

# CRUSADE for a Christian Civilization

CRUSADE - In  
Defense of Catholic Ukraine

**GOLD, MOURNING, AND BLOOD**

**UKRAINE:**

**A Tragedy Without Frontiers**





THE SERVANT OF GOD  
JOSEPH BENJAMIN RUTSKYJ



The photograph at the left shows St. George's Cathedral in Lviv, the city of the Prince of Ukraine. The Communists transformed it by force into a temple united to Moscow, as shown in the symbolic drawing to the right.

The purpose of the Soviets is to break the Uniate Catholic Church's union with Rome and to destroy it. This union (precious to Ukrainians) is symbolized by the drawing at the top of the page which shows St. George's Cathedral in Lviv united to St. Peter's in Rome.

At the center is shown the Servant of God Joseph Benjamin Rutskyj, Metropolitan of the Uniate Catholic Church in Ukraine, 1614-1637. He was an apostle of union with Rome, and the initiator of the idea of the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate.

Today, in spite of the fierce opposition of the Communists, union with Rome and the Patriarchate continue to be the great aspirations of the Ukrainians. However, the problem is made more complicated and agonizing by the Vatican's present policy of Ostpolitik. What is the solution for Catholic Ukrainians?

SEE PAGE 3



## THE CHURCH OF SILENCE IN CHILE

In describing the Church in Chile, the book *The Church of Silence in Chile* will give you a thorough understanding of the silent Catholic majorities in the West who are ridiculed and reduced by the liberal mass media to a condition of helplessness. As the Communist-progressivist process pushes its demolishing action forward, perplexed and anguished Catholics are forming a Church of Silence analogous to that existing in the countries under Communist domination.

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## Forgotten Truths

### SAINTS, POPES, AND DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH SPEAK OF RESISTANCE

*St. Thomas Aquinas*, when studying the episode in which St. Paul rebuked St. Peter wrote: "(An example was given) to prelates of humility, so that they would not refuse to accept rebukes from their inferiors and subjects; and to subjects (was given) an example of zeal and freedom, so that they would not fear to correct their prelates, above all, when the crime was public and redounded to the danger of many . . . The rebuke was just and useful, its motive was not light: it was a question of a danger to the preservation of the evangelical truth . . . The manner in which the rebuke was given was given was appropriate, for it was public and manifest. For this reason, St. Paul writes: 'I spoke to Cephas,' (that is, to Peter) 'before all,' for the simulation practiced by Peter redounded to the peril of all." (*Ad Gal. 2:11-14*, lect. III, no. 77 and 83-84).

*St. Robert Bellarmine*

"... just as it is licit to resist a Pontiff who practices aggression against the body, so also, it is licit to resist him who commits an aggression against souls, or disturbs the civil order, or, above all, he who tried to destroy the Church. I say that it is licit to resist him by not doing what he orders and by impeding the execution of his will." (*De Rom. Pont.*, lib. II, c. 29).

*Pope St. Leo II*

"We anathematize . . . Honorius (the Pope), who did not enlighten this apostolic See with the doctrine of the Apostolic Tradition, but permitted by a sacrilegious betrayal that the immaculate Faith be stained." (*Denz. — Sch. 563*).

\* \* \*

*The Sixth Ecumenical Council* pronounced on the letters of Pope Honorius and the Patriarch Sergius as follows: "Having verified that they are in entire disagreement with the apostolic dogmas and the definitions of the Holy Councils and all of the Fathers worthy of approbation, and that on the contrary, they have followed the false doctrines of the heretics, we reject them in an absolute way and we execrate them as harmful to souls." (*Denz. — Sch. 550*).

\* \* \*

(Continued on page 24)



# THE NOTHING THAT MAY RESULT IN EVERYTHING

By Plinio Correa de Oliveira

The precise evaluation of the importance of an event can only rarely be achieved by the employing of just one criterion. Much more than this is normally required. In fact, it behooves one to consider all of the criteria applicable to the case, in order to be able to arrange them immediately according to a complex and subtle hierarchy of values. Only after having processed the task in this way is it possible to arrive at a satisfactory evaluation.

Among these criteria is one which must always be present. And not infrequently, it is decisive. That criterion is as follows: If an event produces important consequences, it will be difficult to deny importance to it; on the contrary, if it does not produce them, it will be difficult — if not impossible — to consider that it amounts to something.

From this perspective, one sees that an impressive number of events published in the newspapers in the last few months are "sui generis." Upon reading them, one has the impression of a world in effervescence or, rather, of a world in explosion. In reality, however, when one investigates what consequences there are from this mountain of so many explosions in progress, one is left disconcerted, for those consequences do not appear to exist.

Some examples leap before our eyes. The fall of the Portuguese Empire in Africa was certainly a tragic event and one which produced great consequences, bringing the enslavement to Communism not only of the former colonies but also of the Metropolis. Immediately thereafter, slaughters and even a revolution burst forth in the ex-Lusitanian overseas provinces. A great deal of traveling was done, many negotiations transpired, and much was written in order to remedy this evil. What resulted from all of this? Practically nothing.

Nothing except that the contagion of subversion began to spread through Rhodesia and South Africa. And then new journeys, new negotiations, and a flurry of news reports. Nevertheless, what came from all of this? The traveling continues, the negotiations are extended, and the news report proliferate. How long will they last? What results will they bring? One does not know.

At the moment of this writing, things appear to be heating up between Rhodesia and Mozambique. Will anything come of this? Anything other than a battle without direction and without end like the sad war in the Middle East?

This leads us to change the field of our considerations. In Lebanon, human blood flows in a tragic stream. But this does not prevent one from feeling that the constant stabbing is coming closer to the heart. What can result from all the pandemonium in that region? For the moment, one does not know. It can suddenly result in nothing. It can turn out to be a "status quo antebellum." Just as it can, at any moment, set the globe on fire.

Now we will cast our gaze upon another area of the Asia-

tic continent. The fall of Vietnam and Cambodia was tragic. Once it was consummated, the news about those regions, which had previously been so voluminous, unexpectedly began to go silent. In respect to the circumstances of the two enslaved nations, all that was released for a few months was a tiny concert of contradictions. It was said that in Cambodia the Communists had been ferocious and that in Vietnam they had been enchanting. Afterwards, reports came in to show that in Vietnam also they had been terrible . . . as everywhere. Some dispatches soon alluded to guerrillas of non-conformists in Vietnam. Finally, everything went silent, everything resulted in nothing. In a nothing which can result in everything.

And here is one of the most disconcerting aspects of this situation. It is that anyone of these "nothings" can at any moment result in everything. It can perhaps give rise to a world war.

It is not impossible, for example, that in Cambodia and Vietnam at a given moment a popular discontent could be unleashed like the one that found expression in Hungary in 1956 or in Czechoslovakia in 1968. And from this, possibly, a universal discontent could arise, which could end by leading to war. "A fortiori," one can say the same about the events taking place in Rhodesia, South Africa, and the Near East.

\* \* \*

Results such as these, which are on all quarters of the horizon, are nothing at present, a nothing which can result in everything at any moment. And this is the promise — or threat — of the outcome of the Ford-Carter electoral race in the United States. It can be that Carter will not take into account the serious pronouncements against "detente" made during the electoral campaign. It can also be that he may prefer to interpret his victory as a verdict in favor of the ultra-conciliatory tendencies attributed to him. At present, however, the American elections, which were so agitated and noisy, appear to have resulted in nothing decisive in the United States and the world. Yet out of this nothing may come everything. Because if the United States continues to retreat in the face of Russia, into what abysses will the West not be able to roll? And if Americans become a little less blind and soft, how far can the Soviet reaction go?

It appears that this universal "nothing" out of which "everything" can come, is a way of being, thinking, and acting which has become generalized in the modern world.

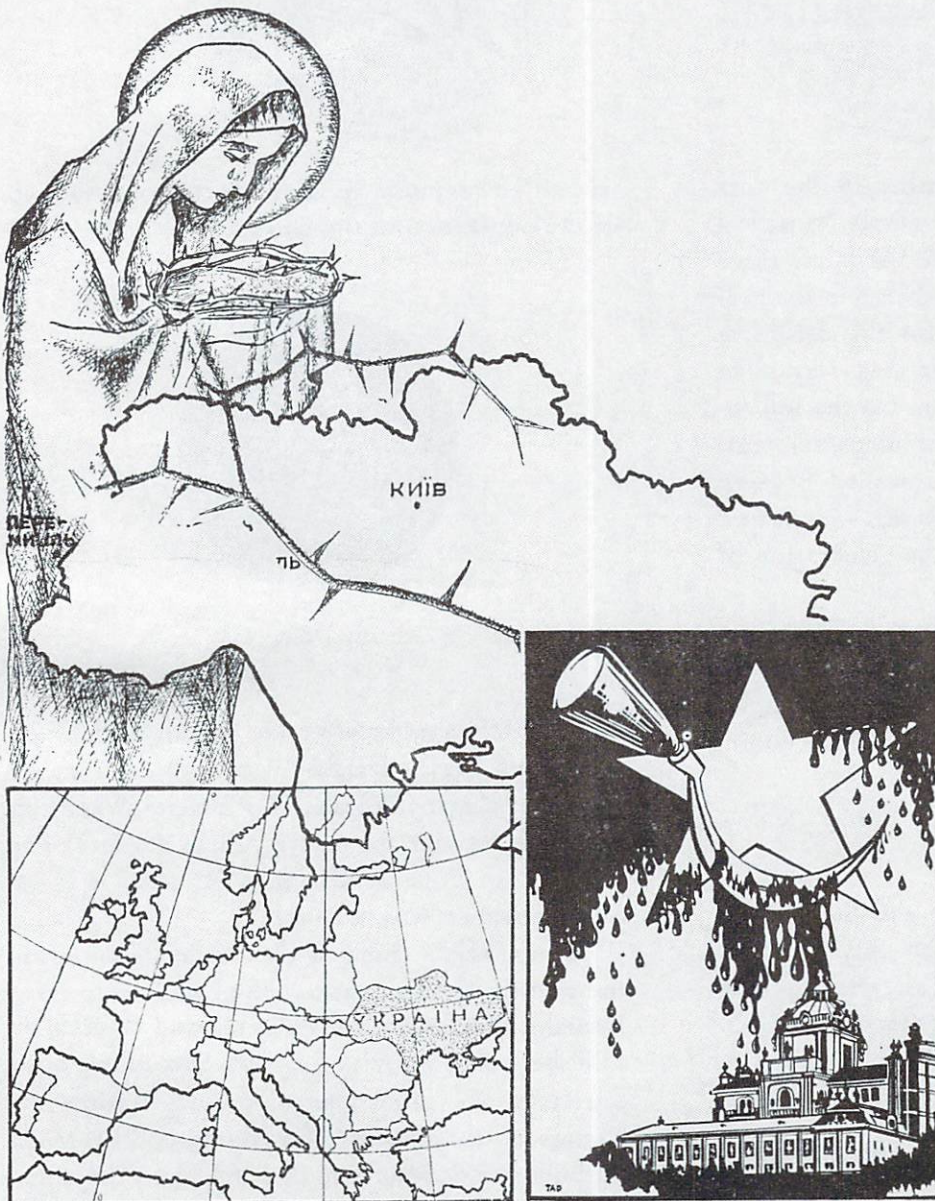
If we should consult the great book of history, we would see that it is characteristic of civilizations which imprudently move along the edge of dangers and abysses, to allow themselves to be attracted by them and in most cases to hurl themselves into them. "He who loves danger, will perish in it," says the Sacred Scripture.

