Crimea — says Putin — is a unique blend of different peoples’ cultures and traditions. This makes it similar to Russia as a whole, where not a single ethnic group has been lost over the centuries.

Today this false conviction characterizes most of the Moscow Orthodoxy hierarchs, led by Patriarch Kiril.

Two Hilarions

Religious foundation for the military “Crimean crusade” — launched by Russia, unexpectedly for itself two months before Easter 2014 — Putin and Kiril had built not entirely deliberately in the summer 2013.

Both of them have starred in the documentary film *The Second Baptism of Rus*, made by Metropolitan of Volokolamsk Hilarion, screened on “Russia 1” television channel on 22nd July 2013. The film was just the part of 1025th anniversary celebration of the baptism of Rus, organized sumptuously exactly in July 2013 by Moscow Orthodox Church in three East Slavic capital cities: Moscow, Kiev and Minsk. At that time in Red Square the audience was even listening to rock and pop bands. What is characteristic nowadays is that the authorities of the Orthodox Church do not speak about “the baptism of Kievan Rus”, as it would positively associate with the whole

Ukraine. They always restrict themselves stylistically to the phrase “baptism of Rus” what should naturally be connected with Moscow, although in 988 the present capital city had not existed (it is mentioned in the chronicles as little town only since 1147).

Hilarion Alfeyev of Volokolamsk⁴ not accidentally was used by authorities as the film maker. Since the Putin’s people, especially those from the surroundings of the Orthodox Church, presumably wanted Hilarion to be associated in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus with the famous eleventh-century monk Hilarion, first in the history Ruthenian who sat on the metropolitan throne in Kiev (earlier the throne was taken only by Greeks). The Old Hilarion, appointed by the Yaroslav I the Wise (son of Vladimir the Great) was also the author of famous *Sermon on Law and Grace*, where the ideological foundations for the missionary work of Russian Orthodox Church, which should have spread among all the residents of early medieval Rus. Whereas, Rus in the middle of 11th century — of course not divided into Ukraine, Russia and Belarus — had already looked impressive. It had spread from the area around Przemyśl on the river San and Grody Czerwieńskie in the west from Jaroslaw on the river Volga and White Lake in the north-east, from the Old Ladoga in the north to Tmutarakan in the south between Sea of Azov and Black Sea. What is characteristic of this region is that Old East Slavic Tmutarakan is now — dim but having strategic importance in Russia — Taman, located on the east side of the Kerch Strait, opposite until recently Ukrainian Crimea⁵.

⁴ Hilarion Alfeyev (born in 1966 in Moscow) runs website with his own biography <<http://hilarion.ru>>. We find out there that he is the member of many Orthodoxy commissions with patriarch Cyril I. He took vows in Soviet Lithuania, in the Monastery of the Holy Spirit in Vilnius, in 1988–1990 he worked as the superior of the Orthodox Church in the province of eparchy in Vilnius, since 1990 he served as a parish priest of Annunciation Cathedral in Kaunas. In 1990 he took part in the Local Council of Russian Orthodox Church as delegate of the clergy of eparchy of Vilnius and Lithuania. After the collapse of USSR he started working his clerical way up in Moscow, where he was nominated bishop. He is well educated within the scope of theology and philosophy, history of the Church and even music. He is the author of many erudite books as well as numerous interesting music compositions for choirs, among other things, *The St Matthew Passion*, based partially on Bach and Rachmaninov. Since 2009 he is the chairman of the special unit of the Russian Orthodox Church taking care of its international activity (Отдел внешних церковных связей Московского Патриархата) as well as the permanent member of the Holy Synod with the title of “the Bishop of Volokolamsk and the Vicar to the Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia”. In June 2011 he was in Warsaw taking part in the talks with Polish bishops aiming to reconcile the members of the Orthodox Church with the Catholics. However, this reconciliation should have been held over the heads of the Ukrainian Greek Catholics, as the metropolitan Hilarion declares himself as his firm antagonist.