These considerations, however, would take us very far indeed. Let us stop here for today.



# GOLD, MOURNING, AND BLOOD

## UKRAINE: A Tragedy Without Frontiers





# GOLD, MOURNING, AND BLOOD

## UKRAINE: A TRAGEDY WITHOUT FRONTIERS



On the 23rd day of December in the year 1595, Pope Clement VIII, the whole Pontifical Court, the Diplomatic Corps, and the thirty-three Cardinals who were in Rome gathered in the Hall of Constantine in the Vatican for the definitive and jubilant union of the separated Ukrainian Church with the Catholic Church. On the following day, dressed in their magnificent golden vestments, the Uniate Bishops — so-called because they had united themselves to Rome — appeared in the Basilica of St. Peter for the celebration of the Vigil of Christmas.

On the 10th day of October in 1596, the Union was concluded in the Church of St. Nicholas of Brest Litovsk by the Metropolitan Archbishop of Kiev, who had jurisdiction over all the Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories.

### THE THREAD OF HISTORY

The contacts between Rome and the Ukrainians had not come into existence only recently. St. Olha, the Grand Princess of Kiev, was baptized in Constantinople before the schism in 955. Her grandson, Volodymyr,\* who was later converted and who is today venerated as a Saint,

\*St. Olha and St. Volodymyr are also known in the West as St. Olga and St. Vladimir.



wished to maintain relations with Rome in spite of the opposition of the Greeks.<sup>1</sup>



St. Olha.

In 1075, shortly after the schism of the East, the Grand Prince Iziaslav, was deposed from the throne of Kiev by Boleslau II of Poland. When this occurred, he sent the crown prince Yaropolk and his wife to Pope St. Gregory VII. And they received royal crowns in Rome.

Later, at the time of the Tartar invasions, in the mid-thirteenth century, the Ukrainian princes Daniel and Vasylo (of Volhynia and Galicia) established relations with the Holy See. In response, the Holy See proclaimed a crusade against the Tartars which, however, did not materialize. Many Catholic missionaries were dispatched to the coun-



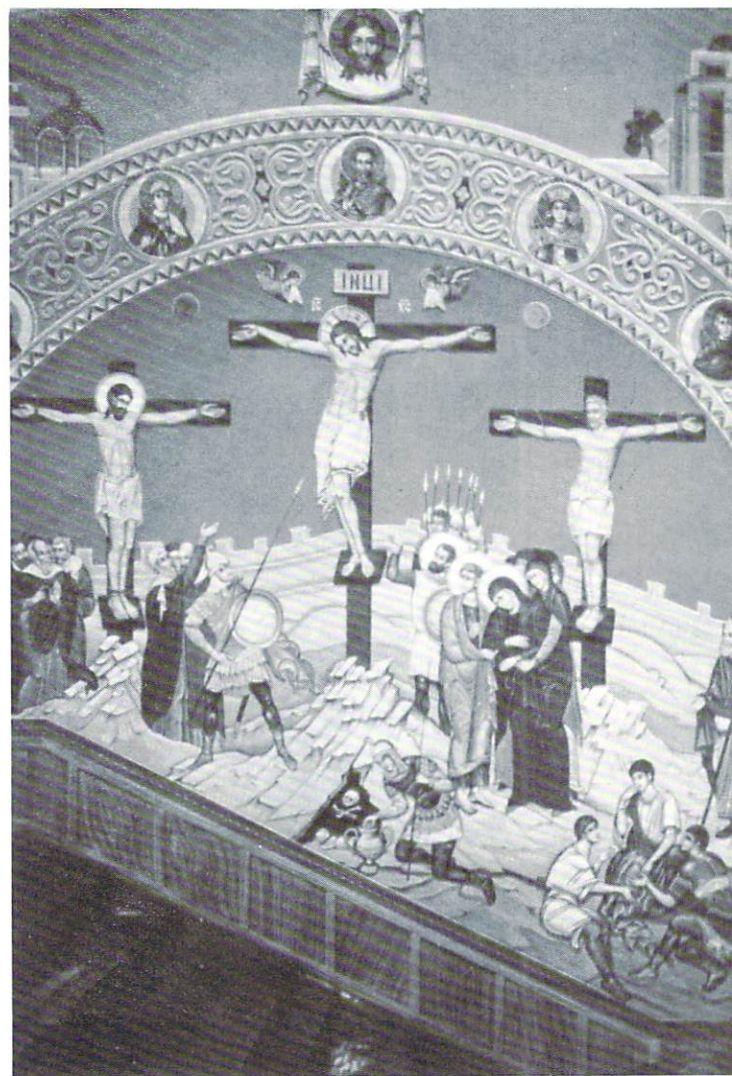
try, some of them going all the way to the court of the Great Khan. In that epoch, the Apostolic Delegate crowned Daniel of Galicia with the crown "of God, of the Holy Church, of the Holy Apostles, of the Throne of St. Peter, and of his father, Pope Innocent," as the chronicle of the time reads. The hoped-for union with the Catholic Church though still not yet concluded was going on, as the admission of a Ukrainian Bishop in the Council of Lyon indicates.<sup>2</sup>

With the decadence of the Papacy brought about by the Western schism in the fourteenth century, the attempts of union with the Ukrainians were cut off. This fact demonstrates how the history of the Catholic Church depends on the fidelity of the successors of St. Peter to the plans of God.

As we have seen, it was only in 1596 with the Union of Brest that the hoped-for union came to be entirely realized. Later, a second union occurred. Thus, in Uzhhorod in 1646 the Byzantine Rite of Carpatho-Ukraine was united to the Church. Both of these unions conceded special privileges to the Ukrainians, especially that of being able to maintain their rich and impressive liturgy.

A strong opposition to the Union with Rome was immediately unleashed by the schismatic chiefs, mainly those of Constantinople, to whom the Ukrainian Church had been tied before the Union. Their hatred was concentrated especially against the figure of the great Josaphat, Archbishop of Polock. He dedicated himself fervently to converting and reuniting to Rome those who had not been united to Her, and worked for the development of Catholicism in all fields. His hagiography reveals that he prayed day and night for the return of the separated ones and that with a heroic spirit of penitence undertook rigorous mortifications for the same intentions. His action was fruitful in every sense. He founded and restored churches, corrected customs, and so forth.

After escaping various traps of the enemies of the Church, he was martyred on the 12th of November in 1623 in Vitebsk, Byelorussia, being struck by several bullets and having his head cut open by the blows of an ax. His body was dragged through the streets in a sack full of rocks, and hurled into the River Duna. Later, his canonical process revealed that his body shone from the



Wall painting of a Crucifixion scene from St. Nicholas' Church in Toronto.



Coronation of Prince Daniel in 1253 (by Andreychyn).



depths of the waters and rose to the surface. When this occurred, the faithful piously recovered it, and even his assassins were converted to the Catholic faith. St. Josaphat was beatified and included in the catalogue of martyrs by Urban VIII; Pius IX canonized him in 1867.<sup>3</sup>

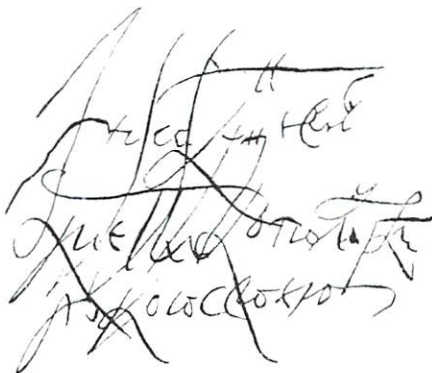
The Ukrainian Catholic Church continued developing in spite of great political convulsions. The imprisoned historian V. Moroz affirms that "the Uniate Church grew into the living body of the Ukrainian spirituality and acquired a national character," spreading itself to the main cities of the country.

One of the treasures of the Ukrainian soul is its devotion to Our Lady. The experts in the his-

tory of Oriental Catholic spirituality point out that devotion to Our Lady has an especially prominent position in Ukraine. It has even been affirmed that "Mariology and Marian devotion reached a pinnacle in Ukraine which has not been surpassed in any other part of the world."<sup>4</sup> The history of Ukrainian music is very significant in this respect, as Marian hymns from time immemorial attest. For example, one that was sung before battle was called "Our Lady, the Virgin Mary." Undoubtedly, all of this constitutes a promise of mercy on the part of the Mother of God toward this suffering but valiant people.

At different times Ukraine has been under the control of Austria, Poland, Russia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. In spite of these vicissitudes, the rich Ukrainian national culture has not only survived but has been able to develop.

This continuous persecution has provided a title of glory to Catholicism in Ukraine. The Russian Tsars, moved by sectarian hatred, promoted it unceasingly. Under Tsar Peter I, the persecution was intensified, causing thousands of martyrs. Having personally assassinated two priests of the Basilian Order, Peter I was called the "Hammer of the Ukrainian Catholic Church." In 1721, he ordered the total liquidation of the Uniate Catholic Church. Catherine II used armed force to compel 8 million of the 12 million Ukrainian Catholics to enter the Russian Church. Military expeditions were sent into Ukraine for many years in order to sustain the persecution. In 1826, Nicholas I dispatched troops once again to that



St. Josaphat with samples of his handwriting.



The trident. The national emblem of Ukraine for a thousand years. Under Communism, people are imprisoned in Ukraine simply for drawing a trident on the wall.



afflicted land. The year 1839 saw the suppression of the Metropolitan See of Kiev and the Eparchies of Byelorussia and Ukraine. Once again, there were thousands of martyrs and confessors of the faith among the priests and faithful who resisted. In 1875, Alexander II suppressed Kholm, the last Catholic Uniate diocese within the Russian Empire.<sup>5</sup>

In the first World War, Russian troops invaded Western Ukraine and "annulled" the Union of Brest. They imprisoned Count Andrew Sheptytsky, the Metropolitan of Halych and Archbishop of Lviv.<sup>6</sup> With the withdrawal of the Russians in 1915, the prelate was able to return to his See. Shortly thereafter, Russian society and a good part of Ukraine were devoured by Marxist socialism, the worst enemy of the Church and of Christian Civilization.

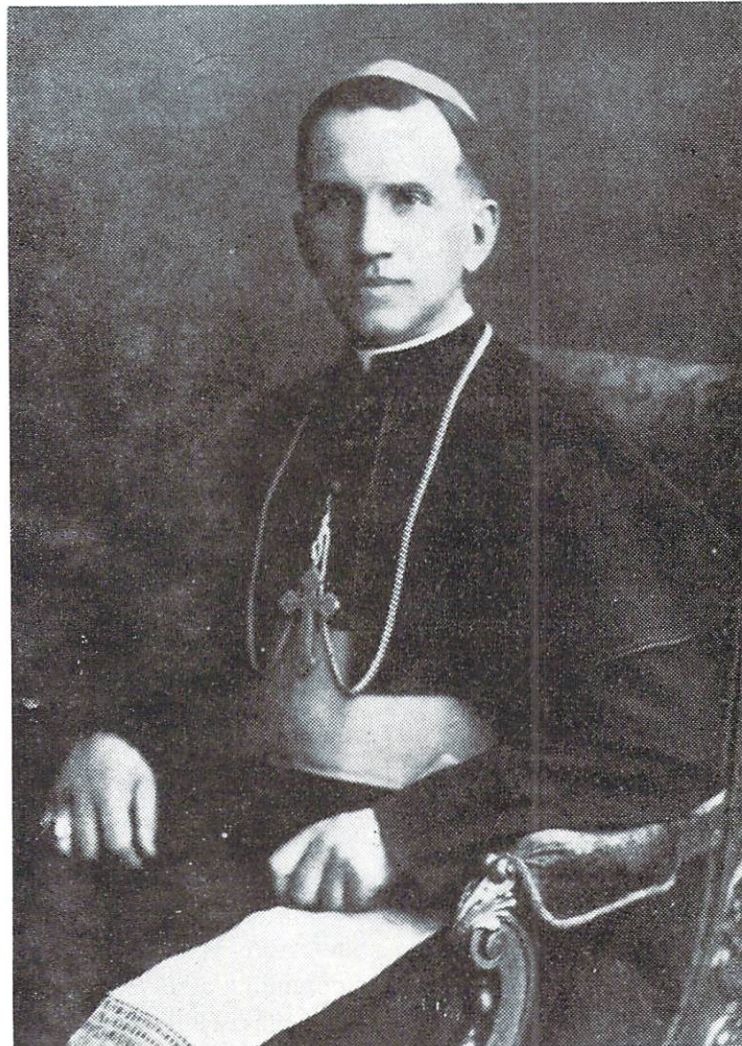


## THE UKRAINIAN TRAGEDY TAKES ON UNIVERSAL DIMENSIONS

In spite of the historical, national, and specific ecclesiastical problems which continue to be of great interest and importance in the present Ukrainian situation, we shall focus this essay on Communism — anti-Communism, so vital at the present moment. We wish to emphasize, nevertheless, as we bring this whole series of problems into this focus, the extraordinarily weighty role that the position of official Vatican diplomacy plays in all of this.

As is well known, the future depends very much on the orientation which the 650 million Catholics of the world have in the face of Communism. And in the case of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Vatican diplomacy acts and seeks to influence Catholics in respect to this capital matter by employing rules which reveal themselves with a crystalline clarity. For this reason, we believe that the actual situation confers a universal interest on the Ukrainian case.

The Ukrainian tragedy places the nature of the Vatican Ostpolitik in extraordinary relief. Within the limits imposed by a most fervent adhesion to the Papacy, we shall see how to resolve the complexities to which the evidence of the facts gives rise, complexities that are by no means small. We believe that it is necessary to alert Western public opinion to the fact that the tragedy of Ukrainian Catholics has enormous importance for the future of Western civilization. Having thus defined the ambit of our study, we wish also to pay homage to the Ukrainian martyrs and to those who suffer persecution in silence and in the midst of the coldness and ignorance of vast sectors of the Western world. Once their drama is placed in a perspective that shows its full importance, they



Nykyta Budka. Auxiliary Bishop of Lviv, in Western Ukraine. Died in Russian concentration camp on Oct. 6, 1969, a martyr for the Faith.



are seen to be true heroes of the universal Church and worthy examples for the whole human race of resistance to the infernal Marxist tyranny.

#### "WE ARE ENTERING THE FIRST PHASE OF COMMUNISM: SOCIALISM"

Western Ukraine, which has a large Uniate population, came under the control of Poland at the end of the First World War. Soon terrible reports began to arrive from the Eastern sector which was under the domination of Communist Russia. A shocking drama was unfolding there. After the bloody war between the Whites and the Reds which lasted until 1920, the Bolshevik State made the country tremble by liquidating the anti-Communists en masse. And in the next two years, the Reds began to collectivize the countryside. Moscow sent Bolshevik emissaries, backed up by the Red Army, to requisition all of the cereals produced in fertile Ukraine. Although the harvests were abundant, a great famine ensued as a result of their being completely removed from the country. A telegram of Lenin attests that the harvests were excellent, but that they were confiscated. The famine was such that in Khersun, for example, 85 percent of the inhabitants died in 1921-22.<sup>7</sup>



By this means, Lenin sought to put an end to the sentiment by which private property was held in high regard among the farmers. The resistance to collectivization gave rise to bloody repressions, massive deportations, and more famine. In short, the Reds imposed the communization of society by force with the coldest and cruelest materialist cynicism.

In the beginning of the decade of the 30's, the political necessities of Communism brought about another artificial famine in Ukraine. This one,

aimed at hastening the process of collectivization, was indescribably worse than the previous one. The Red Army confiscated the entire rural production. The number of victims reached 7 million dead, according to the most modest calculations. And the most dantesque scenes of despair and madness occurred. In order to control the desperate population, the Marxists created enormous concentration camps. Many villages disappeared. This was, without doubt, one of the greatest slaughters in history.<sup>8</sup>

At that time, Metropolitan Count Sheptytsky during the very midst of the famine made the

following appeal to the world in 1933: "We already see the consequences of the Communist regime: each day it becomes more frightening. The sight of these crimes horrifies human nature and makes one's blood run cold. Being unable to extend material aid to our dying brothers, we implore the faithful to beseech from Heaven by their prayers, fasts, mortifications and all other works, divine assistance. Furthermore we protest before the whole world against the persecution of children, the poor, the sick and the innocent. On the other hand, we summon the persecutors before the Tribunal of almighty God. The blood of famished and enslaved laborers who till the soil of Ukraine — cries to heaven for vengeance, and the plaint of the half-starved reapers has reached God in Heaven."<sup>9</sup>

With a sardonic burst of laughter, the Communists raised, on that very occasion, a triumphal arch in the city of Kirivohran with the words: "We are entering into the first phase of Communism: Socialism." Around the arch lay dozens of bodies of peasants who had died of hunger.<sup>10</sup>

#### THE COMMUNIST SCOURGE IN WESTERN UKRAINE

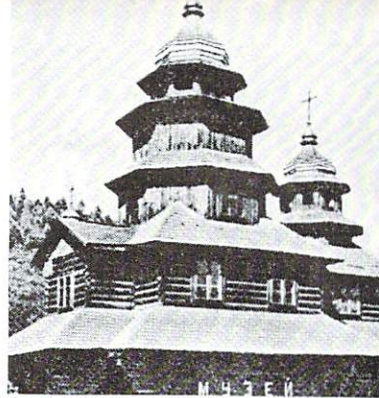
In the very city of Brest where the Uniates had returned to the Catholic Church, Naziism and Communism signed in 1939 a pact of collaboration in which they agreed upon the partition of Poland. Accordingly, Soviet tanks moved in and Russian forces occupied Western Ukraine, a part of the country having a dense Uniate population. Foreseeing by a premonition the difficult times that were approaching, Metropolitan Sheptytsky selec-





*Metropolitan Count Sheptytsky: "We summon the persecutors before the Tribunal of almighty God. The blood of the famished and enslaved laborers who till the soil in Ukraine, — cries to heaven for vengeance, . . ."*





Catholic churches transformed into antireligious museums (Church of Dominican Order in Lviv at left and Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church at upper right). Lower right: Church of Redemptorist fathers demolished by the authorities in 1962.