⁵ The first prince of Tmutarakan was warlike Mstislav (died in 1036), the son of Vladimir I the Great and princess Rogneda of Polotsk. Whereas, in the nineteenth-century Taman,

Politicized Holy Trinity

In the film *The Second Baptism of Rus* Putin appeared for the first time in the seventh minute and it lasted exactly sixty seconds. First of all, president made there an apology of Russian nation and Stalin:

[...] in the most critical moment of our history our nation turned to its roots, moral foundations, to religious values. When Great Patriotic War burst out, first, who addresses to the Soviet nation was Molotov: “Male and female citizens”. But when Stalin spoke, despite his tough, and even cruel politics towards the Orthodox Church, he appealed to the people: “Brothers and sisters”. And there was great sense in this. As this kind of apostrophe — those are not simple words, but expression toward heart, soul, history and our roots⁶.

In the second dynamic appearance in tenth minute Putin said that his mother had baptized him when he was a child, and she had had to keep it back not only from the community, but also from her party husband, Putin’s father. Third flash with the President is his short speech concerning Bolshevich code which, in Putin’s eyes, was only the simplified form of religiousness. Since the code did not turn out to be useful in the history of Russia in 1988 the state had experienced religious revival that is its “second baptism”. It has, as Putin rightly emphasized, bottom-up character, without the partnership of the state and without big role of the Orthodox Church hierarchy of Brezhnev epoch: “the Orthodox Church — established Putin — was in pitiful state, also spiritually, and people revived religiously.” In another two short fragments Putin speaks about today’s Orthodox Church as the state’s partner — indeed, it educates the youth, supports families, visits prisoners, who “also need moral help and comfort.” President, at the same time, glorifies Russian Orthodox Church Abroad and expresses happiness because of its unification with the Moscow Orthodox Church that that took place on 17th May 2007, during the reign of patriarch Alexy II Ridiger.

In the last thirty minutes of the film, which in total lasts one hundred propaganda minutes, the main hero becomes patriarch Kiril I Gundyaev,

what is worth stressing, takes place the action of one of the part of *A Hero of Our Time* by Mikhail Lermontov, entitled *Taman*.

⁶ The movie available on-line: <http://pravfilms.ru/load/filmy/dokumentalnoe_kino/film_vtoroe_kreshhenie_rusi_smotret_onlajn/2-1-0-587> (14.09.2014).

Mentioned by Putin words of Vyacheslav Molotov “Male and female citizens” come from his address to the nation form 22nd June 1941, namely in the day of the attack of Nazi Germany on USSR. Whereas Stalin used the phrase „brothers and sisters” only on 3rd July 1941 when the first time after German attack he found courage to speak in public. Both speeches were broadcasted in radio and published adequately on Monday 23rd June and 3rd July 1941 in Moscow “Pravda” on the front page, evidently.

who after 2008, as the voice-over claims, “has opened new horizons for the Orthodox Church.” As his main goal he has established “gathering together Holy Rus and strengthening this spiritual wholeness, which even today inside Russian Orthodox Church unites different nations.” After this phase the film describes the pilgrimage of newly chosen Kiril to Ukraine in 2008. Moscow patriarch went that time to Kiev, to Rivne in Volhynia and to the North Bukowina in the vicinity of Chernivtsi. The pilgrimage was extremely successful and Kiril, who has just started the reintegration of “Holy Rus”, came back to Russia with the joy in his heart. In 2009, because of the same unification purposes, he visited Belarus, in 2010 Kazakhstan, in 2013 Estonia and Moldova, as well as Kishinev and self-proclaimed Republic of Transnistria. At all times he emphasized that the idea connecting those lands is solely the Orthodox Church, and Patriarch of Moscow considers those lands as “canonical territory.”⁷ In the end of the documentary Putin also speaks with the approval about the role of the Orthodox Church in the process of uniting post-Soviet territory. He stresses that along with accepting the Eastern Orthodox Church by Rus in 988 the Russian nation came into being, as “the only nation” as well as centralized Russian state.