Nicholas Charneckyj, Apostolic Visitor of Volynia. Died after 12 years of imprisonment on Feb. 4, 1959. Confessor of the Faith.

ted a brilliant successor of integrity, Monsignor Slipyj. He secretly consecrated him Coadjutor Bishop of Lviv with the right of succession, on December 21, 1939. The Communists were marking time and avoiding an open clash with the Uniate Church for fear of the people. But this did not prevent them from confiscating many properties of the Church and imposing many restrictions on it.

Meanwhile, they were already devising a way to destroy the Uniate Church by employing a method of controlling its religious institutions from within. They had already achieved notable successes with the Russian Orthodox Church (from here on we will call it the ROC). On the basis of this experience, they aimed, purely and simply, to eliminate the Ukrainian Uniate Church, in an attempt to give the character of a religious dispute to that which was in reality an anti-religious persecution.

It has been known for a long time that the ROC is a most useful instrument of Russian Communist propaganda. Sergius, the Metropolitan of Moscow, has notably distinguished himself as such an instrument. By 1927, he had already made

a declaration of total obedience to the Communist regime. And in 1928, he declared, "the joys and the victories of the Soviet Union are also our joys and our victories." In a book that he published in the middle of the World War, he affirmed that "there never were any persons persecuted in the Soviet Union on account of religion." For his services to the Communist cause, Stalin rewarded him by restoring the title of "Patriarch of Moscow" to him in 1943. All of this demonstrates the absolute control exercised over this religious structure by Communist power. And in this respect it behooves us to recall that the Bolsheviks had assassinated the former Patriarch Tikhon, 32 bishops, nearly 40,000 ecclesiastics, and thousands of the faithful of the ROC.<sup>11</sup>

The Ukrainian Catholic Church has been the object of various tactics among those employed by the Communists to gain control of the ecclesiastical structures. After a period of domination by Nazi troops from 1941 to 1944, Ukraine was reconquered by the Russians in 1944. While the situation was unstable, the Communists limited themselves to morally offending against the Cath-



olic prelates and to making propaganda against them. However, a new tactic was introduced with the death of Metropolitan Count Sheptytsky on November 1, 1944 and the succession of Msgr. Slipyj; then Moscow immediately put the ROC into action.<sup>12</sup>

At the beginning of 1945, Aleksei, the "Patriarch" of Moscow and successor of Sergius, sent a letter to Msgr. Slipyj, which was widely disseminated by the Communists. In this letter, Aleksei called on Ukrainian Catholics to apostatize from the Catholic faith and join the ROC. Naturally, his appeal was rejected.<sup>13</sup> The offensive of the Communist Party and the ROC was not long in coming. On April 8, 1945, a certain Volodymyr Rosoycyc published a most violent article against the Ukrainian Catholics in the Communist journal *Vilna Ukraina* in Lviv. On the 11th of that same month, Msgr. Slipyj and four more Bishops were suddenly imprisoned without any explanation. The other members of the Episcopate were all taken prisoner shortly thereafter. Once they had been imprisoned, these Bishops were pressed to apostatize, and the Communists even went so far as to offer Msgr. Slipyj the office of "Patriarch" of Kiev under the ROC. However, the whole Episcopate remained faithful.<sup>14</sup>

At the same time, there were massive imprisonments of Catholics, including thousands of priests, monks, and nuns, as well as laymen belonging to Catholic organizations.

Shortly thereafter, a group of apostate Catholic priests, who were banded together in a tiny association called the "Action Group," began negotiations aimed at "uniting" Ukrainian Catholicism to the "Patriarchate of Moscow." Already toward the end of 1945, the ROC began to occupy the sees of the imprisoned Catholic Bishops.<sup>15</sup>

Having been given prestige by the Communist regime, the "Action Group" organized a pseudo-synod (Sobor) in Lviv where only 216 Catholic priests — of a total of nearly 3000 — and 19 laymen declared the Union of Brest "abolished" and asked to be incorporated into the ROC. It is not necessary for us to demonstrate the flagrant illegitimacy of this "Synod" in which no Bishop participated and which had been organized by some priests who were no longer even Catholics.<sup>16</sup>

A similar procedure was used in Carpatho-Ukraine, "annulling" the Union of Uzhhorod. It is

worth noting that the same tactic was used against the Rumanian Catholic Uniates through the pseudo-synod of Alba Julia in 1948, at which a small number of apostate priests "annulled" the Union 1698.

In order properly to evaluate the spirit that moved these apostate priests in Ukraine, it will be sufficient for us to consider a passage from the document that Father Kostelnyk, their leader, sent to the Soviet authorities. This document, in which he communicated to them the fact of the suppression of the Union of Brest, carries the date May 29, 1945, and contains these words: "under the direction of their first Marshal, the incomparable Stalin, the brave and magnificent Soviet army covered itself with immortal glory; it destroyed the Hitlerian army and saved Europe from the frightful Nazi domination and all the Slavic peoples from perdition. The old dreams of the Ukrainians have been realized: all the Ukrainian lands have been reunited to the Motherland. Great Ukraine rises up in a paternal union with Moscow and with all the Soviet peoples; it now has full security and all the possibilities of a splendid development. Marshal Stalin will enter into the history of eternity as the man who united the Ukrainian lands. All of the Western Ukrainians thank him with the greatest cordiality, for we will never be able sufficiently to repay our moral debt to this Soviet government. Nikita Khrushchev, President of the Council of Commissars of the People of Ukraine, also deserves great credit for the unification of Ukraine . . . We have total confidence in the Soviet government. We wish to work for the good of our orthodox land . . ." <sup>17</sup>

However, it should be noted for the glory of the Catholic clergy of Ukraine that in spite of all pressures, imprisonments, and tortures, the Communists succeeded in getting only 42 priests to affiliate themselves to the committee of Father Kostelnyk. In the repression that occurred afterwards, dozens of priests were shot, and hundreds were imprisoned and deported to concentration camps as we have already seen.<sup>18</sup>

Shortly after the pseudo-synod of Lviv, the imprisoned Catholic Bishops were sentenced in a secret tribunal in June of 1946.<sup>19</sup>

In the face of this situation, the Catholic Canons of Lviv elected a Capitular Vicar for the Archdiocese. He was immediately imprisoned.





Gregory Komyslyn,  
Bishop of Stanyslaviv.  
Died in prison, Jan. 17,  
1947.



Josaphat Kotsylowsky,  
OSBM, Bishop of Pere-  
myshl. Died in confine-  
ment in Kiev, Aug. 21,  
1947.



Ivan Latyshevsky, Auxilia-  
ry Bishop of Stanyslaviv.  
Died after 10 years impris-  
onment on Dec. 2, 1957.



Paul Goydych, OSBM,  
Bishop of Pryashiv.  
Died in prison, July 19,  
1960.

Moreover, the one who was elected to follow him in this post was also imprisoned.

Msgr. Slipyj was the only Bishop who survived, and this was after having suffered 18 years of cruel tortures, and forced labor. He was not liberated until 1963. Upon being released, he had to move to Rome, at which place he was subject to various conditions, including that he not speak against Communism. It was learned later that the Vatican had accepted these conditions without consulting the Cardinal; thus, it forced the Archbishop, who desired to return to his see in Lviv, to leave Ukraine.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile, the persecution was intensified in Ukraine. All of the Catholic monasteries and convents were closed, and all of the churches were passed over to the ROC. On January 1, 1948, the Soviet news agency Tass published a communique declaring that the Ukrainian Catholic Church had not only lost its legal existence but for a long time already "had ceased to exist."<sup>21</sup>

It is interesting to note that even the priests who had led the apostasy were a short time later murdered by the Communists themselves.<sup>22</sup>

## IN ABSOLUTE SILENCE, THE FAITH FLOURISHES

The illegal state of Catholicism in Ukraine gives the Church a very special relevance. The part of the clergy that was not imprisoned went into hiding. A certain number apostatized by entering



Cardinal Slipyj during his confinement in Russia. This photograph was taken in 1960.



the ROC. There are more than 5 million Catholic people, and most of these passively resist by discriminating between the faithful clergy of the catacombs and the renegades.<sup>23</sup>

In spite of the great danger, the faithful Church of the catacombs continues to distribute the sacraments and to celebrate Mass clandestinely year after year. It is calculated that there are more than 300 priests in the catacombs, as well as some Bishops who have been secretly consecrated. It has been noted that many apostate priests secretly sympathize with the Uniate Church, and the Communist Press has shown concern about the fact. Indeed, some have been imprisoned for hiding priests from the catacombs.<sup>24</sup> In addition, there are clandestine religious communities, which while leading a precarious and continuously threatened existence, have nonetheless managed to organize novitiates and regular religious services. When there are no priests, which is frequent, the faithful gather together in private houses or in deserted woods to recite Matins or Vespers on Sundays and Holy Days.<sup>25</sup>

Groups of priests who have naively asked the Russian government to apply the letter of certain Soviet laws on religious freedom have been imprisoned and deported.

Even today, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian Catholics are still vegetating in the prisons and slave labor camps, especially in Siberia.<sup>26</sup>

The effect of famine, mass imprisonments, and war was such that the population of Western Ukraine in 1970 was less than it had been in 1931.<sup>27</sup>

## OBSTACLES AND SILENCES: THE ROLE OF THE VATICAN

In his essay *The Church and the Communist State: the Impossible Coexistence*, Professor Plinio Correa de Oliveira, Professor of the Catholic University of Sao Paulo, demonstrates that even though a Communist State permitted the free distribution of the Sacraments and the celebration of worship, it is not moral for the Church to establish a collaboration or a "modus vivendi" with a Communist regime. This is so because the Catholic doctrines on the family and private property are directly linked to the highest and most immutable

moral principles and to the Commandments of the Law of God. For this reason, the Church cannot be silent in the face of the errors of the Communist doctrine in these matters.<sup>28</sup>

Until the beginning of the decade of the 60's, the Vatican frequently alerted the faithful about the errors and dangers of Communism, even going so far as to condemn the tactic of "peaceful co-existence" which was a pallid prefigure of the scandalous detente of today. Pope Pius XII published two encyclicals (*Orientales Omnes* and *Orientales Ecclesias*) about the sad situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in which he protested energetically against the persecution. And this same Pontiff, on the occasion of the celebration of the millenium of the baptism of the Grand Princess St. Olha, directed a memorable apostolic letter to Msgr. Slipyj, who was then in prison, protesting once more against the persecution of the Uniate Church.<sup>29</sup>

Significantly, the Vatican, up until that very time, was violently attacked by the propaganda machine of the Kremlin and by the "Patriarchate of Moscow," if one can give this name to the ecclesiastical agency of the Russian Communist Party.