It is hard not to establish that those are exclusively Great Russian delusions of Putin, as centralized Moscow state sprang into existence only in 15–16th century, when the whole Belarus and almost the whole Ukraine were deeply within the borders of Polish-Lithuanian state. However, the voice-over of *The Second Baptism of Rus* goes further with those dangerous for Middle and East Europe delusions and tells present-day Russians about “three sisters — Russia, Ukraine and Belarus.”

In June 2001 in Belarus, where border of those three states meet, Patriarch Aleksy II consecrated the stone for Holy Trinity Orthodox Church, serving as the example of uniting three Slavic nations. “Holy Rus is still alive” — says Kiril in the final word of the film. He also concludes: “We are separated by the borders, but we share one history, one Orthodox Church and one future.”

Bad and good Ukrainians — in the eye of Moscow

The politicized idea of the Holy Trinity, probably the first time in the world’s history, took place in the summer 2001 in Belarus — in the presence

⁷ I have considered this issue in the article: “Między ołtarzem a tronem. Cerkiew w Rosji po 1991 roku”. *Znak* 2005, no. 10 (605), p. 25–37.

of patriarch Alexy II and president Lukashenko — almost in the same days when John Paul II was making a pilgrimage in Kiev and Lvov. Moscow Orthodox Church treated this Ukrainian journey of Polish Pope as the violation of their canonical territory. That is why they used secularized principle of the Holy Trinity against Wojtyła.

Today, it is necessary to notice that Ukrainians, to whom John Paul II came in June 2001 — foremost Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics but also members of the Orthodox Church from the rebellious towards Moscow Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kiev Patriarchate — were and are considered by Moscow supporters of the “Holy Rus” as apostates and enemies. I was very lucky to be in Kiev and Lvov during meetings with the Pope and I saw huge enthusiasm of Ukrainians, whom John Paul II strengthened in their Christianity and Europeaness⁸.

This enormous part of the Ukrainian Christianity, which since 1988 until 1992 refused to submit to Moscow Patriarchate, is treated in today’s Putin-Orthodox Russia almost as the public enemy number one. Enemies are mostly Greek Catholics from West Ukraine, presented in the documentary as those, who during the late “perestroika” took temples away by force from the members of the Orthodox Church in East Galicia and Volhynia.

Indeed, unfortunately it happened, however those were not frequent examples. Hilarion of Volokolamsk could mention in justice, but he does not, that before the Second World War, in the Second Polish Republic, those temples belonged to Greek Catholics. Only after Stalin took West Ukraine that Greek Catholic Church was closed down, hierarchs were murdered in the labor camps and Greek Catholic temples were given to the members of the Orthodox Church⁹.

Today second negative Ukrainian hero for Moscow is patriarch Filaret Denysenko, the head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church — Kiev Patriarchate that was formed in the independent Ukraine in June 1992 after renouncing allegiance to the Moscow Patriarchate. In the documentary Filaret is criticized by two hierarchs with relentless faces — Moscow Patriarch Kiril and Metropolitan of Chernivtsi and Bukovina Onuphrius Berezovskyi (since 22nd February he fulfilled duties of the head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church — Kiev Patriarchate, standing in for ill exarch Vladimir Sobodan¹⁰). In

⁸ Compare: G. Przebinda: *Większa Europa. Papież wobec Rosji i Ukrainy*. Kraków: Znak 2001, p. 220–226 (chapter: *Ukraina europejska*).

⁹ See also: J. Pelikan: *Confessor between East and West. A portrait of Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj*. Michigan: William B. Eerdmans 1990.

¹⁰ Metropolitan Sabodan died on 5th July 2014, the same day when I finished preparing this article for publishing.

the context of Filaret Kiril speaks about explicit treachery: “and treachery among your own people is a tragedy.”

Third negative Ukrainian hero of current Moscow vision of the history is first president of Republic of Ukraine — Leonid Kravchuk. As in 1992 he allowed to exist and later to develop in Ukraine “apostate Orthodox Church” of Filaret, the film makers rubbed Kravchuk’s nose in communist origin: “Kravchuk is the former secretary general of the Communist Party of Ukraine.” Just as a formality it is necessary to add that in *The Second Baptism of Rus* nobody has reminded Putin’s longtime service in KGB.