Although we will not attempt to give a complete account of the vast and sinuous history of the Vatican Ostpolitik here, it is, nonetheless, necessary to pay attention to some of its general lines of development which are closely related to the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

These concern mainly the relations with the ROC. In analyzing these relations, it is important to keep in mind the words of the "Patriarch of Moscow" Aleksei: "The Russian Orthodox Church wholly supports the foreign policy of our government." There are dozens of examples of actions and declarations by members of the ROC which corroborate the confession of the late Aleksei.<sup>30</sup> When Pimen, his successor, appeared before the World Council of Churches in Geneva, he attacked those who criticized the USSR as being blind to the merits of the socialist system and said that the social evils so characteristic of the life of many people today cannot exist in our socialist structure.<sup>31</sup>

As we have said, it was common for the ROC to attack the Vatican. However, in November



1961, when the Russian leader Khrushchev congratulated Pope John XXIII on his eightieth birthday, everything began to change. In August of 1962, the then Msgr. Willebrands, who as we shall soon see would later play a sad role in Moscow, was at that time preparing for the participation of the Muscovite prelates of the ROC in the Second Vatican Council in Rome. Various authors remarked – and the facts confirm this – that the negotiations for the participation of the ROC in the Council were carried out on the basis of the Soviet condition that Communism would neither be attacked nor condemned there.<sup>32</sup>

Acting on an initiative of Msgr. Castro Mayer, Bishop of Campos in Brazil, nearly 400 Bishops sent a petition in 1965, asking the Council to condemn Communism. But by a maneuver, which was not very upright on the part of the Secretary of the Council, the petition was neither presented nor submitted to the Council for a vote, omissions which were contrary to the very regulations of the Council.<sup>33</sup> The presence of the Muscovites in the Vatican was, moreover, a true guarantee that this uncomfortable petition would not be heeded. They themselves confessed at the Pan-Orthodox Conference of Rhodes in 1964 that silence about Communism was a condition “*sine qua non*” for their remaining at the Council.<sup>34</sup>

This was the beginning of a long list of unilateral concessions on the part of the Vatican. It was also one of the most impressive victories of Russian Communism. Rome did not say even one word in favor of the Ukrainian Uniate Catholics who continue to be brutally persecuted by the ROC precisely because they are remaining faithful to Rome . . .

Nikodim, Metropolitan of the ROC of Leningrad, had the nerve to declare, contrary to all the evidence, that “in the USSR believers enjoy the same rights as other citizens.” Nikodim, who is only 38 years old, achieved a rapid and brilliant career in the ROC under the auspices of Aleksei, after he had finished his seminary training by means of a correspondence course! In an ecumenical meeting in Leningrad on “Catholic Social Thinking,” he declared that now the Catholic Church accepts “a public form of property such as is exemplified by socialism of the Soviet type.”<sup>35</sup> One sees by this that the true interest of the Rus-

sians in the Vatican Ostpolitik is the diffusion of socialist ideology among Catholics. It may also be seen that in harmony with that, the Ostpolitik favors only prelates who are favorable to Communism, as has been shown recently in the cases of Hungary and Lithuania. Given this unity of policies, it is evident that those who are not favored by the Ostpolitik are treated the way that they are because they are not favorable to Communism. This explains to a great extent the essence and importance of the drama of the Ukrainian Church. International Communism needs to eliminate the obstacles that stand in the way of its domination of the world. Although the Vatican Ostpolitik is a favorable factor, the Ukrainian Uniate Church is an obstacle. For this reason, the Vatican no longer defends it nor intercedes for its martyrs.

After the Council, the contacts between the Vatican and the ROC were intensified more and more. In 1975, an ecumenical meeting in which Nikodim was present was held in Trent, Italy; the final joint declaration of the meeting was an ill-disguised call to the Christians of the world to embrace socialism.<sup>36</sup> Shortly afterwards Paul VI authorized the celebration of a liturgy of the ROC on the tomb of St. Peter presided over by Nikodim himself.<sup>37</sup>

It is against this background that one must consider the attitude of Cardinal Willebrands in 1971 at the enthroning of Pimen as the ‘Patriarch’ of Moscow. In his sermon, Pimen, speaking in a victorious tone, reiterated the total destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the “end” of the Union of Brest, and, according to his own words, the “triumphal return to the ROC.” Cardinal Willebrands, who was present as an official representative of the Vatican, did not make any objection, nor did he protest at that moment or later in spite of the innumerable protests caused by his silence. Now, then, in a matter as grave as this, he who is silent consents.<sup>38</sup>

Accordingly, the facts demonstrate that the Vatican reserves the greatest homages, even the altar of St. Peter, for the ROC, which is controlled by the Communist atheists. At the same time, it maintains a revealing silence in respect to the precious members of the Mystical Body of Christ that are the martyrs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.





*Bishop Vasyl Velychkovsky of Lutsk, secretly ordained in 1963; imprisoned by the Soviet authorities during 1945-55 and 1969-72; released from the USSR in 1972, died in Winnipeg, Canada, in July 1973.*

*Photo from the Archives of I. Syrotynsky.*

Another significant fact is the treatment given in Rome to Msgr. Velychkovsky, a Bishop in Ukraine who had, because of the persecution, been consecrated there secretly. After having spent many years in prison, this Bishop, who was already very sick, was freed by the Communists. Upon visiting the Vatican, he was treated by the official authorities as though he were a simple priest. *L'Osservatore Romano* and the *Pontifical Annual* acted in the same manner. This behavior is not difficult to understand, since to recognize him as a Uniate Bishop who acted in Ukraine would amount to recognizing the actual existence of the heroic Catholic Church of the Catacombs and, therefore, to not recognizing the incorporation of the Uniates into the ROC. Obviously, this would not please the Kremlin, and, therefore, it was not done.<sup>39</sup>

In this case also, the Ostpolitik reveals itself in all of its anguish-causing reality. The superior of the ROC for Ukraine is the Exarch Filaret. Now, then, it was this "prelate" who by acting with the Communist KGB had managed to discover and arrest Bishop Velychkovsky, who suffered barbarous tortures and mistreatments during his long imprisonment. Not only were there no protests against this fact in the Vatican, but after it had happened, this same Filaret was the guest of honor of the Pontifical Collegium Russicum of Rome and was received by the Secretariat for the Union of Christians with all of the honors in vogue. The heroic Bishop Velychkovsky did not receive any of these honors and died shortly thereafter in Canada.<sup>40</sup> A double standard . . .

In 1971, Filaret presided over joyful celebrations of the "abolition" of the Unions of Brest and Uzhhorod. Some weeks later, in Zagorsk, there was a synod of the ROC which repeated these celebrations for the destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Symbolically, in this same locality of Zagorsk, an ecumenical meeting was held in 1973 between emissaries of the Vatican and the ROC. The theme of the meeting was "The Church in a world in transformation." Eulogies were made of the socialist regime. However, the delegates of the Vatican did not say a single word about the Ukrainian Catholics.<sup>41</sup>

The interest of the Vatican Ostpolitik in favoring the Russian Communist government can be classified as true zeal. For example, Father Paul Mailleux, S.J., of the Vatican Congregation for the Oriental Rites and Rector of the Pontifical Collegium Russicum (who had earned the nickname of the "Red priest"), wrote a memorandum which, as Father Floridi, S.J., says, revealed no secrets but confirmed the impressive Russophil tendency in the present Roman Curia. In this document, Father Mailleux, S.J., declares that the Ukrainian Patriarchate should not be instituted because the Soviets could consider it to be a "hostile interference in the internal affairs of the USSR."<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile, according to the writer Daria Kuzyk, the Italian police discovered an international network of Russian Communist espionage within the very Pontifical Collegium Russicum of Father Mailleux, S.J. By acting rapidly, the Vatican smoothed everything over so that the investigations would not continue and so that nothing would be revealed.<sup>43</sup>

This zeal not to become guilty of a hostile interference in the internal affairs of the USSR is not manifested in favor either of the Catholic Church or the countries of the West when the interference is in the opposite direction. For example, after the solemn consecration of the new Ukrainian Catholic Church of Sancta Sophia in the Eternal City, the aforementioned Nikodim traveled immediately to Rome. Upon arrival, he affirmed that the act presided over by Cardinal Slipyj was contrary to the ecumenical dialogue and that it should not be repeated. On that same occasion, he said that the Ukrainian Catholic



Church should be eliminated in the West also.<sup>44</sup>

Acting in the spirit of that injunction, the ROC set up a Vicariate of the Metropolitan of Kiev to "govern" the parishes of the Ukrainian Church (under the ROC) in Canada and the United States, which represented a true interference by the Russians in the internal affairs of churches in nations of the West.<sup>45</sup> Also significant in this respect was a recent occurrence in which "Patriarch" Pimen demanded that the German Federal government recognize, as property of the Russian State, the churches of the ROC situated in different cities of West Germany, churches which are independent of Moscow and anti-communist.<sup>46</sup> The outlook is for a repetition of facts like this recent one, which constitute a true interference. This kind of interference, coupled within the whole picture, gradually imposes ever greater concessions from the Vatican, which up until now has been accepting them.