False symphony

The whole film narration together with the listing all the names of the “Ukrainian enemies” had only one goal. Both Greek Catholics and members of the Orthodox Church of new Ukraine, who went under “illegal” Kiev Patriarchate wings, are now recognized by Moscow as “renegades of Vladimir’s baptism”. They excluded themselves from the territory of the “Holy Rus”, encompassing the whole Russia and Belarus. The head of the Orthodox Church in Belarus until 2013 was “orthodox” exarch Filaret Vakhromeyev. Today subordinated to Moscow Belarusian Orthodox Church is supervised by exarch Paul Ponomaryov. However, those are completely minor figures, as the “Holy Rus” is led by two strong men from Moscow — Vladimir Putin and Kiril Gundyayev, and their main aim now is to regain large part of Ukraine.

This way, for the first time in the history the peculiar symphony of political and spiritual powers was supposed to take place in Russia, not on the paper, but in reality. Both “players” defend publicly two theses. First of all, in their opinion, baptism of Vladimir in 988 “had unified nations of Great Russia, Little Russia and Belarus”. Secondly, also only in their opinion, today’s Orthodox Church of three “faithful” nations is identical in its depth: “Coutenances of saints from the icons in small Belarusian village are the same as in St. Sophia in Novgorod or from frescoes in Kiev-Pechersk Lavra.”

However, someone with a clear view will notice that during baptism of Russia, Great Russia could not have been mentioned, as well as Little Russia or Belarus. There were only East Slavic tribal unions, baptized with difficulty. More importantly, in the territory of subsequent Moscow Rus, where initially lived pagan Vyatichi and Radimichs and equally pagan Finno-Ugric peoples, baptism was difficult and took long time. Later Belarusian and Ukrainian Orthodox Church, that functioned from 13th century in Lithuania, 14th century in Korona, and since 15th until 16th century in Polish-Lithuanian state, formed autonomous peculiarity, even today visible in many areas.

Tactically absent Patriarch

During presidential speech, despite his support for Putin, patriarch Kiril was not present in Kremlin on 18th March. Nikolaj Mitrochin — well-known liberal critic of the Orthodox Church — wrote about this in a column for anti-Kremlin www.grani.ru on 19th March: “Cameras often and in different ways showed Muslim clergymen and nominal chairman of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Russia rabbi Berel Lazar. They were sitting more or less in the third-fourth row from the scene. Further, in sixth-seventh row, the white klobuk of Juvenaly — Metropolitan of Krutitsy and Kolomna, representing members of the Orthodox Church. This permanent member of Most Holy Synod could not absolutely stand in for Kiril, the one who united spiritually rising from the knees nation”. Could Kiril — asks Mitrochin — express by his absence the protest against the annexation? However, there is absolutely no evidence to prove this thesis. That is why we should assume that it was Patriarch’s considered tactic that we will discuss later. At this point it is worth noticing that on 16th March, that is two days before announced *anschluss* of Crimea, Patriarch had praised in Moscow Orthodox Church of Nativity of Most Holy Lady the Mother of God in Krylatsk aggressive expedition of Ivan the Terrible on Polotsk, undertaken in February 1563.

At that time this state city in the East Belarus, situated within the Polish-Lithuanian borders, was ruined by Ivan, and Jewish population of Polotsk was drown in Dvina River by the Moscow soldiery¹¹.

Obviously, Kiril did not mention this, as for him the carnage of Polotsk was only “defensive war” of Ivan: “It is known that Tsar Ivan — says Kiril — visited this place [Orthodox Church of Nativity of Most Holy Lady the Mother of God in Krylatsk] during preparations for expedition to Polotsk. Today, many do not know that this march had great meaning for Russia. Additionally, Russian army conquered and stopped dangerous aggression, which aim was not only to deprive Russia material goods and violate the country. The aggressors — speaking modern language — as usual wanted to reform our awareness, change our cultural, national and religious identity. That time Ivan the Terrible prevented it.”¹²

The first person who has analyzed this somewhat stylistically crooked “Polotsk speech” of Kiril was well-known Orthodox Church deacon Andrey Kuraev. He paid right attention to the fact that Ivan’s expedition to Polotsk — taken in the first stage of the Livonian War 1558–1583 — was extremely

¹¹ С.М. Соловьев: *История России с древнейших времен*. Кн. III. Т. 5–6. Москва: Голос 1960, p. 575.