Moreover, the silence which the Vatican has observed in regard to the persecutions against Catholics in order not to "interfere in the internal affairs of the USSR" takes on an even greater significance when it is compared with the actions of a great part of the ecclesiastical structures of the West making, under the conductor's wand of the Vatican, noisy propaganda against anti-communist countries without any scruples about "interfering" in their internal affairs. In general, this interference is carried out in favor of the "human rights" of terrorists and Communist agitators, which are supposedly being threatened. And on occasions, this interference goes even farther, such as is the case with the Episcopate of the United States, which in a forceful note asked that an end be made to the economic blockade of Cuba, that nation which is the great "interferer" par excellence on the continents of North and South America and even in Africa.<sup>47</sup>

Even the international liberal press has commented on the scandalous attitude of the Vatican; thus *Newsweek* affirmed "the Vatican appears to be ready to sacrifice the union of 5 million Cath-

olics of the Ukrainian Rite within the Soviet Union."<sup>48</sup>

Recently, the friendly contacts between the Vatican and the ROC have become intensified. For example, on July 13, 1975, shortly after having received the Soviet minister Gromyko, Paul VI received Nikodim warmly and extended his congratulations to "His Holiness," the "Patriarch" of Moscow, Pimen. Moreover, the journeys of Vatican emissaries to Moscow and of emissaries of the Kremlin and the ROC to Rome have been frequent.<sup>49</sup>

In this perspective, we perceive the true reason why the Vatican has not reconsidered its negative attitude toward the reiterated and well-founded petition of the Ukrainian Catholics for the institution of a Patriarchate as a means of conserving and developing the Ukrainian Catholic Church. It is that such a Patriarchate would inevitably have an anti-communist orientation and, therefore, would provide a reinforcement of the Ukrainian Catholic Resistance to the ROC and to Communism, which is precisely what Rome wishes to avoid at all costs.<sup>50</sup> We must emphasize, moreover, that all of the faithful of the various Catholic Oriental Patriarchates do not comprise more than 3 million, whereas there are nearly 7 million Catholics of the Ukrainian Rite in the world.

In addition to this fact, the Vatican, as though it was being guided by the designs of Pimen, has constantly created obstacles to the internal life of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the West, alleging supposed advantages that the Russians would concede in return. The eminent figure of Cardinal Slipyj has been greatly affected by the continuous raising of obstacles to his pastoral work; the Vatican has even gone so far as to prohibit him from leaving Rome to visit Ukrainian communities on various occasions, in this way treating him as if he were a prisoner.<sup>51</sup>

All of these injustices produce the most serious perplexities among the Ukrainian faithful. This is shown, for example, by the signs which a group of Ukrainian Catholic protestors carried before the residence of the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, which displayed phrases such as the following: "The Vatican policy of surrenders is a continuous scandal," "don't persecute our Bishops," and "the dialogue between the Vatican and Moscow will lead to catastrophe."<sup>52</sup>



The Ukrainians know that nothing would please Moscow more than their general apostasy from the Holy Church. However, they have an unbreakable faith and are profoundly faithful to the Papacy for which so many of their ancestors and their contemporaries have shed their blood. It is with sadness and shock that they sense that the present authorities in the Vatican would do nothing to prevent such an apostasy because they consider the Ukrainians to be an "obstacle" to dialogue with the ROC and the Kremlin.<sup>53</sup>

It appears that this tragic situation is also perceived by the faithful of the Catacombs inside Ukraine. According to information coming from travelers, the general mood among them is the one synthesized by the magazine *The Ukrainian Herald*, which circulates clandestinely: "We bring you some examples of the iniquities perpetrated by the regime against the Catholic faithful in Lviv. But how many others must there be all over Western Ukraine? Perhaps God alone knows. The only thing that surprises us is that the Vatican administration has forgotten the Ukrainian part of its flock being torn to bits by ferocious wolves. Must it not have sunk too deeply into its pragmatic and materialist policies."

At the same time, it is known that the Ukrainian orthodox people have great sympathy for the Uniate Catholics and for the institution of their Patriarchate. Undoubtedly, Moscow fears that they will convert to Catholicism, as they witness the heroic resistance of the Catholics and compare it with the abject subjection of the ROC to the atheists of the Kremlin. There are various testimonies which favor this, especially that of the well-known Ukrainian writer V. Moroz, who is not a Uniate Catholic and who is now undergoing imprisonment at the hands of the Soviet authorities.<sup>55</sup> The Soviet press reflects this fear when it treats the matter. As a consequence, we find, with pain and horror, that the Ostpolitik of the Vatican constitutes in reality, a true obstacle to the return of many Ukrainian non-Catholics to the bosom of the Catholic Church.<sup>56</sup>

## THE PERSECUTION REVIVES

In the last ten years, in spite of the whole Ostpolitik or perhaps because of it, new Communist persecutions have been unleashed over deso-



### *Deported into Siberia...*

lated Catholic Ukraine. The facts which demonstrate this are innumerable. The clandestine journal, *The Chronicle of Current Events*, reported in 1969 that the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church "has been more active in recent years but that the number of priests who have been imprisoned and mistreated by the police has grown." Severe penalties of imprisonment are imposed on anyone attending a Uniate Catholic Mass. After 1968, Filaret initiated a new offensive by convoking a meeting of the ROC and asking for a "more effective" action by the Soviet government to eliminate the remnants of the Catholic Church in Ukraine.<sup>57</sup>

In a recent meeting of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Marxist Malanchuk recognized that the Ukrainian Uniate Catholic Church has not been entirely exterminated, and asked that the Party dedicate more time to its work against this Church.<sup>58</sup>

Perhaps some ingenuous minds still believe that the rapprochement between the Vatican and the Communist governments is being carried out in order to alleviate the conditions of the Catholics of the Church of Silence. And there may be others who think that the only aim of this policy is to favor the Latin Rite over the Byzantine Rite. For this reason, we consider it advantageous to demonstrate that these ideas do not correspond to the reality. Two points may be swiftly made. Behind the Iron Curtain, the Catholic Church of the Latin Rite also suffers from the revival of the persecution. And as we have already seen in the case of the Ukrainian Rite, the pretext of helping the Uniate Catholics has only served, in fact, to favor the Marxist cause. But let us look rapidly at some examples in other captive nations.



In Poland, the religious persecution has normally been lighter than in the other Communist-dominated countries of Eastern Europe. However, after the recent visit of Msgr. Luigi Poggi, representative of the Vatican, to the authorities of the regime of Warsaw, the government intensified its opposition to the construction of new churches in the country, as well as to the religious education of small children. Spokesmen of the government declared that official conversations with the representative of the Vatican had dealt with world politics and detente, not with the Church in Poland.<sup>59</sup>

There is another example from Poland which merits consideration. In November of 1973, a minister of the Polish Communist government was received with friendliness in the Vatican. In February of 1974, Msgr. Casaroli, the Kissinger of the Vatican, was received with festivities in Warsaw. During the short period of time between these two journeys, the Catholic priest Father Zabichcki was imprisoned and afterwards confined in a psychiatric prison. This was done because on December 16, 1973 he had done something which is prohibited, that is, he had celebrated Holy Mass in his house without the permission of the government.<sup>60</sup> There is no evidence that Msgr. Casaroli intervened in favor of the imprisoned priest.

The visits of Msgr. Casaroli to Moscow, supposedly for the purpose of obtaining improvements for Catholics of the Latin Rite (especially those in Lithuania), have been so inefficacious in this respect that clandestine editions of the well-informed *Chronicle of the Church of Lithuania* reveal a progressively increasing anti-Catholic persecution. There are literally hundreds of cases of atrocious persecution against Lithuanian Catholics. Nevertheless, the Vatican remains silent about this matter also.<sup>61</sup>

In 1973 the Rumanian leader Ceaucescu visited the Vatican; however, this visit did not prevent him from continuing to persecute brutally the Uniate Catholics of the country who also suffer under a legal prohibition like that imposed on Uniate Catholics in Ukraine.<sup>62</sup>

We will not attempt to go too deeply into the relations of the Vatican with Hungary, which is still dominated by the long suffering figure of the great Cardinal Mindszenty. Nevertheless, we must emphasize that as a fruit of the Ostpolitik, the

Catholic ecclesiastical structure of that country is today controlled by a pro-communist clergy which swore oaths of fidelity to the Bolshevik regime and which participates in Catholic Marxist organizations such as the well-known "PAX". The Hungarian Episcopate, it pains us to say, represents a true example of "Nikodimization" of the Catholic Church.<sup>63</sup>

All of these facts lead to a tragic but unavoidable conclusion: the Vatican Ostpolitik has *stimulated* the Communist persecution.

Indeed, a fundamental postulate of the Ostpolitik is that the Vatican keep silent about the Communist persecution of the Church and the total incompatibility that exists between Catholic doctrine and Communist doctrine. As a consequence, the Vatican silences the national and international ecclesiastical structures, making it possible for the Communist persecution to become more forceful without being inconvenienced.<sup>64</sup>

One may say, moreover, that there are two Churches of Silence. The different circumstances of each involve many nuances. In this respect, we may consider for a moment that second Church of Silence, the one imposed from within upon the national and international ecclesiastical structures and the faithful. That this Church of Silence exists in the West through the work and approval of vast sectors of a progressive ecclesiastical hierarchy, which promotes the autodemolition of the Church, has been made clear in respect to the well known case of Chile. The voluminous book *The Church of Silence in Chile*, published by the Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property, proved that the Chilean Episcopate collaborated with the Marxist regime of Allende before, during, and after its ascent to power. Based on Catholic doctrine and on 200 documents, the book points out that the faithful must break their false submission to this suicidal ecclesiastical structure by not transforming themselves into a new Church of Silence.<sup>65</sup>

We make these reflections so that the reader can place the problem of the Catholic Ukrainians in a better perspective, for they have a glory — the glory of the Cross — in that they belong to both Churches of Silence. On the one hand, there is the silence which is imposed on them by the Communist executioners of the USSR and the ROC. On the other hand, there is the silence of



the Vatican about the martyrdom of the Catholic Church in Ukraine and the silence which it tries to impose on the Ukrainians of the emigration and the exile about this situation.



Cardinal Slipyj. A lion cries out in the desert.