¹² <<http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/3607063.html>> (14.09.2014).

aggressive¹³. However, Patriarch Kiril treats all Moscow wars, as we see, as defensive — so why should he dispraise annexation of Crimea? Especially as Putin did not give the order to drown in Crimean river Alma Tatars residing the peninsula. Exactly the opposite, he promised them total rehabilitation, and even reimbursement for harms done by Stalin.

Third baptism of Rus

Thus, the Patriarch did not dispraise the anchluss, but he did not support it publicly. Mitrochin assumes that he behaved this way because he was afraid to lose his influences in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kiev Patriarchate, as some of its hierarchs has supported Maidan. However, after month the situation has changed. Kiril sees that Ukrainian patriarchs — either those “renegade” from Kiev, or those “orthodox” from Moscow — did not have much influence on situation in Ukraine in May 2014. That is why, we should think, that Kiril will soon start supporting Putin carefully in his liquidation intentions towards Ukraine.¹⁴ This is the beginning

¹³ <<http://diak-kuraev.livejournal.com/638657.html>> (14.09.2014). Lately, in Russia it has been published fundamental, counting over 800 pages of close printing monograph about the Livonian War (1558–1583), which has been written for fifteen years: А.И. Филюшкин: *Изобретая первую войну России и Европы. Балтийские войны второй половины XVI в. глазами современников и потомков*. Санкт-Петербург: Дмитрайт Буланин 2013.

¹⁴ It does not mean, of course supporting the war against which Cyrul has always spoken. However, everything takes place in the atmosphere of the unity of Eastern Slavs. It is proved irrefutably the participation of metropolitan Hilarion in the opening of the international festival “Slavic unity — 2014” in Bryansk on 28th June 2014. Hilarion repeated his traditional theses in the presence of regional Russian politicians as well as the guests from located near Bryansk Ukraine and Belarus. Hilarion said: „Здесь, на этом месте, недалеко от границ братских Белоруссии и Украины, мы совершили Божественную литургию и вознесли горячую молитву о единстве трех братских славянских народов, об умирении вражды на земле Украины, о том, чтобы на нашей земле царствовал мир, чтобы Господь благословлял нашу землю Своим небесным благословением. Святой равноапостольный князь Владимир более 1025 лет назад крестил в водах Днепра Киевскую Русь, и все мы сегодня — и россияне, и украинцы, и белорусы — являемся наследниками владиминова крещения. Нас объединяют святая православная вера, Русская Православная Церковь, способность говорить и понимать языки друг друга и еще многое, что мы унаследовали от наших предков”. On behalf of Vladimir Putin answered Aleksander Bieglov, having full powers the representative of the President of Russian Federation in the Central Federal District and, at the same time, the member of the party “United Russia”: „Сегодня мы с вами продолжаем фестиваль, который задумал наш православный народ: и украинцы, и белорусы, и русские несколько десятков лет тому назад решили объединиться не только в жизни, но и как славяне на большом празднике. Эти традиции мы с вами продолжаем. У нас единые семьи, единая вера, единые русские корни — мы крещены были в одной купели. Хочу пожелать вам всем успехов, удачи, независимо от того,

of “third baptism of Rus”, which also embraces “schismatic” Ukraine. This time the “baptism” not through water, but unfortunately through blood, should take place in 2014–2015, on the centennial of outbreak of fatal for Russian Empire the First World War and the defeats suffered on the fronts by the Orthodox tsarism. That time, and later in the period of 1917–1937 — as Great Russian imperialists say — the foundations of the first baptism, the one from 988, were call into question. „Second baptism” — the one from 1988 — was necessary, but insufficient. Moreover, in dramatic 1991 Belarus and Ukraine straggled from the “Holy Rus”. Only in March 2014 by Crimean annexation — as think not only Moscow Orthodox Church hierarchy, but also many ideologists from the Izborsky Club together with Alexander Prokhanov — “third baptism” has begun and it takes place today in South and East Ukraine.