One cannot fail to conclude that all is proceeding as if the Vatican had accepted the arbitrary measures of the ROC, that institution which has acted, at the command of the Communists, to eliminate the Catholic Church in Ukraine. Paul VI has said nothing publicly against the persecution and destruction of the Church in Ukraine. There have been innumerable opportunities to speak, but from Rome one has heard only a profound silence.<sup>66</sup> Accordingly, one must conclude that *the Vatican is accepting, at least tacitly, the destruction of the Catholic Church in Ukraine.* In other words, 5 million Catholics are being sacrificed on the altar of dialogue with the USSR-ROC. This is confirmed by the testimony of Father

Mailleux, S.J., whom we have already cited. Father Mailleux, who occupies high posts in the Vatican related to the Oriental Churches, has declared that the Catholic Ukrainians cannot hope that the Holy See will risk the embarrassment of raising the problem of the existence of the Ukrainian Church in the Soviet Union when there is a possibility of the Vatican maintaining a dialogue with the ROC.<sup>67</sup> Thus, one finds that the martyrdom of the Catholic Ukrainians is executed by the joint efforts of two immense structures, one of which *ought to be in charge* of saving it, and that these structures act together like a pair of pincers.

#### A LION CRIES OUT IN THE DESERT

The Holy Catholic Church and Ukraine have a great representative in the person of Msgr. Slipyj. His work in favor of Catholicism and of the Ukrainian nation is monumental, and history has recorded it.

After the long silence which had been imposed on him against his will by the authorities of the Vatican, the Cardinal decided to speak, thereby showing his understanding of the words spoken by the superior of a clandestine Ukrainian monastery: "A dead hero is a more powerful stimulus for the Church than a living prisoner in the Vatican."<sup>68</sup> In the World Synod of Rome in 1971, the Cardinal, in the presence of Paul VI, pronounced a discourse with lively emotion, in which he declared: "... Catholic Ukrainians, who have sacrificed mountains of bodies and shed rivers of their blood for the Catholic Faith and for their fidelity to the Holy See, even now are undergoing a very terrible persecution, but what is worse, they are defended by no one. . . our Catholic faithful, prohibited from celebrating the liturgy and administering the Sacraments, must descend into the catacombs. Thousands and thousands of the faithful, priests, and bishops have been thrown into prison and deported to the polar regions of Siberia. Now, however, because of negotiations and diplomacy, Ukrainian Catholics, who as martyrs and confessors suffered so much are being thrown aside as inconvenient witnesses of past evils.

"In recent letters and communications which I have received, our faithful lament: 'Why have



we suffered so much? Where is justice to be found? Ecclesiastical diplomacy has labeled us as impediments. Cardinal Slipyj does nothing for his Church' And I answer: What can I do? . . . When Pimen, the patriarch of Moscow, in an electoral synod openly declared that the Union of Brest was annulled, not one of the Vatican delegates present protested . . . One of the eminent Cardinals here expressed astonishment that the Ukrainians who have been treated so badly and unjustly have, nevertheless, remained Catholic . . ."<sup>69</sup>

In October of 1976, Cardinal Slipyj managed to get permission from Rome to travel to Philadelphia to appear at the funeral of the Ukrainian Archbishop of that city. On that occasion, he insisted that a Ukrainian Patriarchate was a pressing necessity. "I do not seek the title of the Patriarchate for my personal honor and glory," declared the major Archbishop of Lviv. "If I were interested in personal honor and status, I would have received it from the Soviet regime without having had to pass 18 years in slave camps." And he concluded with intelligent realism: "If I had accepted it, the Holy Father would be speaking to me today as an equal, as he does with the Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow. But I have remained faithful to the See of Peter and the Universal Church."<sup>70</sup>

#### THE ROMAN RESISTANCE: THE SOLUTION FOR UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS

In the face of the Vatican's incredible policy aimed at bringing about a relaxation of tensions with the Communist governments, Catholics (and in the case under study, Catholic Ukrainians) face a choice between two alternatives: to cease their struggle against Communism? or to resist the policy of relaxation of tensions? Some time ago, the Societies for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property (known as the TFP) of the whole world launched an important manifesto on this crucial question. We believe that it provides a clear, logical, and irrefutable answer to this problem.

The various societies for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property were born of a concern by intellectuals, students, and men of action over the tragic consequences flowing from the series of religious, moral, political, and economic crises which are spreading over Christian Civilization



The TFP's resistance manifesto was published also in Ukrainian.

and the world. More and more young men are finding a common ideal which stems from this concern and in one nation after another are preparing themselves to struggle ideologically in a cause which is finding greater and greater echoes in the public opinion of the Western Hemisphere, that is to say, the cause which defends the values of tradition, the family, and property against the advance of Communism.

The TFP's declared: "The Vatican policy of relaxation of tensions toward the Communist governments creates a situation which affects anti-communist Catholics deeply, but much less, however, as anti-communists than as Catholics. For at any moment a supremely embarrassing objection may be put to them: Does not their anti-communist action lead to a result that is precisely opposed to the one intended by the Vicar of Christ? And how can one consider a Catholic to be consistent if he moves in an opposite direction from the Pastor of Pastors? This question leads all anti-communist Catholics to a consideration of these alternatives: To cease the struggle? Or to explain their position?

"To cease the fight, we cannot. And we cannot cease it because of a demand of our conscience as Catholics. For if it is a duty of every Catholic to



promote good and fight evil, our conscience imposes on us the responsibility of propagating the traditional doctrine of the Church, and of fighting Communist doctrine . . . Liberty of conscience . . . in what it has of the more legitimate and sacred . . . affirms the right of a Catholic to act in the religious and in the civic life, according to the dictates of his conscience.

"The Church is not, the Church never was, the Church never will be such a prison for consciences. The bond of obedience to the successor of Peter, which we will never break, which we love in the depth of our soul, to which we give the best of our love, this bond we kiss at the very moment in which trituated by sorrow we affirm our position . . ."

As one may easily see, the Ukrainian situation is encompassed in a singular way within this set of problems. Well, then, what is the solution?

The lucid manifesto of the TFP's responds:

"Yes, Holy Father — we continue — St. Peter teaches us that it is necessary 'to obey God rather than men' (Acts 5:29). You are assisted by the Holy Ghost and you are even comforted — under the conditions defined by Vatican I — by the privilege of infallibility. But this does not prevent the weakness to which all men are subject from influencing and even determining Your conduct in certain matters or circumstances. One of these — perhaps par excellence — is diplomacy. And it is here that Your policy of detente with the Communist governments is situated.

"And what, then, to do? The number of lines in the present declaration is insufficient to permit the listing here of all the Fathers of the Church, Doctors, Moralists, and Canonists — many of them raised to the honor of the altar — who affirm the legitimacy of the resistance. This resistance is not separation, it is not revolt, it is not harshness, it is not irreverence. On the contrary, it is fidelity, it is union, it is love, it is submission.

"'Resistance' is the word we choose on purpose, for it is the one employed in the Acts of the Apostles by the Holy Ghost Himself in order to characterize the attitude of St. Paul. St. Peter, the first Pope, had taken disciplinary measures regarding the continuity in Catholic worship of some practices remaining from the old Synagogue, and St. Paul saw in this a grave risk of doctrinal confusion and of harm to the faithful. He then stood

up against St. Peter and "resisted him to his face" (Gal. 2:11). In this ardent and inspired move of the Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Peter did not see an act of rebellion, but rather one of union and fraternal love. Knowing well in what he was infallible, and in what he was not, St. Peter submitted to the arguments of St. Paul. The Saints are models for Catholics. Accordingly, in the sense in which St. Paul resisted, our state is one of resistance."<sup>71</sup>

## A CALL TO THE WEST

Until now, the West has been like a vast desert in which the voice of the Ukrainian martyrs cry. Certainly, this state of placidity should not exist, for the Western peoples have the grave responsibility of defending the free world. The persecutions carried out against the subjugated peoples, which constitute in the first place a moral problem, are also a political problem in the highest sense of the word. The most rudimentary consideration of the global picture makes clear that the very survival of the free world depends on vigilance against Communist tactics. And closer inspection shows that the captive nations constitute a key element in what is truly a global struggle; in fact, the captive nations are the "Achilles' heel" of Communism. Nevertheless, for Catholics the question of conscience is much graver than the political question. Catholics have the obligation of helping their martyred brethren behind the Iron Curtain, not only out of a general human solidarity but also, and above all, on account of the sacred supernatural bonds of faith.

In view of the clamorous silence of Rome, and the gravity of the situation, we call on Western Catholic public opinion to raise its voice in protest against what is happening in Ukraine. The ecclesiastical authorities and the Communist rulers are both extremely sensitive to manifestations of Western public opinion. On the attitude of this public opinion will depend the future course of events and, therefore, the extent of the enlargement or reduction in scope of the great injustice being practiced in Ukraine and, indirectly, the amount of increase or decrease in the penetration of Communism in the West.

If we keep silent one more time, as we have already done so many times in the recent past in the face of the Communist abominations, this un-



resolved question of conscience will weigh as one more factor — and not a small one — in the already advanced process of the fall of the ex-Christian Western civilization.

## A CALL TO THE FREE UKRAINIANS

*"Through you, my Ruthenians,\* I hope to convert the East."*

Thus spoke Catholic Rome, the Rome of the Saints and the Martyrs, Eternal Rome, through the mouth of the Holy Father, Urban VIII, on beatifying the great Ukrainian St. Josaphat.<sup>72</sup>

We also appeal, and in a special way, to the Ukrainian Catholics who live in the West. To them belongs a special role: To assist their brothers in the Faith and in blood, and to take a position against the current Vatican policy, that is to say, in the Roman Resistance. Through the heroic resistance they mount against the enemy of the Faith and Ukraine, the profound contemporary significance of the prophetic call of Urban VIII will acquire body.

This is the great vocation of the Ukrainians. Today, it appears far away, but there is no doubt that it is gaining strength — in the midst of the sufferings that the present situation imposes on them. Perhaps, Divine Providence, in its unfathomable wisdom, wishes to convert the peoples of Eastern Europe to the Holy Church by means of the merits of the martyrs of the Ukrainian Uniates. Moreover, providentially, they constitute a strategic bridge between the East and the West.

Didn't Our Lady, Herself, predict at Fatima in 1917 that even Russia, after spreading her errors all over the world, would be converted?

This great promise of Our Lady resounds and reverberates like a sacred vocation given by Eternal Rome centuries ago, and echoes in the depths of the Catholic Ukrainian soul, with all of the sacredness and brilliance of a golden iconostasis.

Let us pray then with our Ukrainian brothers the prayer of fire of St. Louis Marie Grignon de Montfort, who expressed so exactly the present situation of the Holy Church both in Ukraine and the rest of the world: "Thy Divine Law is broken;

Thy Gospel is abandoned; torrents of iniquity inundate the whole earth and sweep Thy very servants away; all the earth is desolate; impiety is on the throne; Thy sanctuary is profaned and the abomination is even in the Holy Place. Wilt Thou leave everything thus abandoned, Just Lord, God of Vengeances? Will everything in the end become like Sodom and Gomorrah? Wilt Thou be silent forever? Wilt Thou bear forever? Is it not necessary that Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven and that Thy Kingdom come to us? Didst Thou not show beforehand to some of Thy friends a future renovation of the Church?"<sup>73</sup>

And repeating the cry of Moses: "Si quis est Domini, jungatur mihi."<sup>74</sup> Let him who is for the Lord, join with me to cry out together to Heaven: "Yes, come Lord" — Amen Veni Domini!"<sup>75</sup>

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# EURO-ANTICOMMUNISM: THE ANTI-VOGUE WHICH IS IN VOGUE

Observers of international politics and prestigious institutes of public opinion have recently been pointing out the appearance of an anti-socialist tendency in the great nations of the Western world. Some compare it to a wave which is beginning to develop and become more consistent in the most economically developed zones of the world.

Some months ago, the Swedish elections produced a result, which surprised many persons. The defeat of the socialists on this occasion is the most important sign and even a historical milestone in the new direction of European public opinion. The reverse suffered by the socialists in favor of the conservatives in Sweden was repeated 15 days later in the German Federal Republic. More recently there have been other indications to corroborate the existence of this profound movement of opinion registered in northern Europe, showing in addition that it is spreading to other nations of the West.

## THE SWEDISH MYTH WHICH SPREAD ALL OVER THE WORLD

Sweden, which has been governed for the last 44 years by the Social Democrats, has managed to attain a high level of

economic development; the greatest per capita index of gross national production in Europe — exceeded only by that of the United States — and a high standard of living. The average salary is the highest on the continent, and the population does not know unemployment. There is an automobile for every four inhabitants of the country, a telephone for every two persons, and a television set for every three persons.

Although Sweden became the victim of an intensive system of state control which carried the collectivization of society to extremes never before known in the anti-communist countries, private property was nevertheless preserved to a great extent. Ninety percent of the industrial production of the country is in private hands; the cooperatives and state corporations are each responsible for only about 5% of the production. Of the fourteen banks which exist in the country, only one belongs to the government. Contrary to what occurs in the Communist countries, the Swedish socialist regime spared the institution of private property, thereby managing to keep the national economy healthy. In all other fields, however, collectivist state control marked the life of the nation profoundly and progressively.

From Sweden, which is called "the democratic welfare state" or the "middle term" or even "the country of the compromise," a myth has arisen and that myth has spread all over the world. The "Swedish model" has been acclaimed and envied everywhere as a true paradise on earth. And that "paradise," it has been understood, was the work of a party with a socialist program of Marxist inspiration: the Social Democratic Party. One might view it as the full success of a political current, complemented by the applause and the happiness of the people. At any rate, this is what the propaganda would make people believe. And indeed this image of happiness was accepted by uncountable multitudes. But was the nation really happy?

## THE ELECTORATE MAKES ITS PRONOUNCEMENT

In the recent elections in Sweden, the party that was the architect of "socialism in plenty" was defeated. The commentators were unanimous in affirming that what was rejected was Swedish socialism. The Sweden of the myth dissolved. The reality appeared!

The political current that held power until recently had carried social services

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## THE RESISTANCE

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(Continued from page 1)

St. Godfrey of Amiens, St. Hugh of Grenoble, and Guido of Vienne (the future Pope Callistus II) and many other Bishops at the Synod of Vienne (1112) sent to Pope Pascal II the decisions that they had adopted, writing him, moreover: "If as we absolutely do not believe, you take some other way, and you refuse to confirm the decisions of our paternity, may God help us, for thus you will be separating us from your obedience." (Bouix, *Tract, de Papa*, tom. II, p. 650).

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The great theologian, *Peinador*, cites and makes his own the following principle enunciated by St. Thomas Aquinas: "When there is a proximate danger to the Faith, prelates must be reprov'd, even publicly, by their subjects." (*Cursum Brevior Theol. Mor.*, tomus VI, vol. I, p. 287).

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The great abbot *Dom Gueranger* taught: "When the pastor transforms himself into a wolf, it is the flock which, in the first place, has the obligation of defending itself . . . In the treasure of Revelation, there are essential points which every Christian, in view of his very title of Christian, necessarily knows and has to defend obligatorily." (*L'Anne*

*Liturgique*, the feast of St. Cyril of Alexandria, pp. 340-341).

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*Cornelius a Lapidé* shows that according to St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Bede, St. Anselm, and many other Fathers of the Church, the resistance of St. Paul to St. Peter was public "so that in that way the public scandal given by St. Peter might be repaired — by a rebuke which was also public" (*Ad Gal.* 2:11).





to the extreme, hoping to conquer the electorate by taking care of the greatest possible number of material interests. To achieve this end, it almost completely despised the role of ideologies and the spiritual aspirations of the people. The electorate, having to choose between a plethora of merely creature comforts and an opportunity to affirm the aspirations of the soul, rejected the former in favor of the latter.

The statistics are eloquent: Of the 349 seats in the Riksdag (Parliament), the non-socialists won 180, the social democrats 152, and the Communists only 17. Six million voters in a country of 8 million inhabitants appeared at the ballot box. Among them were 500,000 persons who were voting for the first time as a result of a law reducing the voting age from 20 to 18 years. The youths swelled the ranks of the conservatives . . .

### THE BITTER INHERITANCE OF THE EGALITARIAN PARADISE

A riches and technology unimaginable to our grandparents were within the reach of the Swedish citizen. State planning had enabled him to enjoy numerous advantages and benefits imposed on millions of others also, marking them all with the same life, and we would almost say, with the same death. Having received this treatment, the people did not manifest satisfaction and happiness, but discontent and a desire to change. A fundamental feature of the human soul, which had been repressed and almost unbearably asphyxiated, led the Swedes to wish to dismantle the "paradise."

What is this feature?

For a long time, it had remained in the shade, without any voice daring to bring it to the consideration of our century wrapped up in its absurd worship of "social achievements." The feature of which we speak is the natural human creativity which distinguishes and characterizes a personality. In every man, there is a profound desire to create something of his own by which he expresses himself, not only in respect to that in him which is analogous to other men, but above all in respect to that which makes him different from the

others, thus leaving an unmistakable mark of his passage through life and perhaps an imprint on history. Like all of the other upright natural impulses of man, this aspiration can lead to extremely bad results if it is not realized in accordance with Catholic morality, but in itself it is a legitimate and necessary aspiration, one that is tied to the plan of God for every creature on this earth.

The legitimate desire to see this yearning of the soul realized produced the movement of the Swedish electorate which caused the downfall of the social democratic regime.

### AN ANTI-VOGUE THAT IS IN VOGUE

The German Social Democrats went into panic, and with good reason. The defeat in Sweden occurred on the "eve" of the elections in West Germany. And indeed their fears were well-founded, for the vote in West Germany confirmed the anti-socialist wave. The West German Social Democratic Party (SDP) whose program is also socialist, though less notorious so than its Swedish counterpart, suffered a significant reversal in the elections. They won only 42.6% of the votes, while parties of a conservative tendency (the Christian Democratic Union and the Social Christian Union) obtained 48.6%. The present social democratic government of Helmut Schmidt was able to remain in power only through the collaboration of the liberal party of a centrist tendency.

After conducting a deep research on the German social political reality of our days, Professor Max Kaire, of the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Mannheim, concluded: the Catholic workers, who voted for the Social Democrats in 1972, in these elections supported the conservatives; the SDP lost feminine voters also, and failed to attract the young electorate, the majority of whom voted for the Christian Democratic Union. There does not appear to be any sector of the public left for the Social Democrats . . .

For some months now, the most acute observers had already perceived the growth of an anti-socialist tendency, as it revealed itself by the gradual but

continuous movement of youths into the conservative organizations. This led Georg Leber, the West German Minister of Defense, to define the situation as an "anti-vogue which is in vogue."

It appears that the winds of modernity are not favorable to the socialists . . .

### NEW TENDENCIES AND NEW DIRECTIONS

According to all indications, the so-called Eurocommunism, a deceitful formula created by the Italian Berlinguer and his ilk, has already become anachronistic and discredited. Other quite different tendencies appear to characterize the future.

In Finland, the municipal elections showed a decrease of 2.2% in the popularity of the Social Democrats and an increase of 3% in favor of the conservatives. This fact gains in significance as one considers that Finland undergoes a powerful moral influence from Russia because of its geographical proximity to the latter. In fact, the term "finlandization" is widely used to characterize the limitation of autonomy which has come about, for certain countries, due to the psychological pressure of the Soviets.

Researches in public opinion carried out in England and published by the *Evening Standard* also confirm the new conservative trend. According to these polls, if elections were carried out now, the conservatives would easily win with 47% of the votes against only 30% for the Labor Party.

The new wave of anti-communism appears to be making its impact also in France where Prime Minister Chirac resigned from the cabinet of Giscard d'Estaing in opposition to its liberal policies. Recently, he dissolved the Gaullist Party and set up a new anti-communist party at a rally of 50,000 enthusiastic supporters.

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Is it not possible that these indications of the lively reaction of European public opinion to socialism is in the process of establishing new directions and new goals for the future of our civilization?





**Cardinal Slipyj; and Prof. Plinio Correa de Oliveira, founder of the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property and president of its National Council.**