Holy Rus in Sloviansk

Moscow adversaries of independent Ukraine with Putin at the head — and Kiril in the background — define current Kiev authorities as “junta.” This critic has increased especially in the first days of May 2014, when authorities in Kiev started military, but careful armed intervention in the Eastern Ukraine. In the official Ukrainian television, and also in the secondary Polish electronic media this action was called “operation against terrorism.” For those ignoble aims, as it was emphasized in Kiev, they did not hesitate to use civilians as shields. Pro-Putin Russia Today has showed it completely differently, according to which “Kiev junta” has killed in the East of Ukraine unarmed people.

It is necessary to notice that in Sloviansk — which name sounds in this situation extremely symbolically — in the group of Kiev adversaries it was easy to perceive ordinary people, who has nothing to do with the terrorism. Those people differ significantly from Crimea residents who acceded to Russia mainly because of nostalgic and economic reasons. Meanwhile, residents of Sloviansk — as it was at least visible on television — loudly underlined that they are “Rus.” Since — going out without fear to meet soldiers from Kiev, who obviously also did not want to shoot at them — they were carrying icons, we can assume that “Rus from Sloviansk” in this situation

как складываются обстоятельства: они бывают сложными, бывают радостными, но у нас единая вера, единое Православие, и мы всегда были и будем едиными.” Detailed information concerning this festival, together with the quoted comments of the metropolitan and the political civil servant can be found on the official Moscow patriarchate website: <<https://mospat.ru/ru/2014/06/29/news104761/>>.

supports “third baptism”, started indirectly by Putin in Eastern Ukraine with the help of volunteers from Russia. In my opinion, defining those people as “terrorists” or “living shields” is not legitimate. For current Ukraine they present much greater threat — one cannot fight them with weapon. Even here the ancient rule can be applied — in order to defeat someone one has to understand him. This understanding has to be made by Kiev to avert successfully crawling Putin-Kiril’s third baptism of Rus, meaning another absorption of Ukraine by Moscow.

Translated by Justyna Pisarska

Гжегож Пшебинда

ТРЕТЬЕ КРЕЩЕНИЕ РУСИ.
РОЛЬ МОСКОВСКОГО ПРАВОСЛАВИЯ В ЭКСПАНСИИ ПУТИНА НА УКРАИНУ

Резюме

В статье обсуждается роль Московского Патриархата, в особенности нынешнего патриарха Кирилла Гундяева и митрополита Волоколамского Илариона, в процессе постройки религиозно-идеологических основ для политического поглощения южно-восточных земель Украины современной Российской Федерацией. Если президент Путин ссылается в своих милитарных акциях на политическую традицию царской России и СССР, то церковные иерархи поддерживают его действия аргументами религиозной натуры, обращая прежде всего внимание на единство восточных славян (русских, белоруссов, украинцев), начавшееся крещением Руси в 988 г. в Киеве Владимиром Великим.

Grzegorz Przebinda

TRZECI CHRZEST RUSI.
ROLA MOSKIEWSKIEGO PRAWOSŁAWIA W EKSPANJI PUTINA NA UKRAINĘ

Streszczenie

W artykule podjęto próbę opisu roli Patriarchatu Moskiewskiego, w szczególności aktualnego patriarchy Cyryla Gundiajewa i metropolity wołokołamskiego Hilariona, w procesie budowy ideowo-religijnych podstaw dla politycznego pochłonięcia ziem wschodniej i południowej Ukrainy przez Federację Rosyjską. Podczas gdy Putin odwołuje się w swych militarnych akcjach do tradycji politycznej Rosji carskiej oraz ZSRR, to hierarchowie cerkiewni zwracają przede wszystkim uwagę na religijno-narodową jedność Słowian Wschodnich (Rosjan, Białorusinów i Ukraińców), zapoczątkowaną chrztem w Rusi w Kijowie w 988 roku, dokonany przez Włodzimierza I Wielkiego.